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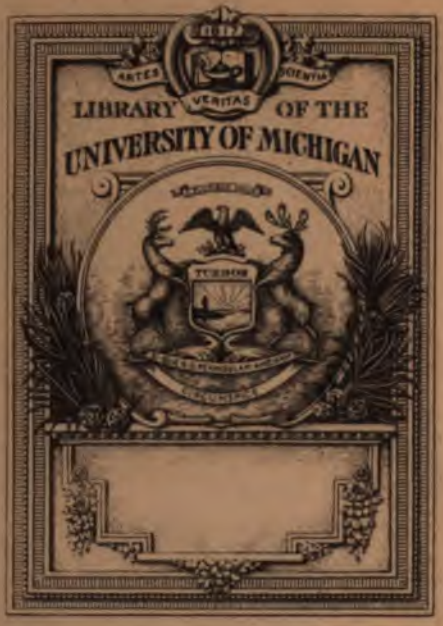

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TO

His Royal HIGHNESS,

FREDERICK,

Prince of *WALES,*

SIR,

YOUR Royal Highneſs having condeſcended graciouſly to ac-

cept

cept of the Three former Volumes of this Work, We beg Leave to inſcribe the following likewiſe to your Royal Highneſs's Patronage, and remain with the utmoſt Gratitude and Reſpect,

SIR,

Your Royal Highneſs's
Moſt obedient
Humble Servants,

The COMPILERS.

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UTES, &c. *of the* FIRST SES-N *of the* EIGHTH PARLIAMENT *of* at Britain; *by way of* Introduction *to*, Illuſtration *of*, *the* DEBATES, &c. *ch follow, to the End of the ſaid Seſſion.*

February, the 6th.

as Reſolved, That in the Petition of any Elector or Order relating tors, for any County, City or Place, ſending Mem- to Elections. Parliament, complaining of an undue Election and and alledging that ſome other Perſon was duly and ought to have been returned, the ſitting Mem- complained of, might demand and examine into the ations of ſuch Perſon, ſo alledged to be duly elected, ame manner as if ſuch Perſon had himſelf petitioned: Reſolution was declared to be a ſtanding Order of ſe.

13th. A Motion for certain Accounts (See Page 48) Diſpute about been made, canvaſs'd and divided upon, Henry Pel- Order. ſq; moved to adjourn, which brought on a ſhort De- out Order, becauſe it was ſaid, that when a Queſtion en moved, and for ſome Time debated, the Houſe was h in Poſſeſſion of it, that it could not be put off by Ad- ent, without an unanimous Conſent: But Mr. Speaker d, that, according to the general Opinion, the Rule men- was to be obſerved at all Times before four o'Clock in ternoon; but after that Hour, tho' a Queſtion had been ne Time debated, it was thought it might be put off by rnment, without any unanimous Conſent: Whereupon eſtion was put for adjourning, which was carried in the ative without a Diviſion.

14th. Reſolved that a Sum not exceeding * 794,529l. Votes on the . be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of Supply.

25,744

By comparing this Sum with the Sum voted for the Year we ſhall find an Increaſe 147,099*l.* 13*s.* 4*d and the granted for the Service of the Army in the Year* 17[illegible]34*; exceeded what had been granted in the preceding Year, Sum of* 35,116*l.* 5*s.* 3*d. our additional Expence for the Year*

25,744 Men, for Guards and Garriſons, and other his Majeſty's Land-Forces in Great Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, for the Year 1735. See the Debate, Page 51.

On the 21ſt of February the Houſe went again into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, when they came to ſeveral Reſolutions, which were on the 24th agreed to by the Houſe, and were as follows, viz.

That a Sum not exceeding † 215,710l. 6s. 5d. be granted to his Majeſty, for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the Plantations, Minorca and Gibraltar, and for the Proviſions for the Garriſons at Anapolis Royal, Canſo, Placentia and Gibraltar, for the Year 1735.

That a Sum, not exceeding 10,273l. 1s. 7d. be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying ſeveral extraordinary Expences and Services incurred *Anno Dom.* 1734, and not provided for by Parliament.

That a Sum not exceeding 18,850l. 9s. 2d. be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, for Out-penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, for the Year 1735. See Page 73.

Malt-Act paſſed. On the 28th of February, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and the Houſe of Commons being ſent for, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give the Royal Aſſent to the Bill, entitled, *An Act for continuing the Duties upon Malt, &c. in that Part of Great Britain called England; and for granting to his Majeſty certain Duties upon Malt, &c. in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland*, for the Service of the Year 1735; and to one Naturalization-Bill. See Page 89.

Other Votes on the Supply. On the 7th of March the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, and came to ſeveral Reſolutions, which were next Day reported to the Houſe, and are as follow:

That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the Sum of one Million, out of ſuch

---

Year 1735, *on Account of the late War, in this Article of our Army only, amounts to* 182,215*l.* 18*s.* 7*d. to which we muſt add an additional Expence in* 1735, *in the Article relating to the Forces in the Plantations, Gibraltar, &c. of* 11,713*l.* 9*s.* 2*d. being in the whole* 194,029*l.* 7*s.* 9.

† *By comparing the Sum granted by the firſt of theſe Reſolutions, with the Sum granted for the ſame Purpoſes in the preceding Seſſion, our Readers will ſee, that our additional Expence upon this Article for the current Year, amounts to* 11,711*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

[illegible] arifer, or ſhall or may ariſe from the Surplus or Exceſs, or Overplus-Moneys, commonly called the Sinking-Fund.

That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty the ſeveral Duties on Salt, and [illegible] mentioned, delivered out for Home-Conſumption [illegible] Act of the 7th Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign were continued and granted to his Majeſty, [illegible] until the 25th Day of March [illegible] from the 25th Day of March, 1760, to the 25th Day of March 1761.

And Bills were brought in [illegible] Reſolutions.

On the 12th of the ſame Month a Petition of George [illegible] Heriot, Provoſt of the Royal Burgh of [illegible] land, Robert Forret, Brewer there, [illegible] George Hunter, Wheelwright there, [illegible] Skinner there, was preſented to the Houſe, [illegible] open Application is made to the Truth of [illegible] James Erſkine, John Clark, Andrew [illegible] aſſuming to themſelves the Name of [illegible] Burgh, and complaining that the Petitioners [illegible] them in the pretended Exerciſe of their Offices [illegible] Andrew Fletcher of Milton, [illegible] of Juſticiary, and alſo of the Court of [illegible] though there was evidently no [illegible]

ing as Commander in chief of the Forces in Scotland, to the commanding Officer of the Dragoons then quarter'd in Haddington, to aſſiſt with his Dragoons in the Execution of the Warrant; that upon the 25th Day of the ſaid Month of October, the Petitioners were ſeized by the ſaid Humphry Colquhoun; and though the next ſure Priſon was that of Haddington itſelf, or that of North Berwick, and though the Petitioners deſired either to be committed there, or to be carry'd to Edinburgh, the Seat of the Courts of Juſtice, where they might apply for Redreſs; yet he told them, that his Orders were to carry them to the Priſon of Dunbar, and no other, a Place twenty Miles diſtant from Edinburgh, and eight Miles from Haddington, and three Miles further from Edinburgh than North Berwick; and though the pretended Crime was bailable, and Alexander Hepburn, the Sheriff's Subſtitute, to whom the Petitioners apply'd, was by Law impowered, and willing to admit them to Bail, the ſaid Humphry Colquhoun told them, that he could not diſmiſs them upon Bail, his expreſs Orders being to take no Bail, but to commit his Priſoners to the Priſon of Dunbar; where they were accordingly impriſon'd from the 25th Day of October, to the 27th of the ſaid Month, till, by Warrant from the Hon. David Ereſkine of Dun, another of the Judges of the ſaid Courts of Juſticiary and Seſſion, the Petitioners were ſet at Liberty, and Execution of the Warrant was ſtaid againſt the reſt, upon Bail given by the Petitioners and them; and that ſince that Time no criminal Proſecution has been moved for, upon any of theſe pretended Crimes charg'd againſt the Petitioners or the reſt; that theſe Proceedings, as the Petitioners apprehend, and are adviſed, were utterly illegal and and oppreſſive on the Part of the ſaid Andrew Fletcher of Miltoun, tending to deſtroy the perſonal Liberties of every Subject, the Freedom of the Royal Burghs, and of Conſequence the Freedom of Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament for ſuch Burghs; and as the Petitioners can hope for no Redreſs but from the Juſtice of Parliament; therefore praying the Houſe to take the Premiſſes into Conſideration, and to grant ſuch Redreſs therein as may effectually prevent ſuch Oppreſſions in Time coming, and as otherwiſe to the Houſe ſhall ſeem meet.

Motion and Diviſion thereon.

After this Petition was read, a Motion was made for referring it to a Committee of the whole Houſe, upon which there was a long Debate; but the Queſtion being at laſt put, it was, upon a Diviſion, carry'd in the Negative, by 197 to 155.

Though this Petition relates to a private Affair, yet it is of ſuch an extraordinary Nature, and has ſuch a cloſe Conneſtion

ſeſſion with the Freedom of our Government, and with the Liberty of the Subject, that we could not omit taking Notice of it, being of Opinion it will make a very remarkable Epiſode in the Hiſtory of the preſent Age, and will certainly contribute towards the Cataſtrophe, almoſt as much as any Incident that has lately happen'd: Beſides, it gave Occaſion, we believe, to the following Motion, which was made on Friday following.

Motion relating to wrongous Imprisonment.

That Part of an Act of the Parliament of Scotland in 1701, intitled, An Act for preventing wrongous Impriſonment, and againſt undue Delays in Trials, might be read; which being accordingly read, it was moved, 'That Leave 'might be given to bring in a Bill for explaining and amend-'ing the ſaid Act;' and the ſame being agreed to, Mr. Dundaſs, the Lord Polwarth, and Mr. Sandys, were ordered to bring it in.

Votes relating to Supply.

On Monday the 17th of March, the Houſe reſolv'd itſelf again into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, when they reſolved to grant his Majeſty the following Sums, viz.

The Sum of 10,393 l. 5 s. 11 d. to compleat the Sum of 81,368 l. 5 s. 11 d. for Services incurred by augmenting his Majeſty's Forces, and in concerting ſuch other Meaſures, as the Exigency of his Majeſty's Affairs required. The Sum of 68,834 l. 13 s. 4 d. upon Account, for reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1735. The Sum of 3780 l. for paying off Penſions to the Widows of ſuch reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, as dy'd upon the Eſtabliſhment of Half-Pay in Great Britain, (and who were marry'd to them before the 25th of December 1716) for the Year 1735. The Sum of 79,760 l. 3 s. 9 d. for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service for the Year 1735. The Sum of 24,693 l. 11 s. 6 d. for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service, not provided for by Parliament. The Sum of 36,405 l. 15 s. 4 d. to make good the Deficiency of the Grants for the Service of the Year 1734. The Sum of 37,557 l. 13 s. 4 d. for making good the Deficiency of the general Fund. The Sum of 198,924 l. 9 s. 7 d. for the Ordinary of the Navy (including Half-Pay for Sea-Officers) for the Year 1735. The Sum of 10,000 l. towards the Support of the Royal Hoſpital at Greenwich. The Sum of 10,000 l. towards the Maintenance of the Britiſh Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African Company of England, on the Coaſts of Africa. The Sum of 26,000 l. towards ſettling and ſecuring the Coloney of Georgia in America. The Sum of 4000 l. towards the Repair of

the Collegiate Church of St. Peter Weſtminſter: And the Sum of 3500 l. for the Repair of the Tower and Roof of the Pariſh Church of St. Margaret Weſtminſter.

Total of the Aid Supply.

By adding theſe Sums to the Sums before granted, viz. for Seamen 1,560,000 l. For Land-Forces, 794,529 l. 4 s. 7 d. For Garriſons, 215,710 l. 6 s. 5 d. For extraordinary Expences incurred, 10,273 l. 1 s. 7 d. For Out-Penſioners of Chelſea College, 18,850 l. 9 s. 2 d. And for the Denmark Treaty, 56,250 l. Our Readers will ſee, that the Supply granted for this Year, amounts to 3,150,452 l. 4 s. 7 d.

On the 19th, it was order'd, that Leave ſhould be given to bring in a Bill for the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limitting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr. Sandys, Mr. Wortley, Mr. How, Sir John Hind Cotton, Mr. Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir William Lowther, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame; which was accordingly preſented to the Houſe on the 21ſt, by Mr. Sandys.

The ſame Day, the Houſe having reſolv'd itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe on Ways and Means, reſolved, That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, the Sum of two Shillings in the Pound, and no more, ſhould be raiſed in the Year 1735, upon Lands, &c. and that a proportionable Ceſs (according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Union) ſhould be laid upon that Part of Great Britain called Scotland: And a Bill, purſuant to this Reſolution, was order'd to be brought in.

Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Acts.

On Monday the 24th Day of March, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the two following public Bills, viz.

An Act to puniſh Mutiny and Deſertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

An Act to indemnify Perſons who have omitted to make and ſubſcribe the Declarations contained in the Act of Uniformity, of the 13th and 14th Years of King Charles II. within the Time limitted by Law, and for allowing further Time for doing thereof.

And to two Bills for repairing Roads, and two private Bills.

On the 27th, a Committee was appointed to conſider the Laws in Being relating to the Maintenance and Settlement of the Poor, and to conſider what further Proviſions might be neceſſary for their better Relief and Employment: And the ſaid Committee having conſider'd and examin'd this Affair with great Care and Attention, came to ſeveral Reſolutions as follow.

Reſolv'd,

t it was the Opinion of that Committee,
Laws in being, relating to the Maintenance
this Kingdom, are defective; and notwith-
mpoſe heavy Burthens on Pariſhes, yet the
f them, are ill taken Care of.

Votes rel to the tainance Poor.

Laws relating to the Settlement of the Poor,
Vagrants, are very difficult to be executed,
in their Execution; vexatious to the Poor,
Advantage to the Public; and ineffectual to
ood Ends for which they were intended.

is neceſſary, for the better Relief and Employ-
Poor, that a public Workhouſe or Work-
ital or Hoſpitals, Houſe or Houſes of Correc-
liſhed in proper Places, and under proper Re-
each County.

ı ſuch Workhouſe or Workhouſes, all poor
to labour, be ſet to work, who ſhall either be
r come voluntarily for Employment.

ı ſuch Hoſpital or Hoſpitals, Foundlings and
ildren, not having Parents able to provide
taken Care of; as alſo poor Perſons that are
ıfirm.

ſuch Houſe or Houſes of Correction, all idle
Perſons, Vagrants, and ſuch other Criminals
ught proper, be confined to hard Labour.

wards the Charge of ſuch Workhouſes, Hoſ-
ouſes of Correction, each Pariſh be aſſeſſed or
at proper Perſons be empower'd to receive the
e aſſeſſed or rated, when collected, and alſo all
ıtributions or Collections, either given or made
oſes.

ch Workhouſes, Hoſpitals, and Houſes of Cor-
nder the Management of proper Perſons, Re-
id to ſuch as ſhall be Benefactors to ſo good a

ch Perſons as ſhall be appointed for the Manage-
Workhouſes, Hoſpitals, and Houſes of Cor-
e Body politic in Law, capable to ſue and be
taking and receiving charitable Contributions
ions for the Uſe of the ſame.

for the better underſtanding, and rendering more
Laws relating to the Maintenance and Settle-
Poor, it is very expedient that they be reduced
of Parliament.

ſolutions were reported to the Houſe on the 2d
d on the 7th of the ſame Month, were all agreed
mendment, except the 9th, which was amended

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That ſuch Perſons as ſhall be appointed for the Management of ſuch Workhouſes, Hoſpitals and Houſes of Correction, be one Body politic in Law, capable to ſue and be ſued, and of taking and receiving charitable Contributions and Benefactions, in Money, for the Uſe of ſuch Bodies politic.

And then this Reſolution ſo amended, was agreed to by the Houſe.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Dundaſs preſented to the Houſe (according to Order) a Bill, for explaining and amending an Act paſs'd in the Parliament of Scotland, in the Year 1701, entitled, An Act for preventing wrongous Impriſonment, and againſt undue Delays in Tryals. Which was read a firſt Time, and order'd to be read a ſecond Time.

A Petition of the general Aſſembly of Scotland.

On the 10th of April, a Petition of the then late General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, was preſented to the Houſe and read, repreſenting, That Patronages have, ſince the Reformation, been deemed by the ſaid Church a very great Grievance, and not warranted by the Word of God, and have at all Times been ſtruggled againſt; that, ſoon after the Revolution, an Act of Parliament was made in Scotland, aboliſhing the Power of Patrons to preſent Miniſters to vacant Churches; and at the Union of the two Kingdoms, the Eſtabliſhment of the Church of Scotland, in all its Rights and Privileges, by that and other Acts of Parliament made or ratify'd after the Revolution, was declared to be a fundamental and eſſential Condition and Article of that Union and at that Time, it was the Right and Privilege of the ſaid Church to be free from Patronages; but that, by an Act paſſed in the 10th Year of her late Majeſty Queen Anne, entitled, An Act to reſtore the Patrons to their antient Rights of preſenting Miniſters to the Churches, vacant to that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, the aforeſaid Act paſſed in the Reign of King William, was reſcinded, in ſo far as concerned the Power of Patrons to preſent Miniſters to vacant Pariſhes, and other Advantages, which had been the chief Things beſtowed on Patrons, in Lieu and Recompence of their former Right of Preſentation, were nevertheleſs ſuffered to continue with them; and therefore praying the Houſe to paſs a Bill for repealing the aforeſaid Act of Parliament, paſſed in the 10th Year of Queen Anne, in ſo far as concerned the Power of Patrons to preſent Miniſters to vacant Churches, in order to reſtore the Church of Scotland to the Rights and Privileges ſhe was poſſeſſed of at the Union of the two Kingdoms.

In Purſuance of this Petition, Leave was given to bring in a Bill for this Purpoſe, and Mr. Plumer, Mr. Ereſkine, Mr. Forbes

Forbes, Mr. Areſkine, Sir James Ferguſon, and Mr. Hume Campbell, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame; which Bill was preſented by Mr. Plumer on the 18th, but did not paſs.

On Thurſday the 15th of May, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent for, his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to the following public Bills, viz. Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Acts.

An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty, by a Land-Tax, to be raiſed in Great Britain for the Service of the Year 1735.

An Act for enabling his Majeſty to apply the Sum of One Million out of the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the Year 1735.

An Act for granting and continuing the Duties upon Salt, and upon Red and White Herrings, for the farther Term of four Years; and for giving farther Time for the Payment of Duties, omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.

An Act for the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Eſtates forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater and Charles Radcliffe.

An Act to continue ſeveral Laws therein mentioned, for the better Regulation and Government of Seamen in the Merchants Service; for the regulating of Pilots of Dover, Deal, and the Iſle of Thanet; for preventing Frauds in the Cuſtoms, and to prevent the clandeſtine Running of Goods, and for making Copper Ore of the Britiſh Plantations an enumerated Commodity.

An Act to continue an Act paſſed in the third Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, entitled, An Act for granting Liberty to carry Rice from his Majeſty's Province of Carolina in America directly to any Part of Europe Southward of Cape Finiſterre, in Ships built in and belonging to Great Britain, and navigated according to Law; and to extend that Liberty to his Majeſty's Province of Georgia in America.

An Act to continue ſome Laws therein mentioned, relating to the Encouragement of the making of Sail-Cloth in Great Britain, and for Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures in this Kingdom.

An Act for regulating the quartering of Soldiers during the Time of Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament.

An Act to indemnify Perſons, who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices and Employments within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing further Time for that Purpoſe.

An

An Act to indemnify Proteſtant Purchaſers of Eſtates of Papiſts, againſt the Penalties or Forfeitures Papiſts are liable to, for not having inrolled their Eſtates, in purſuance of an Act of the 3d Year of King George I. for that Purpoſe.

An Act to explain and amend an Act paſſed in the ſecond Year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, entitled, An Act for the Relief of Debtors, with reſpect to the Impriſonment of their Perſons.

An Act for the Amendment of the Law relating to Actions on the Statute of Hue and Cry.

An Act for rendering the Laws more effectual for puniſhing ſuch Perſons as ſhall wilfully and maliciouſly pull down and deſtroy Turnpikes for repairing Highways, or Locks, or other Works erected by Act of Parliament for making Rivers navigable; and for other Purpoſes therein mentioned.

An Act for the public regiſtering all Deeds, &c. within the North Riding of the County of York, after the 29th of September 1736.

An Act for the Encouragement of the Arts of Deſigning, Engraving and Etching hiſtorical and other Prints, by inveſting the Property thereof in the Inventors and Engravers, during the Time therein mentioned.

And to ten Road and other Bills of a private Nature, and to ſixteen private Bills. For the King's Speech, See page 101.

The Number of conteſted Elections at the opening of the Parliament was ſeventy one.

The Account laid before the Parliament of 81568 l. incurred by augmenting his Majeſty's Forces, and concerting ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs have required, purſuant to the Vote of Credit, formerly mentioned, is in Subſtance, viz. 115003 Crowns, being a Moiety of 230000 Crowns payable by Treaty to the King of Denmark for Levy-Money for a Body of 6000 Daniſh Troops, and 62500 Crowns, being a Moiety of 230000 Crowns, Bank Money of Hamburgh, payable to the King of Denmark for an annual Subſidy, purſuant to the ſaid Treaty, of which a Quarter became due the 19th of December, O. S. The reſt of the 81568 l. was for tranſporting the eight Regiments of Foot from Ireland to this Kingdom, and for Levy-Money to augment the ſaid Regiments, and the ſending Six Companies from Gibraltar to Jamaica.

The Expences incurred in the Sea Service, Anno 1734, purſuant to the ſaid Vote of Credit, amounted to 125,142 l.

SPEECHES
AND
DEBATES
IN THE
Houſe of Commons,
DURING
The Firſt Seſſion of the Eighth Parliament of *Great Britain.*

ON Tueſday, *January* 14, The King came to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent for and attending, his Majeſty's Pleaſure was ſignified to them by the Lord High Chancellor, that they ſhould return to their Houſe and chuſe a Speaker: The Commons being return'd accordingly, unanimouſly choſe Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; Speaker of the laſt Parliament.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

The Parliament meet.

Mr Arthur Onſlow re-elected Speaker

January 23. The King came to the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons preſented their Speaker to his Majeſty for his Approbation: His Majeſty having approv'd their Choice, open'd the Seſſion with the following Speech.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

The King's Speech at opening the First Session of his Second Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE preſent Poſture of Affairs in Europe is ſo well
" known to you all, and the good or bad Conſe-
" quences, that may ariſe, and affect Us, from the War
" being extinguiſh'd, or being carried on, are ſo obvious,
" that I am perſuaded you are met together fully prepared
" and determined to diſcharge the great Truſt repoſed in
" you at this critical Conjuncture, in ſuch a Manner, as
" will beſt contribute to the Honour and Intereſt of my
" Crown and People.

" I opened the laſt Seſſion of the late Parliament by ac-
" quainting them, that as I was no ways engaged, but by
" My good Offices, in the Tranſactions that were declared
" to be the principal Cauſes and Motives of the preſent War
" in Europe, it was neceſſary to uſe more than ordinary
" Prudence and Circumſpection, and the utmoſt Precaution,
" not to determine too haſtily upon ſo critical and impor-
" tant a Conjuncture; to examine the Facts alledg'd on
" both Sides, to wait the Reſult of the Councils of thoſe
" Powers, that are more nearly and immediately intereſted
" in the Conſequences of the War, and particularly to con-
" cert with the States General of the United Provinces,
" who are under the ſame Engagements with Me, ſuch
" Meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſable for Our
" common Safety, and for reſtoring the Peace of Europe.

" We have accordingly proceeded in this great Affair
" with the mutual Confidence which ſubſiſts between Me
" and the Republick; and having conſidered together on
" one Side the preſſing Applications made by the Imperial
" Court, both here and in Holland, for obtaining Succours
" againſt the Powers at War with the Emperor, and the
" repeated Profeſſions made by the Allies on the other Side,
" of their ſincere Diſpoſition to put an End to the preſent
" Troubles upon honourable and ſolid Terms, I concurred
" in a Reſolution taken by the States General, to employ,
" without Loſs of Time, Our joint and earneſt Inſtances to
" bring Matters to a ſpeedy and happy Accommodation,
" before we ſhould come to a Determination upon the Suc-
" cours demanded by the Emperor. Theſe Inſtances did
" not at firſt produce ſuch explicit Anſwers from the con-
" tending Parties, as to enable Us to put immediately in
" Execution our impartial and ſincere Deſires for that Pur-
" poſe: Reſolved however to purſue ſo great and ſalutary
" a Work, and to prevent Our Subjects from being unne-
" ceſſarily involved in War, We renewed the Offer of Our
" good Offices in ſo effectual a Manner, as to obtain an
" Acceptation of them.

" In

" In conſequence of this Acceptation, and of Our Declaration made thereupon, to the reſpective Powers engaged in the War, no Time has been loſt in taking ſuch " Meaſures, as ſhould be moſt proper to make the beſt uſe " of their good Diſpoſitions for re-eſtabliſhing the Tranquility of Europe: And I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you, that Things are now brought to ſo great a " Forwardneſs, that I hope in a ſhort Time a Plan will be " offered to the Conſideration of all the Parties engaged in " the preſent War, as a Baſis for a General Negotiation of " Peace, in which the Honour and Intereſt of all Parties " have been conſulted, as far as the Circumſtances of Time, " and the preſent Poſture of Affairs would permit. Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

" I do not take upon Me to anſwer for the Succeſs of a " Negotiation, where ſo many different Intereſts are to be " conſidered and reconciled; but when a Proceeding is founded upon Reaſon, and formed from ſuch Lights as can be " had, it had been inexcuſable not to have attempted a Work " which may produce infinite Benefits and Advantages, and " can be of no Prejudice, if we do not ſuffer Ourſelves to " be ſo far amuſed by Hopes, that may poſſibly be afterwards diſappointed, as to leave Ourſelves expoſed to real " Dangers.

" I have made uſe of the Power, which the late Parliament intruſted Me with, with great Moderation; and I " have concluded a Treaty with the Crown of Denmark, " of great Importance in the preſent Conjuncture. It is " impoſſible, when all the Courts of Europe are buſy and " in motion, to ſecure to themſelves ſuch Supports as Time " and Occaſion may require, for Me to ſit ſtill, and neglect " Opportunities, which, if once loſt, may not only be irretrieveable, but turned as greatly to Our Prejudice, as they " will prove to our Advantage, by being ſeaſonably ſecured; " and which, if neglected, would have been thought a juſt " Cauſe of Complaint. This neceſſary Confidence, placed " in Me, has given great Weight to my Endeavours for the " Publick Good.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered the Accounts and Eſtimates to be prepared and laid before you, of ſuch extraordinary Expences, " as were incurred laſt Year, and of ſuch Services, as I " think highly neceſſary to be carried on and provided for: " And whatever additional Charges ſhall be found neceſſary " ſhall be reduced, as ſoon as it can be done conſiſtently " with the common Security.

" And as the Treaty with the Crown of Denmark is attended with an Expence, I have ordered the ſame to be " laid before you.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

" I make no doubt but I ſhall find in this Houſe of " Commons the ſame Zeal, Duty, and Affection, as I have " experienced through the whole Courſe of my Reign; and " that you will raiſe the neceſſary Supplies with Chearful- " neſs, Unanimity, and Diſpatch.

" The Senſe of the Nation is beſt to be learned by the " Choice of their Repreſentatives; and I am perſuaded, " that the Behaviour and Conduct of my faithful Commons " will demonſtrate, to all the World, the unſhaken Fidelity " and Attachment of my good Subjects to my Perſon and " Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is our Happineſs to have continued hitherto in a " State of Peace; but whilſt many of the principal Powers " of Europe are engaged in War, the Conſequences muſt " more or leſs affect Us; and as the beſt concerted Mea- " ſures are liable to Uncertainty, We ought to be in a " Readineſs, and prepared againſt all Events; and if Our " Expences are in ſome Degree increaſed, to prevent great- " er, and ſuch as if once entered into, it would be difficult " to ſee the End of, I hope My good Subjects will not " repine at the neceſſary Means of procuring the Bleſſings " of Peace, and of univerſal Tranquility, or of putting " Ourſelves in a Condition to act that Part, which may be " neceſſary and incumbent upon Us to take."

Mr Harris's Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks.

Jan. 27. Mr Speaker having reported his Majeſty's Speech, Mr Harris, Member for Fowey, mov'd, 'That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to return his Majeſty the Thanks of that Houſe, for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne: To acknowledge his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, in purſuing ſuch Meaſures as tended towards procuring Peace and Accommodation, rather than involve this Nation and all Europe too precipitately in a general and bloody War: To expreſs the juſt Senſe that Houſe had of his Majeſty's tender Regard for the publick Repoſe and Tranquility, and of his unwearied Endeavours in forming, in Concert with the States General, ſuch a Plan of a general Pacification as his Majeſty, in his great Wiſdom, conceived was conſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of all Parties, as far as the Circumſtances of Time, and the preſent Poſture of Affairs would permit: To aſſure his Majeſty, that that Houſe would chearfully and effectually raiſe ſuch Supplies, as ſhould be neceſſary for the Honour and Security of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms: And whatever ſhould be the Succeſs of his Majeſty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Bleſſings of Peace and general Tranquility, would enable his Majeſty to act that Part which Honour and Juſtice,

true Intereſt of his People ſhould call upon ke.' Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

being back'd by Mr Campbell of Pembroke- Members objected to ſome Expreſſions in the n, as they thought, imply'd a too general f former Meaſures: And upon this Occaſion Wyndham propos'd, That the laſt Paragraph is, ' To aſſure his Majeſty that, *after a full Affairs of the Nation had been laid before ſider'd by them*, they would chearfully and ſe ſuch Supplies, as ſhould be neceſſary for the Security of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms, *tion to the Expences to be incurred by the other were under the ſame Engagements with this not then involved in the War:* And whatever Succeſs of his Majeſty's gracious Endeavours e Bleſſings of Peace and general Tranquility, his Majeſty to act that Part, which Honour and the true Intereſt of his People ſhould call undertake.' Debate thereon. Mr Campbell. Sir W. Wyndham.

Gentlemen diſliking the firſt Part of this Amend- ſeph Jekyll offer'd an Amendment to the A- opos'd by Sir William Wyndham, as follows: is Majeſty, that that Houſe would chearfully ly raiſe ſuch Supplies, as ſhould be neceſſary nour and Security of his Majeſty and his King- *Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by wers, who were under the ſame Engagements ation, and not then involv'd in the War:* And, ould be the Succeſs of his Majeſty's gracious to procure the Bleſſings of Peace and general would enable his Majeſty to act that Part, our and Juſtice, and the true Intereſt of his d call upon him to undertake.' Sir J. Jekyll.

ion for the Amendment was ſtrenuouſly ſupport- Morpeth, Lord Noel Somerſet, Mr Shippen, Aſton, Mr Dundaſs, Mr Gibbon, Mr Sandys, Plumer, and Mr William Pulteney: The Rea- ave for their Exceptions to the Addreſs as firſt d for the Amendment offer'd, were as follows: eaker, Ld Morpeth. Ld Noel Somerſet. Mr Shippen. Sir Tho. Aſton. Mr Dundaſs. Mr Gibbon. Mr Sandys. Mr W. Plumer. Mr W. Pulteney.

is a new Parliament, I hope we ſhall begin with ittle more Regard to the ancient Cuſtom and Parliaments, than has been ſhewn of late Years. Times, the Addreſſes of this Houſe, in Return to 's Speech from the Throne, were always con- he moſt general Terms. Our Anceſtors would eſcend upon that *Occaſion*, to enter into the Particulars

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

Particulars of his Majeſty's Speech: When they were to approach the King, and to declare their Affection and their Fidelity to him, they thought it was inconſiſtent with that Fidelity they were to declare, to approve, upon that Occaſion, of any miniſterial Meaſures, and much more ſo, to declare their Satisfaction with Meaſures they knew nothing about. This Houſe is the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, appointed to inquire diligently, and to repreſent faithfully to the King, all the Grievances of his People, and all the Crimes and Miſmanagements of his Servants; and therefore it muſt always be a Breach of our Fidelity to our Sovereign, as well as a Breach of our Duty to his People, to approve blindly the Conduct of his Servants. When we have examined diligently, and conſidered deliberately the Conduct of any Miniſter, and are at laſt fully convinced that he has acted prudently and wiſely for the publick Good, it is then our Duty to return him the Thanks of the Publick, and to repreſent him as a faithful Miniſter to his Maſter; but to make Panegyricks upon the Conduct of any of the King's Servants, before we have examined into it, is more like the Language of Slaves and Sycophants to a prime Miniſter, than that of loyal and faithful Subjects to their Sovereign.

'I muſt acknowledge, Sir, that the Motion now made to us is more general, and more adapted to the ancient Cuſtom of Parliament, than moſt I have heard ſince I have had the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe. I hope we ſhall not find that this extraordinary Modeſty proceeds from a Conſciouſneſs of Miſconduct: For the Sake of the Publick I heartily wiſh we may find that it proceeds from ſuperior Merit; which is, indeed, generally attended with ſuperior Modeſty; but as I have always been, upon ſuch Occaſions, againſt general Encomiums upon Miniſters, and as the Propoſition now before us, or at leaſt a great Part of it, implies a general Approbation of all our late Meaſures, particularly thoſe relating to the preſent War, which the Majority of this Houſe are, in my Opinion, intirely ignorant of, I cannot agree to it; becauſe I have not yet learned Complaiſance enough to approve of what I know nothing about, much leſs to approve of what I violently ſuſpect to be wrong.

'I had the Honour, Sir, to be a Member of this Houſe in the laſt Parliament; and I remember ſeveral Motions were then made, for getting ſome Inſight into the State of our foreign Affairs and our late Tranſactions; Motions which appeared to me highly reaſonable, and even abſolutely neceſſary to be complied with, before the Houſe could reaſonably comply with the Demands that were then made upon them;

them: But every one of theſe Motions had a Negative put upon it. I have always had a Suſpicion of the Works of Darkneſs; I do not like any Conduct that cannot ſtand the Light at Noon-Day; and therefore I am afraid ſome of our late Tranſactions are ſuch as no Man could approve of, if they were expoſed to publick View. We have been long amuſed with Hopes of ſome extraordinary Benefits, that were to accrue to the Nation from our many tedious and expenſive Negotiations: We have been long in Expectation; but when one Negotiation was over, we have been always told to have Patience, the next was to accompliſh all our Deſires; we have accordingly had a great deal of Patience; but, ſo far as I can comprehend, I can obſerve no Benefits that have accrued, or are like to accrue; but, on the contrary, many Dangers and Diſadvantages; So that the whole Train of our late Negotiations really ſeem to me to have been calculated for no other End, but to extricate a Set of puzzled, perplexed Negotiators, from ſome former Bungler, by which they have generally been led into a ſecond, of worſe Conſequence than the firſt: Every ſubſequent Negotiation ſeems to me to have had no other View or Deſign, but to get rid of ſome Dilemma we were thrown into by the former; and happy have we thought ourſelves, after a great deal of Money ſpent, if we could but recover our former Condition. In ſhort, Sir, if any Gentleman will riſe up and ſhew me any Addition, or any new Advantage, with reſpect either to our Trade or our Poſſeſſions, that this Nation has acquired by any of our late Tranſactions, I ſhall agree to the Motion; but conſidering the great Expence this Nation has been put to, and the great Loſſes many of our Merchants have, without any Redreſs or Satisfaction, ſuſtained, I cannot agree to paſs Compliments upon, or declare my Satisfaction with, our late Management in general, 'till it be made appear to me, that theſe publick and private Loſſes have been ſome Way ballanced by National Advantages.

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The ſecond Paragraph of the Motion I am, indeed, ſurprized at upon another Account, to make our Acknowledgements to his Majeſty, for not involving the Nation too precipitately in a bloody War, is, in my Opinion, very far from being a Compliment to his Majeſty; It is impoſſible, it is not to be preſumed that his Majeſty can do any ſuch Thing; but if it were poſſible, and if any ſuch thing had been done, to be ſure it would have been doing the Nation a very notable Miſchief; and according to the Idiom of our Language, at leaſt in private Life, to thank a Man, or to make our Acknowledgements to a Man, for his not doing us a notable Miſchief, is a contemptuous way of expreſſing

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ſing ourſelves, and is always an Inſinuation, that from ſuch a Man's Malice, or his Weakneſs, or Imprudence, we expected ſome notable Miſchief; and therefore when we are diſappointed, when the Miſchief is not ſo great as we expected, we ſay, by way of Contempt, that we are obliged to him. If none but Miniſters were concerned in this Part of the Motion, I ſhould have let it paſs without any Remark, nay, I ſhould readily have agreed to it; but as his Majeſty is concerned, I hope the Gentlemen who made the Motion will take Care to have it ſome way altered, if they are reſolved to have it ſtand Part of the Addreſs. This ſhews, Sir, how apt People are to fall into Blunders, when they attempt to make extravagant and forced Compliments; and therefore I wiſh we would reſolve to avoid ſuch Dangers, by confining our Addreſs to a general Acknowledgement of Thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, and a Declaration of our Affections towards him, of our Attachment to his Family, and our Zeal for his Service.

'However, Sir, as it has been granted upon all Hands, that nothing contained in our Addreſs can prevent the future Inquiries of this Houſe, or can be a Bar to our cenſuring what we ſhall upon Inquiry find to be amiſs, therefore I ſhall propoſe no Amendment to the former Part of the Motion: But I muſt take Notice of one Thing which is apparent, without any Inquiry, to every Man in this Houſe, to every Man who knows any thing of publick Affairs; and that is, the great Charge this Nation has already been put to on account of the War, while the other Powers of Europe, not yet engaged in the War, have not put themſelves to one Shilling Expence: Nay, even our Allies the Dutch, who, as his Majeſty has been pleaſed to tell us, are under the ſame Engagements with us, have not put themſelves to the leaſt Charge on account of the preſent War. Now, Sir, as his Majeſty has told us, that we had no Concern with the Cauſes or Motives of the War, we cannot therefore be involved in it, unleſs it be for the Preſervation of the Balance of Power; and as all our Allies are as much intereſted in this Reſpect as we are, it is reaſonable they ſhould bear their proportionable Share of the Expence: And as they have yet done nothing like it, I think it is become neceſſary for us to take ſome Notice of this Matter in our Addreſs to his Majeſty, for which Reaſon I ſhall move for this Amendment to the latter Part of the Addreſs: viz. 'That this Houſe will chearfully, and effectually raiſe ſuch Supplies, as ſhall be neceſſary for the Honour and Security of his Majeſty and his Kingdoms; *And in Proportion to the Expences to be incurred by the other*

Powers

Powers who were under the same Engagements with this Nation, and not then involved in the War; And whatever shall be the Success of his Majesty's gracious Endeavours to procure the Blessings of Peace and general Tranquility, will enable his Majesty to act that Part, which Honour and Justice, and the true Interest of his People shall call upon him to undertake.'

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In Answer to these Objections, and in Support of the Motion, Mr Winnington, Mr Henry Pelham, Sir William Yonge, Mr Danvers and Mr Oglethorpe urged the following Arguments.

Mr Winnington. Mr H. Pelham. Sir W. Yonge. Mr Danvers. Mr Oglethorpe.

Mr Speaker,

'As Gentlemen, who have spoke in this Debate, seem to want a much more thorough Reformation in the Motion now before us, than that proposed by the Amendment, I must beg Leave to take Notice of what they have said in general, before I come to speak to the Amendment proposed. We have been told a great deal, Sir, of the ancient Usage and Custom of Parliament, with respect to their Manner of addressing the King, by way of Return to his Speech from the Throne: What the Gentlemen may mean by this ancient Usage, or at what Time they have a Mind to fix it, I do not know; but I am very sure, that ever since I had the Honour to sit in Parliament, I never knew an Address proposed in more general Terms than that now before us; and therefore I am apt to conclude, that no Address can be proposed in this House, but what some Gentlemen will find Fault with. I shall agree with the honourable Gentlemen, that one of the chief Ends of our Meeting here, is to inquire diligently, and represent faithfully to the King, the Crimes and Mismanagements of his Servants, as well as the Grievances of his People; but when his Majesty has given us an Account of his Conduct, surely that does not hinder us from making him such general Compliments, for the Accounts he has been pleased to give us, as will not obstruct our future Inquiries, or prevent our Censures, in case we should afterwards find, that any of his Servants had acted unfaithfully or imprudently, even with respect to those very Affairs he had been pleased to give us an Account of in his Speech.

'It has been acknowledged, that the Motion before us is more general than what is usual upon such Occasions; but it is to be feared, it seems, that this extraordinary Modesty proceeds from a Consciousness of Misconduct. At this Rate, Sir, the Gentlemen who have the Honour to serve the Crown must have a very hard Task: If they or their Friends propose a long and particular Address, they are then accused of endeavouring to impose upon the Honour and

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Dignity of this Houſe; and if they propoſe a ſhort Addreſs, and expreſſed in the moſt general Terms, Inſinuations are then made, that their Modeſty proceeds from a Conſciouſneſs of Guilt; ſo that let them chuſe which way they will, it is impoſſible for them to avoid Cenſure: Yet, even this Addreſs, general as it is, is, it ſeems, to be looked on as an Encomium upon the Miniſters, and as an Approbation of what we know nothing about; but, in my Opinion, if we examine the ſeveral Paragraphs, it will appear to be neither the one nor the other.

'By the firſt Paragraph found Fault with, it is propoſed to acknowledge his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, in purſuing ſuch Meaſures as tend towards procuring Peace and Accommodation: By this, Sir, we do not declare, that his Majeſty has purſued ſuch Meaſures, nor do we approve of the Meaſures he has purſued; but when thoſe Meaſures are made publick, if it ſhould appear that they were ſuch as tended to procure Peace and Accommodation, ſurely this Houſe, nay the whole World, ought to acknowledge his Majeſty's Goodneſs and Wiſdom in that Reſpect; and all that can be ſuppoſed to be meant by this Paragraph is, to acknowledge that there is more Wiſdom and Goodneſs in purſuing ſuch Meaſures towards procuring Peace, than in purſuing ſuch Meaſures, as might tend to involve the Nation and all Europe too precipitately in War: This then cannot, I think, be ſuppoſed to be an Encomium upon any Miniſter, nor an Approbation of any of the Meaſures that have been purſued.

'By the other Paragraph it is propoſed, to expreſs the juſt Senſe we have of his Majeſty's Regard for the publick Tranquility, and of his Endeavour to form, in Concert with the States General, ſuch a Plan of Pacification, as his Majeſty conceives is conſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of all Parties, as far as the Circumſtances of Time and the preſent Poſture of Affairs will permit: Here again we approve of nothing: We do not approve of the Plan that is to be offered; we do not ſo much as approve of any one Step that has been taken in the forming of that Plan; we only acknowledge his Majeſty's tender Regard for the publick Tranquility, in endeavouring to form ſuch a Plan as may reſtore it: This ſurely is what no Man can deny, nor heſitate one Moment in acknowledging; and I believe that it will be as readily granted, that it was better to form this Plan in Concert with the States General, than to form it without any ſuch Concert. So that I cannot really comprehend how this Paragraph can be interpreted to be an *Encomium* upon any Miniſter, or an Approbation of any *Meaſure*: And therefore, tho' we knew nothing of the Meaſures

ſure that have been purſued, nay, tho' we even had a violent Suſpicion that wrong Meaſures have been purſued, neither our Ignorance nor our Suſpicions can be any Objection to either of thoſe Paragraphs.

'As to our Ignorance of the Meaſures that have been lately purſued, it is certain we are ignorant of a great many of them, and it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo; for with reſpect to publick Tranſactions, eſpecially thoſe with foreign Courts, it is abſolutely neceſſary that many of them ſhould remain ſecret for ſeveral Years after they are paſſed; nay, there are ſome that ought for ever to remain a Secret: And that any Tranſaction can remain a Secret long after it has been communicated to this Houſe, I believe no Gentleman will pretend to affirm; for tho' the Members of this Houſe might perhaps depend upon the Fidelity and the Secrecy of one another, yet we cannot anſwer for the Strangers that may be amongſt us. This, Sir, was the only Reaſon, why this Houſe was pleaſed to put a Negative upon the Motions pointed at by the honourable Gentlemen; and as I had likewiſe the Honour to be then a Member of this Houſe, I heard ſuch Reaſons given for not complying with thoſe Motions, as convinced me, that a Compliance with any one of them would have been one of the greateſt Injuries we could have done our Country: It was not that the Authors of thoſe Tranſactions were afraid, on their own Accounts, that the Tranſactions they had been concerned in ſhould be expoſed to publick View; it was impoſſible it could be ſo; for if they had been poſſeſſed with any ſuch Fears, if they had given the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect they were ſo, it would have been a good, and I am perſuaded a prevailing Reaſon for this Houſe to have complied with thoſe Motions.

'But, Sir, as to the Suſpicions that ſome Gentlemen may entertain, with regard to all or any of our paſt Meaſures, it is impoſſible to ſay any Thing of them, unleſs the Gentlemen will be pleaſed to acquaint us with the Grounds of their Suſpicion: When they do that, it may perhaps be in Gentlemen's Power to ſhew, that thoſe Grounds are very far from being ſolid. They talk of our having been for a long Time amuſed with Hopes, and of our having been deſired to have Patience: 'Tis true, Sir, there are ſome amongſt us, not in the Houſe I hope, but in the Nation, I will ſay, there are a great many who have been long amuſed with Hopes, who have had a great deal of Patience: They have, indeed, been under a continual Courſe of Patience ever ſince the Beginning of the late Reign: They have not yet ſeen, and I wiſh they may never ſee that Event happen, which they have been ſo long hoping for, which

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they have waited for with ſo much Patience: And, in my Opinion, the many Diſappointments they have met with, is one of the beſt Reaſons that can be aſſigned for our having no Cauſe to ſuſpect any Miſconduct in our late Meaſures.

'I do not think it the Intereſt of this Nation to be fond of adding much to our Poſſeſſions; and conſidering the Ambition of foreign Courts, and the Diſturbances given to our Government by a diſaffected Party at Home, our having preſerved entire our foreign Poſſeſſions, and prevented all Invaſions upon our People at Home, is an Argument, that all our late Meaſures have been concerted and purſued with the utmoſt Foreſight and Prudence. To this we may add, that tho' our Trade has been ſometimes a little interrupted by the ambitious Views of foreign Courts, yet it is certain, it has greatly improved in every Branch within theſe laſt twenty Years, and is now, I believe, in as flouriſhing a State as ever the Trade of Great Britain was in any Age: So that to return the Compliment to the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion, if either of them will ſhew me where the Nation has lately ſuffered, either in its Poſſeſſions, or in its Trade, by any Miſmanagement of thoſe at the Helm of our own Affairs, I ſhall agree to any Amendment they pleaſe to propoſe; but I cannot think it reaſonable to load our own Miniſters with the little Diſturbances we have met with, or the ſmall Loſſes we may have ſuſtained by the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts.

'With regard to the Impropriety of Expreſſion taken Notice of, I cannot think there is any good Foundation for the Criticiſm; but if there were, we muſt ſee that it proceeds entirely from the great Care the honourable Gentleman, who made the Motion, took, to avoid every Thing that might look like an Approbation of any late Meaſure: For this Reaſon he would not propoſe that we ſhould thank his Majeſty for not involving us in the War, becauſe it might have been ſaid, that for what we knew it was neceſſary, it was incumbent upon us, to have engaged at the very Beginning of the War; therefore, to avoid this Objection, he only propoſes that we ſhould make our Acknowledgements to his Majeſty, for not having engaged too precipitately in the War; and as this might have been done, and would, as the honourable Gentleman ſays, have been doing a very notable Injury to the Nation, I cannot find that there is any Impropriety in our making our Acknowledgements to his Majeſty, for his not having done ſo.

'I come now to that which I take to be the only Queſtion now before us, I mean, Sir, the Amendment propoſed, as it now ſtands amended. I ſhall readily grant, that all the *Nations of Europe* are equally concerned with us in ſupporting

nce of Power, and that therefore it is very Anno 2. Geo. II. 1728-29.
at every one of them ſhould bear a propor-
re of the Expence neceſſary, or that may be-
ry for that Purpoſe; and I am perſuaded his
uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to prevail with every
, to do what is incumbent upon them in that
t I muſt leave it to Gentlemen to conſider,
putting ſuch a Caution into our Addreſs, would
the whole World a ſort of Diffidence in his
nduct. I am convinced we have no Cauſe, from
his Majeſty's paſt Conduct, to ſhew any Diffi-
future; and I am very certain, we never could
a worſe Time than the preſent, to begin to ſhew
ffidence: The Nation is in great Danger of be-
in a bloody and expenſive War, unleſs his Ma-
s in his Endeavours for reſtoring the Peace and
of Europe; and it is certain, that nothing can
nore towards rendering his Majeſty's Endeavours
than an eſtabliſhed and general Belief, that a
mony and entire Confidence ſubſiſts between him
rliament: While they are convinced of this,
f the Parties now engaged in War will be cau-
ing too great a Scope to their ambitious Views,
ng too far the Succeſs they may have, for fear
upon themſelves the united Force of the King
ent of Great Britain; but if any Reaſon ſhould
r them to believe, that the Parliament puts no
in his Majeſty's Conduct, they may then con-
s of diſuniting the Power of Great Britain; and
e they will not much regard the moſt reaſonable
eace, that can be offered to them, by means of his
Mediation: Nay, I have good Reaſon to believe,
f the Powers engaged in the War, particularly
give no poſitive Anſwer to the Inſtances lately
em, 'till they hear of the Opening of the Britiſh
, and the Addreſſes made upon that Occaſion;
Miſtruſt in his Majeſty's Conduct ſhould appear
dreſs, we may believe their Anſwer will not be
ught to be wiſhed for: Thus, by acting too cau-
e may not only prevent the Succeſs of his Ma-
eavours for reſtoring the publick Tranquility, but
give ſuch Encouragement to the ambitious Views
f the Powers of Europe, as muſt neceſſarily at laſt
his Nation in a moſt expenſive, and even a moſt
War.

this, Sir, is not the only Objection againſt the A-
t propoſed; for though all the Nations of Europe
lly concerned with us in preſerving the Balance of
Power,

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Power, yet ſome of them may be blind to their own
reſt; nay, it is very probable ſome of them always
and are we to neglect what is neceſſary for our own Secu
or to refuſe contributing any Thing towards preſervin
reſtoring the Balance of Power, becauſe every one of
other Parties concerned will not contribute their proportio
able Share? This, in my Opinion, would be a very o
Sort of Maxim for us to lay down; it is ſuch a one a
hope will never be inſiſted on in the Councils of Great Br
tain. Suppoſe, for Example, our Neighbours, the Stat
General, ſhould be ſo blind to the real Intereſt of the
Country, as to look quietly on till they ſaw any one of th
Powers of Europe extend their Conqueſts ſo far, as to b
able to give the Law to all the reſt; would that be a Rea
ſon for our behaving in the ſame Manner? No, Sir, let
our Neighbours do what they will, it is incumbent upon us
to look in Time to our own Security; and I hope we ſhall
always be ready to do what our Honour and our Safety may
require, upon every ſuch Occaſion; for if ever we ſhould
reſolve to put ourſelves to no Charges for preſerving the
Balance of Power, unleſs the States General, or any other
Nation in Europe, would agree to join with us, and to
bear a proportionable Share of the Expence, we ſhould from
that Moment become dependent upon that other State, and
conſequently ſhould be neglected and deſpiſed by all the
other Powers of Europe.

'Therefore, Sir, as the Amendment propoſed tends, in my Opinion, towards ſhewing a Diffidence in his Majeſty's Conduct; and as it tends towards placing this Nation in a Sort of Dependency upon other Powers, I cannot but be againſt it.'

Ld Morpeth.
Ld Noel Somerſet.
Mr Shippen.
Sir Tho. Aſton.
Mr Dundaſh.
Mr Gibbon.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr W. Pulteney.

To the above it was replied by the ſame Members, who were for the Amendment, as follows:

Mr Speaker,

'Although I have had the Honour to be long a Member of this Houſe, yet I find I never knew the whole of my Duty till this Day; for I always imagined that we met here to do Buſineſs, and not to make Compliments. I ſhall never be againſt expreſſing our Loyalty and our Fidelity to our Sovereign, upon every proper Occaſion; becauſe I take it to be no Compliment, I take it to be our Duty, and immemorial Cuſtom has eſtabliſhed it as ſuch, at the Beginning of every Seſſion of Parliament; but to applaud his Majeſty's Wiſdom, his Goodneſs, and his tender Regard for his People in every Part of his Conduct, which he may be pleaſed to mention in his Speech, is a Method of expreſſing ourſelves which ought indeed to be called Complimenting; it can be called nothing elſe, becauſe it cannot be ſincere,

when

this Nation was, in ancient Times, ſo deſervedly

The honourable Gentlemen appear under a great Con-
for thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve the Crown:
my Concern for them is not ſo great; and for this
it may be, that I do not think their Taſk ſo hard;
ſes that when I obſerve any Modeſty in them, I am
ough to ſuſpect that it proceeds from Conſciouſneſs
ilt, rather than from Conſciouſneſs of Merit; and in
Motions for Addreſſes they have of late ſo very ſeldom
any Modeſty, that I was ſurprized to find the leaſt
rance of it upon the preſent Occaſion. However,
cannot be ſaid that the Modeſty they have now ſhewn
y Degree exceſſive; for as the Speeches from the
e are, by the Cuſtom of Parliament, ſuppoſed to be
es from the Miniſters; and as his Majeſty's Conduct,
it comes to be conſider'd in this Houſe, is always ſup-
to be the Conduct of his Miniſters, I cannot allow
houſe, who propoſe that we ſhould talk ſo much in
ddreſs of their Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and of their
Regard for the publick Repoſe and Tranquility,
teſtified any exceſſive Degree of Modeſty, though it
erhaps appear to be a little more than what has lately
ſual upon ſuch Occaſions. If the Gentlemen had been
d to have left out the two Paragraphs in which theſe
iments are contained, their Modeſty ſurely would
een greater, and their Taſk would certainly have been
becauſe the Motion would have been ſhorter; and I am
ced it would have given more Satisfaction to the Majori-
he Nation, and I hope, to the Majority of this Houſe.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

ſee that they deſerved thoſe fine Epithets we are to give them: They will not conſider that theſe fine Expreſſions are deſigned only as Compliments, and therefore do not require any Sincerity.

'As to the firſt Paragraph, the honourable Gentleman has acknowledged, that if the Words *too precipitately* had not been put in, it would have been a Declaration, at leaſt, that it was neither neceſſary nor incumbent upon us to engage in the War, which was a Declaration this Houſe could not decently make, without knowing ſomething more of our late Tranſactions than have been yet communicated to us: And an honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke before him, has ſhewed, I think, to a Demonſtration, that the putting of thoſe Words in our Addreſs will carry an Inſinuation, which I hope no Man will apply to his Majeſty, whatever may be done with reſpect to the Miniſters: But the Paragraph, even with theſe Words, imports a Declaration from us, that it would have been precipitate, it would have been raſh, to have involved the Nation in War before this Time; which is a Declaration we cannot, in my Opinion, make, without more Lights than we have at preſent before us: But ſuppoſe that we are convinced of the Truth of this Declaration, what are we then to do? We are to acknowledge his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, or rather the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of his Miniſters, in not having been guilty of a raſh Action; and whether ſuch an Acknowledgment be conſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, or even with common Senſe, I muſt leave to Gentlemen to judge?

'With regard to the other Paragraph, allow me to ſuppoſe, Sir, that we were by the Treaty of Vienna, or otherwiſe, obliged in Honour to ſend immediate Succours to the Emperor, would it not look very odd in us, to make our Acknowledgments to thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to interpoſe only as a Mediator, when he was in Honour obliged to engage as a Party in the Diſpute? Let me ſuppoſe again, that there were ſeveral Diſputes and Differences ſubſiſting between this Nation and any one of the Parties concerned in the preſent War, which Diſputes and Differences we had no Hopes of accommodating in a friendly Manner; and which were of ſuch a Nature as could not be given up, without injuring both the Honour and the Intereſt of the Nation: In ſuch a Caſe, could we have had a more proper Opportunity to vindicate our Honour and our juſt Rights? and if ſo, can we make any Acknowledgments to thoſe who have adviſed his Majeſty not to lay hold of ſuch a fair Opportunity? Then, as to our Concert with the Dutch, whether there has been any ſuch or not, does not, I am ſure, appear from any publick Step they have taken; and therefore I do not

ſee

n make our Acknowledgments on that Account; Anno 3. Geo. II. 1714-15.
ver, it is ſo; I hope they have acted in every
cert with us, as well as we have done with
eve it is their Intereſt as well as ours to act in
but a Nation may miſtake its own Intereſt,
I may ſuppoſe that they have been from the
g of this War, and even before it broke out,
eparate Intereſt; if ſo, can we make any Ac-
s to thoſe who have adviſed his Majeſty to con-
ures with them? All theſe Suppoſitions may
hat we know; and yet by agreeing to this
e muſt preſume every one of them to be falſe,
muſt appear to be inconſiſtent with ourſelves.
, even to take theſe two Paragraphs in the
e honourable Gentleman has put upon them,
ſe we were no way engaged, either in Honour
take a Share in the preſent War; that it
een precipitate and raſh in us to have engaged
: the Dutch are engaged in the ſame Intereſt,
l in every Thing in Concert with us; which
ns we have not, I am afraid, any great Reaſon
: our Conſtituents, the People who ſent us hi-
oſe good Opinion we ought to preſerve, will
They will, from theſe two Paragraphs in our
oſe, that the Meaſures purſued by the Mini-
curing Peace and Accommodation, have been
l; that the Plan of Peace is ſuch a one as it
and that the moſt prudent Meaſures have been
e it effectual; and if they ſhould afterwards find
iſtaken, what Opinion can they have of our
Goodneſs? I am afraid it will be but a poor
a honeſt, ſincere Country-Gentleman, that he is
: for Sincerity in the Addreſſes of this Houſe,
never mean any Thing but Compliment by any
eſſions in them.

hat I have ſaid, Sir, I think it will appear, that
orance and our Suſpicions are good Arguments
aking ſuch high Compliments to the Miniſters;
n them theſe Compliments are, by the Cuſtom
nt, preſumed to be beſtowed: His Majeſty has
in the Debate, and therefore we may treat the
the more Freedom. Our Ignorance, as to all
nſactions, is very great, and if future Parliaments
vays of the ſame Opinion the laſt was of, we are
in for ever in the moſt profound Ignorance; for
ar one Argument made Uſe of in the laſt Parlia-
the Motions then made, for ſome Inſight into
Affairs, but what will for ever be as ſtrong as it

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1724-25.

was at that Time: The Motions then made were not for a Diſcovery of any of the Tranſactions then upon the Anvil: Theſe Motions were only for ſome Papers, relating to Tranſactions that had been quite finiſhed ſeveral Years before; and the only Reaſon I heard given for refuſing us that Favour was, that the publiſhing of ſuch Papers, the diſcovering of ſuch Tranſactions, might open old Sores, they might relate ſome way or another to the preſent Tranſactions, and therefore it was not proper they ſhould be laid before us; nay, we were not ſo much as allowed to call for them, in order to have had that Anſwer from his Majeſty, from whom only it was proper for this Houſe to take any ſuch Anſwer. At this Rate, Sir, we ſhall never have any Account of the Tranſactions of any Miniſter 'till ſome new Favourite ſtarts up, and reſolves to diſgrace his Predeceſſor, by expoſing the Wickedneſs or the Folly of his Conduct.

'That our late Conduct has not been quite ſo prudent is, I am ſure, very much ſuſpected by the Generality of the Nation, whatever it may be by the Majority of this Houſe. We have been long amuſed, Sir, we have had a great deal of Patience, but it is not, Sir, that Sort of People, meant by the honourable Gentlemen, who have been ſo amuſed: It is not the Diſaffected, the Enemies to his Majeſty's Family and the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, who have been obliged to have Patience; no, Sir, ſuch Men are, I believe, glad to ſee ſuch Meaſures purſued: It is thoſe who are well affected towards his Majeſty, thoſe who are real Friends to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, who have been lately amuſed, and it muſt be acknowledged they have had a great deal of Patience. That the Nation has been affronted, that our Trade has been interrupted, that our Merchants have been plundered, and our Seamen moſt cruelly uſed, are Facts not to be controverted. Whether they have proceeded from the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts, or from the Blunders of ſome of our own People at home, is a Queſtion this Houſe ought to look into; and for that Purpoſe we ought to inſiſt upon having all neceſſary Lights laid before us. But for the preſent, I ſhall ſuppoſe, that they have all proceeded from the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts: What Satisfaction then have we obtained for the Inſults and Indignities we have ſuffered? What Reparation have our Merchants got for the Loſſes they have ſuſtained? Is this Nation brought ſo low, that we muſt ſubmit to ſuffer, to be diſturbed, by the ambitious Projects of foreign Courts, without daring once to inſiſt upon an adequate Satisfaction, a full Reparation? I hope not, Sir; and 'till an adequate Satisfaction and full Reparation be obtained, I ſhall not be ready to agree to paſs Compliments upon our late Conduct. If we have

have met with ſo few or ſo ſmall Diſturbances, if our Trade is ſo greatly increaſed, what Advantage hath the publick reaped from the happy State we have been in? What Part of the publick Debts have we diſcharged? What Taxes have we relieved the People from? Surely, Sir, if we have been for ſo many Years in ſuch a happy State, a great Part of our Debts might have been diſcharged, and ſeveral of our moſt grievous Taxes taken off. But the Fact is otherwiſe; we have been every Year keeping up great Armies, ſetting out great Fleets, and putting the Nation to a vaſt Expence. In ſhort, Sir, we have been for theſe ſeveral Years in a very odd Sort of State; we have had War without Hoſtilities, and Peace without Quiet; and while the Nation continues in the ſame mongrel Sort of State, ſhall this Houſe paſs high Compliments on the Conduct of our Miniſters? Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

'To pretend, Sir, that the Amendment offered will ſhew a Diffidence in his Majeſty's Conduct, is to tell this Houſe, that we muſt never recommend any Meaſures to our Sovereign, or rather to the Miniſters of our Sovereign; which is a Maxim no Member of this Houſe will, I hope, admit of. Surely, Sir, we are not to neglect our Duty to our Country, or to our King, for fear of giving foreign Courts Cauſe to think that we have a Diffidence in his Majeſty's Conduct: Such Surmiſes we are always to diſregard, even tho' the Nation were in much greater Danger than it is at preſent; and for this we have many Precedents, but one I ſhall take Notice of, which I think directly to the Point. I believe it will be granted, that in the Year 1702 this Nation was in greater Danger than it can be ſuppoſed at preſent; we had then actually declared War againſt France and Spain, who had at that Time in Alliance with them the King of Portugal, the Duke of Savoy, and the Duke of Bavaria, whereas we had none but the Emperor and the Dutch; yet in that Year this Houſe not only recommended to the late Queen, to prevail with the Dutch to prohibit Trade with France and Spain; but actually made it one of the Conditions of the Power they gave her to augment her Forces, and that no foreign Troops ſhe ſhould take into her Service, ſhould enter into Engliſh Pay 'till that Condition was complied with. I do not doubt but the Houſe was then told, that ſuch a Recommendation, much more ſuch a Condition annexed to this Grant, would ſhew a Miſtruſt in her Majeſty's Conduct; but they thought it their Duty to do ſo, and therefore they had no Regard to ſuch Inſinuations; and we all know, that their Behaviour was attended with no bad Conſequence.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

'The Balance of Power in Europe is certainly of as much Conſequence to other Nations as it is to this; and when it comes to be really in Danger, it is not to be queſtioned but we ſhall find other Powers as ready to join with us as we are to join with them, for its Preſervation; and unleſs we ſhew too much Readineſs to bear all the Expence, it is alſo certain, that thoſe who are in equal Danger will never refuſe to bear their proportionable Share of the Expence. But if ever this Nation ſhould ſet itſelf up as the Don Quixote of Europe, we may then expect that moſt of the Powers of Europe, who are not immediately attacked, will leave the whole Burden upon us; and this, I am afraid, is too much the Caſe at preſent; for as our Neighbours the Dutch are more expoſed to the Danger than we are, I muſt conclude from their Inactivity, that either they do not think the Balance of Power in Danger, or otherwiſe we have given them Room to believe that we will take upon us the Defence of this Balance, without putting them to any Trouble or Expence; and for this Reaſon I think it is become abſolutely neceſſary for us to give ſome ſuch Recommendations to his Majeſty, as is propoſed by this Amendment, in order to convince the World, that we are reſolv'd not to ſet ourſelves up as the Dupes of Europe. Such a Reſolution can ſubject us to no Dependency, becauſe it is a Reſolution we can alter whenever we have a Mind; for if ſuch a Caſe ſhould happen, as it is hardly poſſible it ever will, that moſt of the Nations in Europe ſhould reſolve to look tamely on, and ſee the Balance of Power quite overturned, I ſhould then think it the Duty and the Honour of this Nation, rather to play the Don Quixote of Europe, than to ſee our own Liberties ſwallowed up in the Ruins of thoſe of our Neighbours.'

Then the Queſtion being put for agreeing to the Amendment, it paſſed in the Negative by 265 to 185. Whereupon the Addreſs was agreed to, without any farther Debate; and a Committee was appointed to draw up the ſame.

An Addreſs of Thanks agreed to;

Jan. 28. The Addreſs was reported to the Houſe by Mr Hedges, and agreed to.

and preſented.

Jan. 29. The ſame was preſented to the King as follows.

The Addreſs.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

'WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return Our humbleſt Thanks, for Your Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the Throne; and to acknowledge, in the moſt grateful Manner, Your *Majeſty*'s tender and affectionate Concern for the Welfare

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

Your People, in ſteadily purſuing ſuch Meaſures
tended towards Peace and Accommodation, ra-
an to involve too precipitately this Kingdom, and
pe, in a general and bloody War.
g ſo many differing Intereſts and contending Pow-
ged in the preſent War, it is Your Majeſty's Wiſ-
Goodneſs alone, which could have ſecured to
preſent happy Situation; and the Crown of Great
could never appear with greater Honour and Lu-
an by Your Majeſty's interpoſing Your good Of-
ween the contending Parties: And as they have
them with due Reſpect, we cannot but hope,
n Prudence will help to compleat ſo deſireable a

ur Duty, and we beg Leave to expreſs the grea-
titude to Your Majeſty, for the Care and Con-
hich muſt have attended Your unwearied Endea-
oth in beginning and carrying on theſe good Of-
hich being accepted, have brought Things to ſo
Forwardneſs, that a Plan, in concert with the States
, may in a ſhort Time be offered to the Conſidera-
ll the Powers engaged in the War; which, not-
ding the great Difficulties that muſt attend ſo great
, may ſerve for the Baſis of a general Negotiation
, conſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of all
as far as the Circumſtances of Time, and the pre-
ation of Affairs will permit.
ſe Meaſures, concerted for the common Repoſe
quility of all Europe, ſhould unhappily meet with
ppointment, Your Majeſty's Wiſdom and Care
acknowledged to have deſerved that Succeſs,
he wiſeſt Counſels cannot always command. But,
r the Event may be, We beg Leave to aſſure
ajeſty, That this Houſe will Chearfully and Ef-
raiſe ſuch Supplies, as ſhall be neceſſary for the
and Security of Your Majeſty and theſe King-
nd enable Your Majeſty to act that Part, which
, and Juſtice, and the true Intereſt of your Peo-
call upon Your Majeſty to undertake.'

his Majeſty made the following Anſwer:

lemen,
rn you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Ad- His Majeſty's Anſwer thereto.
s. I depend entirely upon Your Fidelity and Af-
and Your due Regard to the publick Welfare,
ſhall be ſupported in ſuch Meaſures, as I may be
to purſue. And You may be aſſured, that the

" Honour

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" Honour and Intereſt of My Crown and People
" be the Rule and Guide of all My Actions and
" ſolutions."

Motion, in the Grand Committee on the Supply, for granting 30,000 Men for the Sea-Service, for the Year 1735.

Debate thereon.

Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Oglethorpe.

February 7. The Houſe being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, a Motion was made, That 30,000 Men be employ'd for the Sea-Service for the enſuing Year: But ſome Members declaring that they thought 20,000 Men ſufficient, a great Debate enſued; and the Motion for 30,000 Men was ſupported by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole and Mr Oglethorpe as follows:

Mr Speaker,

'With reſpect to the Queſtion now before us, I hope no Gentleman expects, that for his Satisfaction his Majeſty ſhould be obliged to diſcloſe to this Houſe all the Secrets of his Government, all the Negotiations he is now carrying on with foreign Powers, and all the private Informations he may have received, in relation to the Views and Deſigns of the ſeveral Powers now engaged in War: Nor can it be expected that his Majeſty ſhould now declare poſitively to us what he is reſolved to do, in relation to his engaging or not engaging in the preſent War: If any ſuch Thing could be done, I believe it would very ſoon put an End to the Queſtion, but no ſuch Thing has ever yet been practiſed, nor has this Houſe ever thought ſuch a Practice neceſſary, for inducing them to agree to any Demand made by the Crown, and I hope it never will. For if ever this ſhould come to be thought neceſſary, it would lay this Nation under a very great Diſadvantage; becauſe it cannot be expected that what is once diſcloſed, in ſuch a numerous Aſſembly, ſhould continue long a Secret; from whence the Inconvenience would neceſſarily enſue, that foreign Powers might, at all Times, proceed with great Secrecy in their Meaſures, for the Deſtruction or Diſturbance of this Nation, while we could do nothing to annoy our Enemies, nor even be provided for our own Defence, but in the moſt open and publick Manner. Nay, if our King ſhould at any Time get Information of the Deſigns of our Enemies, he would be obliged to diſcover to this Houſe, that is to ſay, he would be obliged to tell our Enemies, from whom he had that Information, and on ſuch a Suppoſition 'tis certain no Information would ever be given to us; we could never know any Thing of the ſecret Deſigns of our Enemies, but the very Moment of their Execution; and therefore I muſt conclude, that ſuch a Maxim in this Houſe would be abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Safety of our Country. For this Reaſon we muſt, in the preſent Caſe, and in all ſuch Caſes, take the Argument entirely from what appears in

Majeſ

th, and from thoſe publick Accounts, which every Gentleman in the Houſe. Upon this and upon none other, ſhall I preſume to give or agreeing to the Augmentation propoſed; upon this Footing the Reaſons are, in my Opinion and ſo ſtrong, that there is no Occaſion into any Secrets, in order to find other Reagreeing to this Augmentation. From what peared we are not, 'tis true, obliged to engage War; for as the Motives, or at leaſt the preſes of the War, relate entirely to the Affair and as that is an Affair in which the Intereſt is no Way concerned, we are not obliged to War upon that Account: The Emperor has, upon us for the Succours, which he pretends by the Treaties ſubſiſting between us; but as by any Treaty, engaged to ſupport either one other in Poland, or to ſupport his Imperial his Views relating to that Kingdom, therefore ink ourſelves obliged, by any Treaty ſubſiſting to furniſh him with Succours in a War, which aſioned, as is pretended at leaſt, meerly by the ute about the Election of a King of Poland. abſolutely certain, that the Motives aſſigned al and the only Motives for the preſent War; a full Aſſurance that the Parties engaged would Views no farther, I ſhould readily grant that have been no Occaſion for our putting ourſelves nce, nor would there be now any Neceſſity for ntation propoſed; but this is what we neither he Beginning, nor can yet depend on. Foreign have ſecret Views which cannot be immediately but his Majeſty, by offering to interpoſe his s, has taken the moſt effectual Method for diſcoſecret Views of all the Parties concerned; and Interpoſition of his good Offices he ſhould diſt either of the Parties engaged in War will acreaſonable Terms, we may from thence conclude, ffair of Poland was not the only and real Motive ar; but that under that Pretence there was a med to overturn the Balance of Power in Europe; Caſe we ſhould be obliged, both in Honour and s well as by Treaty, not only to take a Share in but to join with all our Force againſt that Party, und had formed ſuch a Deſign.

e Formation of every Deſign for overturning the Power in Europe, the Party that forms it muſt ave great Ambition, but, before he dares attempt

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to

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to put it in Execution, he muſt have ſome Hopes of Succeſs. The Ambition of our Neighbours, Sir, is what we cannot prevent, but we may, by proper Precautions ſeaſonably taken, deprive them of all Hopes of Succeſs; and by ſo doing we ſhall always prevent their attempting to put their Deſign in Execution. From this Maxim we may ſee the Wiſdom of the Meaſures taken laſt Year: His Majeſty did not find himſelf obliged to take any Share in the War, but as the Ambition of either of the Parties engaged might at laſt involve this Nation in the War; therefore he offer'd to interpoſe his good Offices for bringing about an Accommodation: Whatever might have been the Views of the Parties engaged at the Beginning of the War, yet upon ſeeing this Nation put itſelf in ſuch a Poſture of Defence, they all thought proper to drop any ambitious Views they might then entertain, by accepting of the good Offices his Majeſty had offered: Their ready Compliance in this reſpect, can be attributed to nothing but the Preparations we made laſt Year, and the Powers that were granted by laſt Seſſion of Parliament to his Majeſty; for by theſe we deprived them of all Hopes of ſucceeding in any of their ambitious Views. It was this, Sir, that produced an Acceptance of the good Offices his Majeſty had offered; and if we ſhould ſlacken in our Meaſures, if we ſhould diſcontinue our Preparations, it would render us deſpicable in the Eyes of all the Parties engaged in War, and would conſequently diſappoint the good Effects we have Reaſon to expect from that Acceptation. At the Beginning of laſt Seſſion it was very well known, that the French were fitting out a large Squadron at Breſt, and were providing Tranſports and a Land-Army to be ſent along with that Squadron, under Prentence of relieving Dantzick. In ſuch a Situation, Sir, I ſhould have thought thoſe, who had the Honour to adviſe the King, very imprudent, or very unfaithful Counſellors, if they had not adviſed him to put the Nation immediately into a State of Defence; for though it was probable, neither the French nor any other Power would attack us while we continue neutral, yet it is certain it was then, and always will be, very much the French Intereſt to have this Nation of its Side; and if they had then ſeen, or ſhould upon any ſuch Occaſion ſee, that it would be eaſy to overturn our Government, by our not being ſufficiently provided for Defence, and could, by overturning our Government, get Numbers of this Nation to join with them, it would then have been, and always will be, worth their while to make the Attempt; therefore, in order to preſerve the Peace and Quiet of the Nation, we ought always to be upon our Guard, and ought to make ſome additional

ſion for our Defence, when any of our Neigh- Anno
ting out large Squadrons, which may poſſibly be
f to attack or invade this Nation. This, Sir,
ſon, and this was then, I think, a ſufficient
his Majeſty's deſiring 20,000 Men the laſt
Parliament, for Sea Service; but from what
ppen'd, this Reaſon ſeems to have gathered a
Weight; for tho' there was no particular Rea-
ect, that the French Squadron was deſigned
yet there was no other Place in the World for
uld be deſigned, except Dantzick; and whether
ned for Dantzick, or not, it is certain it did
Dantzick; for we all know it continued at Breſt
Summer.

the laſt Seſſion of Parliament had agreed to the
men deſired by his Majeſty, he had an Account,
s the Squadron fitting out at Breſt, both the
d the Spaniards had given Orders for fitting out
hips of War, lying in any of their Ports, from
nd to Breſt; from whence his Majeſty, with
on, thought it abſolutely neceſſary to make a far-
tion to his Naval Force; for which Purpoſe he
his Parliament for a Power to do ſo; and in Pur-
the Powers granted him upon that Application,
ce made an Addition of 7000 Men to the Sea
o that our preſent Naval Eſtabliſhment conſiſts
Men; 7000 of which muſt be reduced, if we
ee to grant but 20,000 Seamen for the enſuing

ng thus, Sir, laid the preſent State of our Naval
ore you, let us conſider the preſent State of the
Europe, the Circumſtances our Neighbours are
e Circumſtances we are in ourſelves. As to the
Europe, it is certain they ſeem to be in no leſs
State than they were laſt Year; his Majeſty's
ces are, indeed, accepted of, but that Acceptation
yet produced the wiſh'd-for Effect, nor can it be
it ſhould, if his Majeſty ſhould appear to be leſs
when he comes to offer Terms of Peace, than he
he made the Offer of his good Offices; we can-
fore, from the preſent State of the Affairs of Eu-
w any Argument for diminiſhing our Naval Force.
to the Circumſtances of our Neighbours, it is very
that not only all the Ships of War, fitted out either
rench or Spaniards, are continued in Commiſſion;
theſe Nations are with the utmoſt Application re-
and repairing every Ship of Force they have in
ominions, and are beſides building new Ships of

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War as fast as they can; from whence I think it is evident that instead of making any Reduction of the Naval Force we had last Year, we ought to make some Addition, and the Addition proposed, which is properly but 3000 Men, is, in my Opinion, the least that can be thought of.

'This, Sir, must be thought still more reasonable, if we consider our own particular Circumstances, and the Difficulty there is of getting our Seamen together after they are once dispersed. In Countries where absolute and arbitrary Government prevails, they have all their Seamen registered, and they always know where they may find them when they have Occasion for them: Their Seamen, as well as all their other Subjects, are under a Sort of martial Discipline, they cannot absent themselves without a Furlough, and they must remain absent no longer than their Furlough gives them Leave; by which Means the Government always knows what Number they may depend on upon any Emergency. But in this happy Country, where every private Man enjoys his full Liberty, we cannot command our Seamen to stay at Home, nor can we call them Home when we have a Mind; for, notwithstanding the Difficulties which every one knows we found last Summer, to man the Fleet then fitted out, yet it was computed there were at least 11,000 British Sailors employed all last Summer, on Board of British Ships in the Service of Foreigners, either as Transports or as trading Ships. In this Country we never have any way of providing Sailors for our Fleet, upon any sudden Emergency, but by pressing those Seamen we find by Chance at Home, or upon our own Coasts; and this Method is always attended with so many Inconveniencies, that, in order to prevent our being at any Time reduced to that Necessity, every Man who has a due Regard to the Liberty and the Happiness of the Subject must agree, that we ought, upon every Occasion, to begin early to provide against any Danger we think we have Reason to apprehend.

'In all the Measures we have hitherto taken, relating to the present War, our ancient and natural Allies, the Dutch, have cordially joined with us in every Thing: They joined heartily with his Majesty, in offering their good Offices for composing the present unhappy Differences in Europe, and they have likewise joined with his Majesty in concerting a proper Plan for a Pacification. It may perhaps be insinuated, that they have put themselves to no Expence on account of the present War; but this is neither a just nor a true Insinuation; for it is very well known, that before this War broke out, they had resolved to have made a very considerable Reduction of their Land Forces. Every one knows, that soon after the Peace of Utrecht they reduced their

their Army to 32,000 Men, and for ſeveral Years after they kept it at that Number; but upon a Change which happened in the Affairs of Europe, they augmented it again to 52,000 Men, and at that Time we likewiſe found it neceſſary to increaſe our Army to 26,000 Men. The War with which Europe was then threatened was happily prevented; and as ſoon as it was, we immediately began to reduce our Army; we reduced at firſt 5000, and ſoon after 3000, of the Number we had increaſed it to; but the Dutch made at that Time no Reduction; they never thought of making any Reduction till the very Year before the preſent War broke out; then indeed, a Reſolution was actually taken in ſome of the Provinces to reduce 10,000, and that was ſoon to have been followed by the Reduction of another 10,000, in order to have brought their Army to its former Standard of 52,000 Men; and both theſe Reductions have been put off, merely on account of the preſent War: So that, to ſpeak properly, they have put themſelves to the Expence of maintaining 20,000 Men ever ſince the War began; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd if they have made no Addition to their Fleet, eſpecially if we conſider, that they are in no Danger of being attacked by Sea, and the bad Condition their Navy happens to be in at preſent, which is occaſioned by the vaſt Expence they were put to during the late War, in which they were obliged to maintain a much greater Number of Land-Forces than we maintained, and were farther obliged to be at the Expence of all the Sieges that were undertaken during the War.

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'The Dutch, 'tis true, Sir, concluded a Treaty of Neutrality with France, with regard to the Auſtrian Netherlands; but it is not from thence to be concluded, that they are engaged in any Intereſt ſeparate from us. They were no way concerned in the Affair of Poland, no more than we; if their Barrier was ſecured, and the Balance of Power not brought in any Danger, they had good Reaſon to think themſelves no way concerned in the War; the firſt they provided for by their Treaty of Neutrality, and the laſt could be in no Danger, as long as the Parties engaged in War confined their Views to what they then publickly declared; but if either of them ſhould begin to extend their Views, and thereby bring the Balance of Power into Danger, the Dutch would be then at Liberty, and would certainly do what was incumbent upon them in ſuch a Conjuncture; and till that Conjuncture happens, we can have no more Concern in the War than they: Nay farther, in the concluding of that Treaty of Neutrality, ſo careful were the Dutch to preſerve to themſelves a Liberty of doing afterwards what they ſhould find proper; that by an

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expreſs Proviſion in the Treaty, they have reſerved to themſelves a Power of ſending the ſtipulated Succours to the Emperor, in caſe they ſhould find it neceſſary ſo to do.

'Thus, Sir, it appears that the Dutch are ſo far from having fallen into any Meaſures ſeparate from us, that they have continued a heavy Charge upon themſelves, in order to be ready to join with us in any Meaſure that may hereafter appear neceſſary, for preſerving the Balance of Power in Europe; and for that Reaſon, as well as a great many others, I think it is incumbent upon us to put ourſelves in ſuch a Condition, as may enable us to act that Part which Great Britain ought to undertake, in the glorious Cauſe of preſerving and ſecuring the Liberties of Europe.'

In Oppoſition to the above Motion, and to ſhew the Sufficiency of 20,000 Men for the Sea-Service, Sir John Barnard, Sir William Wyndham, Mr William Pulteney, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, and Mr Willimot, Member for London, urged lowing Arguments.

Sir J. Barnard.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr W. Pulteney.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Willimot.

Mr Speaker,

'I believe it was never pretended to be laid down as a Maxim in this Houſe, that, in order to induce us to agree to the Demands made by the Crown, the King was obliged to diſcloſe to us all the Secrets of his Government; but when we are to lay heavy Taxes upon the People we repreſent, I muſt think ſome other Reaſons ought to be given us than thoſe we meet with in Publick Gazettes, and common News-Papers; ſuch Accounts I ſhall always think below the Notice of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons; but ſince we have at preſent none other before us, I ſhall condeſcend, or rather beg Leave, to argue from ſuch Informations, as well as the Gentlemen who ſeem to differ from me in Opinion: However, I hope this Practice will not be drawn into Precedent, for I ſhall always think it inconſiſtent with the Honour of this Houſe, and with the Duty we owe to our Conſtituents; we ought never to ground our Opinions upon any Informations, but ſuch as we receive directly from the Throne, or ſuch as are laid before us in the moſt ſolemn Manner; and if in any Caſe we ought to be cautious in this Reſpect, it ought ſurely to be in Matters, which may any way relate to the loading the Subject with Taxes.

'As no Account has been laid before us of any of our late Treaties or Negotiations; as we have had no Account how this Nation ſtands engaged, with Reſpect to either of the Parties now at War, it is certain, that the Argument now before us muſt be taken up intirely upon the Footing of his Majeſty's Speech, and of thoſe publick Accounts, which every Man knows who is a Memb r of any Coffee-houſe Club, as well as every Gentleman who has the Honour to

be

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f this Houſe. If we look into his Majeſty's
re find that he has not yet engaged himſelf
his good Offices, for reconciling the Diffe-
t ſubſiſting in Europe: From his Majeſty's
therefore be pretended, that we are now in
ger than we were laſt Year, unleſs theſe good
n employed in ſuch a blundering way, by
y has entruſted, as to make us Parties in the
I hope no Man in the leaſt ſuſpects; and
his Majeſty's Speech, there cannot be drawn
Argument for the Augmentation propoſed.
ment then, Sir, muſt reſt wholly upon the
ve from publick Gazettes and News-mon-
y Credit can be given to ſuch Informations,
nk, as indeed I have always thought, that
were more than ſufficient for the Service of
Year; for, conſidering that thoſe from
any thing to fear by Sea, were then deeply
, it could not be ſuppoſed that they would
us, unleſs they had found that we were to
gainſt them. I ſhall grant, that it would
much for the Intereſt of France to have
join with them; but conſidering the great
we then had in Britain and Ireland, conſi-
ber of Ships we then had in Commiſſion,
ow generally well affected this Nation is to
y Eſtabliſhment, can we ſuppoſe that France
mpted to overturn our Government with a
or 20 Men of War, and an Army of 4 or
hen by making ſuch Attempt, and failing in
ave drawn the higheſt Reſentment of this
mſelves; and that at a Time when they
ged in War with another Power, and when
rovocation they had, in all Appearance, no-
m this Nation? Apprehenſions founded up-
poſitions can never be wanting; and if this
e way to ſuch Apprehenſions, we muſt ne-
relieved from the Load of Debts and Taxes
der.

had the laſt Year ſo little Reaſon to fear
any Deſign againſt us, that it was certain,
h was fitted out at Breſt, was at firſt de-
lief of Dantzick, and would probably have
ne enough to have prevented the Ruin of
eſtant City, if it had not been for our ex-
. I think, unneceſſary Armaments in Bri-
ourable Gentleman took Notice, that the
t go to Dantzick, and ſeemed from thence

to

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to inſinuate, that it was deſigned againſt this Country, the Deſign had not been prevented by our Preparations but it is very well known, that it was our Preparations th prevented that Fleet's ſailing to Dantzick, as it was real deſigned; it is very well known, that Spain imagined th Fleet was deſigned for the Mediterranean, in order to pr vent their Expedition againſt Naples and Sicily, and there fore they inſiſted upon it, that the French Fleet ſhou remain at Breſt, in order to watch the Motions of the Fle we were fitting out. This, Sir, was, I believe, the tru and the only Reaſon why that Fleet did not ſail to the Re lief of Dantzick; but this was not the only Effect of o voting 20,000 Men for Sea-Service: Neither France n Spain could imagine, nor could they, I think, have an Reaſon to imagine, that we were putting ourſelves to ſuch vaſt Expence, for no other End but to make a Show a Spithead or in the Downs; they both began very reaſonably to ſuſpect, that we had ſome Deſign againſt them; and, up on this Account they both began to add to their Naval Pre parations: This again we find, increaſed our Jealouſies an Fears, and produced that memorable Vote of Credit, wit which the laſt Parliament, I may ſay, expired; and, in Pur ſuance of that Vote of Credit, we are now told, this Nation has been charged with maintaining 7000 idle Seamen, beſide the 20,000 voted laſt Seſſion of Parliament: Thus one unne ceſſary Expence produc'd another, and both are now join'd to gether, not only to be continu'd, but alſo to produce a third

'However, Sir, though I am ſtill of Opinion, that 20,000 Men was a Number much greater than was neceſſary for the Service of laſt Year, yet I ſhall not propoſe to leſſen that Number for the Year enſuing; but I am really ſurpriſed to hear an Augmentation of one half of that Number called for, and that without his Majeſty's having ſignified to us either in his Speech or by a particular Meſſage, that ſome Deſigns were hatching againſt this Nation in particular, or againſt the Liberties of Europe in general. His Majeſty having made an Addition laſt Year of 7000 Men, by Vir tue of the Powers granted to him laſt Seſſion of Parliament, cannot be any Argument with me, as a Member of this Houſe, for continuing that Number, unleſs his Majeſty has been pleaſed to communicate his Reaſon for making that Addition: As his Majeſty has not been pleaſed to do ſo, and as I am of Opinion that 20,000 was too great a Number, I muſt conſequently be more ſtrongly convinced that 27,000 was too great a Number; and as I cannot ſee that we are in any greater Danger this Year than we were the laſt, I muſt therefore be againſt loading my Conſtituents with main taining that additional Number for the Year enſuing.

true, that the French and Spaniards have Ann. 1
Ships of War in Commiſſion; but if we can
blick News-Papers, and theſe, it ſeems, are
unts we are to have, the French have diſ-
moſt of the Seamen belonging to their Breſt
d neither they nor the Spaniards are making
nary Naval Preparations, nor are they fitting
derable Squadron at any Port in either of thoſe
o that we have this Year really leſs Reaſon to
y Danger by Sea, than we had the laſt; be-
ot now be ſaid, that a foreign Squadron, with
y on Board, is to paſs by our very Doors:
erhaps have a little more Command over their
n we have, tho' I cannot allow they have
conſidering our Method of Preſſing; but it is
for both theſe Nations joined together, to fit
ſuddenly and privately, ſtronger than any we
ainſt it, as long as we have 20,000 Seamen in
e; for it is very well known that if a Man of
wo Thirds Sailors on Board, and another Third
ſhe is always ſufficiently manned, either for
ighting; ſo that from a hot Preſs among our
olliers and Inland Trade, we could in a very
increaſe the Number of Men on Board our Ships
40,000 at leaſt, which is a greater Number than
Occaſion for during the laſt heavy War, 32,000
8000 Marines being the greateſt Number that
ovided in any one Year during that War.

ier the Motives for the preſent War relate entirely
air of Poland, or whether we had any Concern
fair, is what I ſhall not, Sir, take upon me to
; but I think it is pretty plain, that the Motives
ngs of Spain and Sardinia could not any way re-
e Affair of Poland; their Motives certainly pro-
eſly from ſome late Tranſactions between the Em-
them, in which, I believe, we had ſome Concern:
with reſpect to the Affair of Poland, if we give
common Reports, which are the only Grounds
reſent Debate, we had ſome Concern in that too;
s been confidently reported, that when Auguſtus,
of Poland, was firſt taken ill, which was a Year
efore his Death, the French Court, with which
then in very good Terms, deſired to know of us,
e inclined to have for Succeſſor to Auguſtus, as
Poland; that we did not then give them any poſi-
ver, but told them negatively, we did not incline
German Prince ſhould be raiſed to that Dignity;
ſome Time after there were poſitive Inſtructions

ſent

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ſent to our Miniſter in Poland, to co-operate with the French Miniſter, in bringing about the Election of King Staniſlaus: This, Sir, is only a common Report, and therefore I ſhall not take upon me to aver the Truth of it; but as the Letters and Inſtructions ſent upon that Occaſion to our Miniſter in Poland, were moved for in laſt Parliament, tho' a Negative was then put upon it, I hope it will hereafter be complied with, in order to clear our Conduct from that Imputation.

'To deprive our Neighbours of all Hopes of Succeſs in any of their ambitious Views, is, without doubt, the moſt effectual Way to prevent their forming any ſuch, or at leaſt their attempting to put them in Execution; but how is this to be done, Sir? It is to be done by a wiſe and frugal Management of our Affairs in Times of no Danger, by avoiding all Occaſions of needleſs Expence, and by reſerving our whole Strength for the Day of real Danger: Our Ships of War may ſoon be fitted out, our Armies may ſoon be raiſed and brought into the Field, if we have but Money enough for theſe Purpoſes; but if we have thrown away our Money upon idle and unneceſſary Armaments; if, by vain Fears and ridiculous Apprehenſions, we have run ourſelves in Debt, or neglected to clear thoſe Mortgages our former Misfortunes had ſubjected us to, our ambitious Neighbours will look upon us with Contempt, and will certainly conclude, that it is not in our Power to put a Stop to their ambitious Deſigns. In this View, Sir, is it not evident, that the more Money we ſpend in unneceſſary Armaments, and before the Danger calls upon us, the leſs able we ſhall be to deprive our Neighbours of the Hopes of Succeſs in any of their ambitious Projects? Neither this Nation nor the Liberties of Europe are, at preſent, in any apparent and immediate Danger, but a Time may come, a Conjuncture may happen, when we, and perhaps the greateſt Part of the World, will be neceſſarily involved in a moſt dangerous and a moſt bloody War: If the preſent Emperor ſhould die before the Affairs of Germany are fully ſettled, may not every Gentleman foreſee what muſt be the Conſequences? The Princes of the Empire all tearing one another to Pieces, and every one of its Neighbours endeavouring to take hold of ſome Part of the Auſtrian Dominions: The Turks attacking it on one Side, the French attacking it on the other, and the Balance of Power in Danger of being loſt, let whatever Side be the Conqueror. This, Sir, is an Event that may happen, I hope it never will, but as it is poſſible, we ought to provide againſt it; and for that Reaſon we ought not to exhauſt the Money and the Strength of the Nation in needleſs Expences or unneceſſary Equipments: Whereas

we

we ſeem to be purſuing a quite contrary Meaſure. Tho' it be now, with reſpect to this Nation, a Time of profound Peace and Tranquility, yet I reckon our Expences for next Year will amount to three or four Millions, which is a moſt prodigious Expence, a greater Expence than the Nation was put to in any one Year of that heavy War in King William's Reign; for the Expences of that War never exceeded three Millions a Year: And even during the War in Queen Anne's Reign, that War which proved ſo glorious to this Nation, and ſo beneficial to every one of our Allies, there never was a greater Number of Seamen provided for by Parliament, than what is now propoſed in a Time of profound Peace: For 30,000 Seamen, and 8000 Marines was, as I have already taken Notice, the greateſt Number that was provided for by Parliament, in any one Year of that glorious and ſucceſsful War. Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

'To pretend, Sir, that the Preparations we made laſt Year, or the Powers granted the laſt Seſſion of Parliament to his Majeſty, produced the Acceptation of our good Offices, is ſomething very ſurprizing, eſpecially when we conſider what Sort of an Acceptation we have been favoured with: The Emperor has accepted of our good Offices under this expreſs Proviſion, that his Acceptance ſhould not be looked on as a paſſing from thoſe Succours, which he inſiſted on we were obliged to furniſh him, by the Treaties now ſubſiſting between us: And the Allies have likewiſe made their Acceptation conditional; for they have accepted of our good Offices under this expreſs Condition, that we ſhould continue neutral, with reſpect to the preſent Diſputes between them and the Emperor. Can it be imagined that warlike Preparations were neceſſary, or that extraordinary Powers granted by Parliament were neceſſary, for producing ſuch limited Acceptations? Can any Man doubt but that we ſhould have obtained ſuch an Acceptation of our good Offices, tho' no ſuch Preparations had ever been made, tho' no ſuch Powers had ever been granted? But even ſuppoſing that this Acceptation was produced by the warlike Preparations we made laſt Year, muſt not every Man agree, that this conditional limited Acceptation has coſt us a terrible Price, when he conſiders, that it has coſt this Nation at leaſt a Million Sterling: And if the Plan we are to offer, in Purſuance of this Acceptation, ſhould at laſt be rejected, what Benefit, what Honour can we receive from the Expences we have put ourſelves to?

'For our Encouragement to go on with theſe peaceful Preparations, we are told, Sir, that the Dutch have joined cordially with us in all our Meaſures: This Aſſertion, Sir, I am ſurpriz'd at; it really amazes me. How far they

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they have joined with us in the Tender of good Offices, or in concerting a Plan for a Pacification, I ſhall not pretend to determine: In this they may perhaps have complimented us a little, becauſe it coſt them nothing; and they may eaſily excuſe themſelves in caſe the Plan ſhould prove diſagreeable to either of the Parties concerned; but that they have put themſelves to the ſame Expence we have done, or that they have put themſelves to any Expence on account of the preſent War, cannot ſurely with any Juſtice be pretended. To tell us, that juſt before the War broke out, one, or perhaps two, of the ſeven united Provinces had come to a Reſolution, to reduce 10,000 Men, and to conclude from thence that 20,000 would certainly have been reduced, if the War had not broke out, muſt appear to be a very extraordinary Sort of Reaſoning to every Man who underſtands any Thing of the Conſtitution of that Republick: By their Conſtitution, every one of the ſeven Provinces muſt have conſented, before that Reſolution could have taken Effect; and tho' the Interior Provinces, who lie remote from Danger, were perhaps for that Reduction, yet the Frontier Provinces, whoſe only Defence againſt ſudden Invaſions conſiſts in the Multitude of their fortified Towns, the Strength of their Fortifications, and the Numbers of Men in the ſeveral Garriſons, would never have conſented to ſuch a Reduction; ſo that the Reſolution taken by one Province would probably have been of no Effect, even as to the 10,000; but to argue from thence, that they would certainly have reduced another 10,000, is really ſuch Reaſoning as I am amazed to hear in this Houſe: It really looks as if ſome Gentlemen thought, we wanted only a Pretence for agreeing to what they have a Mind to propoſe!

'Tis true the Dutch did, immediately after the Peace of Utrecht, reduce their Army to about 32,000 Men; but at that Time they knew, that all the Kingdoms and States in Europe were ſick of War; they could eaſily foreſee, or at leaſt they thought ſo, that there was not the leaſt Danger of any Rupture for ſeveral Years to come; and therefore their Frontier Provinces then eaſily conſented to that great Reduction: But conſidering the vaſt extenſive Frontier they have to guard, and the Multitude of Garriſons they are obliged to keep in their own Frontier Towns, as well as in the Barrier-Towns they have in the Auſtrian Netherlands, ſuch a ſmall Number of regular Troops is almoſt at all Times inconſiſtent with the Safety of their State; and moreover it is, and always was, inconſiſtent with, and contrary to, the Treaties and Alliances they have both with the Emperor and us. Accordingly, both the Emperor and we complained heavily at that Time of the great Reduction they had made; and this

ion in particular had like to have ſuffered by it; Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.
the Rebellion, which broke out ſoon after in this
n, it is well known that the Dutch could not ſend
Quota of Troops which, upon that Occaſion, they
iged by Treaty to ſend us, 'till we got Troops
down from Germany to replace their Troops, be-
an of them could ſtir out of the Garriſon he belong'd
farther, Sir, it is very well known, that the Em-
Treaty, pays them yearly 5 or 600,000 Crowns
e firſt and readieſt of his Revenues in the Nether-
n order to enable them to maintain their Barrier,
ep at all Times a ſufficient Body of Troops in their
ſo that if they ſhould make any great Reduction in
y, the Emperor would have very good Reaſon to
Payment of that Subſidy.

n the Whole we muſt conclude, that if the Dutch
any Reduction in their Army, and much more the
uctions talked of by the honourable Gentleman,
ld have acted contrary to the Treaties ſubſiſting be-
em and their Allies, and inconſiſtently with the
their Country; therefore we ought certainly to
hat all the ſeven Provinces would never have con-
it, tho' no War had broke out; and I am apt to
e Reſolution talked of, which was a Reſolution of
ece of Holland only, was a Piece of meer Policy,
ny Deſign that the Reſolution ſhould actually take

, Sir, I have, I think, made it evident, that the
e put themſelves to no Expence on account of the
not even in the Senſe the honourable Gentleman
d to inſiſt on; and indeed they have not, of late,
join cordially with us in any Thing but good Offi-
they are ſure can neither put them to any Ex-
do them any other Injury. Their Treaty of Neu-
is certain, they concerted and concluded without
cipation; and, I believe, without our Privity;
ey have reſerved a Power of ſending the ſtipulat-
rs to the Emperor, yet that does not much alter
if we conſider what is meant by theſe Succours.
Succours there meant are thoſe ſtipulated by the
y of Vienna, in which we, 'tis true, got them
ncipal contracting Parties; but this to me ſeems
en nothing but a poor Expedient, contrived by
he Miniſters concerned in that Negotiation, on
make the World believe, that we did nothing
cert with our ancient and natural Allies the Dutch:
negotiating and concluding of that Treaty, they
from acting cordially, or in Concert with us, that

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after we had gone at once over Head and Ears into tha Treaty; and had thereby obliged ourſelves to guaranty the Pragmatick Sanction, *totis viribus*, it was with great Difficulty they were, after a long Negotiation, brought in to accede to that Treaty, tho' we had then a noble Lord at the Hague as our Miniſter, who was as able a Miniſter, and as good a Negotiator as any we ever had in any Part of Europe: And even at laſt they were very far from coming plumb into that Treaty or Guaranty; for the Succours they then ſtipulated were then limited to 4000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, or a Number of Ships in Proportion to that Number of Troops, at their own Option; ſo that we may believe the French gave themſelves very little Trouble about admitting that Reſerve in the Treaty of Neutrality, afterwards concluded between them and the Dutch.

'Nay, farther, Sir, notwithſtanding this limited Manner of the Dutch Acceſſion to the Treaty of Vienna, yet ſo clearly did they foreſee the Conſequences of that Treaty; that the very next Day after the Acceſſion was ſigned, their Penſionary came to that noble Lord, who was then, as I have ſaid, our Miniſter at the Hague, and propoſed to him, to enter with us into a Treaty of Neutrality, not only with reſpect to Flanders, but alſo with reſpect to ſeveral other Countries in Europe, about which Diſputes might ariſe. And, I ſuppoſe, upon our neglecting or refuſing that Propoſition, they afterwards reſolved upon the Treaty of Neutrality with France, and concluded it without letting us into the Secret. Thus, Sir, the Dutch have, in all their late Negotiations, taken particular Care of their own Security, without raſhly diſobliging any Power in Europe; whereas we, by our haſty and inconſiderate Concluſion of the Treaty of Hanover, and the Meaſures thereafter purſued, diſobliged both the Emperor and Spain, without gaining one Advantage to ourſelves. By the Treaty of Seville, by which we endeavoured to reconcile ourſelves to Spain, we ſtill farther diſobliged the Emperor, without obtaining any Advantage to ourſelves, or even Satisfaction from Spain for the Depredations committed upon us. And by the Treaty of Vienna we again diſobliged Spain, and highly affronted France, ſtill without obtaining any Advantage for this Nation, but on the contrary engaging in a very dangerous Guarantee: This, indeed, neither France nor any other Power had Reaſon to be angry at, but France had ſome Reaſon to be affronted at the Manner in which it was done; becauſe by the Treaty of Hanover, in which France and we were the two principal contracting Parties, both were expreſly obliged to enter into no Negotiation or Treaty, without communicating the ſame to the other.

'For

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m what the honourable Gentleman ſaid, about our
educed 8000 Men out of the 26,000 our Army was
d to after the late famous Treaty of Hanover, he
think, that this Nation is always to be loaded with
of 18,000 at leaſt, even in the Times of the greateſt
ility. But I muſt beg his Pardon for obſerving, that
me of profound Tranquility, an Army of 7 or 8000
not only ſufficient, but as great as ought to be kept up
Nation, if we have a Mind to preſerve our Liberties;
refore I muſt conclude, that if this War had not
ot, we ſhould certainly have reduced 10,000 of our
Troops laſt Year: For it is as much inconſiſtent with
ty of this Nation to keep up more than 8000 in Time
e, as it is inconſiſtent with the Safety of the Dutch
leſs than 52,000; becauſe we have no Frontier to
nor any Garriſon to ſupport: There can be no Rea-
ged for our keeping up any greater Number in Time
e, unleſs it be to ſupport a hated Miniſter againſt the
ents of an injured People, which I hope will never
Caſe of this Nation: But if ever it ſhould, I am ſure
d then be ridiculous to call ourſelves a free People.
View, Sir, let us conſider the Charges we have been
ccount of the preſent War; we have been at the
of this 10,000 Land-Forces, which we might other-
ve reduced; we have been at the Charge of 6 or
Land-Forces which have been added to our former
r; and if we have at preſent 27,000 Seamen in our
e have been at the Charge of adding no leſs than
Men to our Naval Force. So that if it were true,
Dutch have kept up 20,000 Men, which they in-
to have reduced, yet the Expence they have been
d not be equal to what we have been at, nor could it
Argument for the Augmentation now propoſed; be-
is not ſo much as pretended, that the Dutch intend
themſelves to any greater Charge for the Year enſu-
an they were at in the Year paſt: And therefore I
nk the honourable Gentlemen, who are for the Aug-
on propoſed, would have done better not to have
ed the Dutch in this Day's Debate; for let them
Conduct of the Dutch in what Light they will, it
way anſwer the preſent Purpoſe.

fix that material Queſtion, Whether or no we ought
ge in the preſent War? It is indeed a material Que-
ion, Sir, it is a Queſtion which no Gentleman in this
nor any Man in the Nation can anſwer, without be-
into the Secret of all our late Treaties and Negotia-
Thus much I ſhall ſay, that conſidering the melan-
ituation of this Country, the great Load of Debts,

and

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and the heavy Taxes we already groan under, it is certain we ought not to involve ourſelves in War, but in a Caſe of the extremeſt Neceſſity; and 'till that happens I am very ſure, that every Article of Expence ought to be moſt cautiouſly avoided, that we may be the more able to ſupport a War, when fatal Neceſſity drives us into it whether we will or no. If neither the Liberties of Europe in general, nor the Intereſt of this Nation in particular, be in Danger by the preſent War, we have already gone too far; for, beſides the great Expence we have put ourſelves to, the great Preparations we have made may diſappoint and prevent the Effect of thoſe good Offices, his Majeſty is employing for reſtoring the Peace of Europe; becauſe they may give one Side Reaſon to hope that we are to join with them, which will of courſe prevent their hearkening to thoſe Terms of Peace they would otherwiſe have been glad to have accepted of; or they may give a Jealouſy to the other Side that we are to join againſt them, which will of courſe make them ſuſpect every Thing we can propoſe, for bringing about an Accommodation.

'Beſides theſe Diſadvantages, Sir, it is certain, that the great Naval Equipment we made laſt Year, put a very great Damp to our Trade, and gave all our Neighbours, but more particularly the Dutch, a very great Advantage over us: It is true, we exported a great Quantity of Corn laſt Summer, but that was owing to the Situation and Circumſtances of our Country, and not at all to our Management: For while our Merchants were paying double Freights for Ships, and double Wages to Seamen, the Dutch, the Hamburghers, and all other Rivals in Trade, were carrying on their Trade at the uſual Rates; which gave them a great Advantage in every Branch of Trade, more particularly in the Corn-Trade, where the uſual Freight bears ſuch a great Proportion to the prime Coſt: Nay, ſuch a Scarcity was there at laſt of Seamen in this Kingdom, that our Merchants could not really get Ships to carry out the Cargoes of Corn which they had ready to have been exported; and while a Stop was thus put to our Exportation, the Dutch and others, who had by this Time got an Account of the Demand, ſent out their Ships, and glutted the Markets for Corn, both in Spain and Portugal as well as in Italy. So that if we had not made ſuch a great Naval Equipment, it is certain a much greater Quantity of our Corn would have been exported than really was.

'But if the Balance of Power in Europe, or the particular Intereſt of this Nation, was really in Danger, ſurely, Sir, we ought to have engaged at firſt; we ought not ſurely to wait till thoſe, whoſe Intereſt it is to join with us in the Defence of either, be ſo far diſabled as to be rendered incapable

ble either to aſſiſt us, or to defend themſelves. As to the particular Intereſt of this Nation, whether it be in Danger or not from the preſent War, muſt entirely depend upon our late Negotiations; and therefore it is, at preſent, impoſſible for me to form any Judgment in that Reſpect, becauſe I am entirely ignorant of our Situation, ſo far as relates to our Foreign Affairs: But from our not having joined in the Beginning of the War, I muſt conclude, that the particular Intereſt of this Nation is no way concerned in it; and therefore I muſt think it was quite unneceſſary to put ourſelves to any Charges on that Account.

'As for the Balance of Power, it ought certainly to be preſerved: In this, Sir, all the other Princes and States of Europe are as much, nay, more nearly concerned than we; therefore they ought to bear their Share in the Expence, and will certainly do ſo when they find it neceſſary. But if, upon this Pretence, we run ourſelves headlong into every Broil that happens in Europe, the Dutch, as well as the reſt, will very probably leave the whole Charge upon us: They will neglect providing in Time even for their own Defence, when they find us ſuch Dupes as to be ready, upon all Occaſions, to make that Proviſion for them. Whether our late Preparations have given them any Ground to think ſo, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but as I look upon the Dutch to be a very wiſe People, I muſt either conclude that they think ſo, in which Caſe we ought not, by any new Augmentation, to encourage them in that Opinion; or I muſt conclude, that the Balance of Power is not in any Danger: For though it could be ſuppoſed that the chief Magiſtrates in Holland were inclined to ſacrifice the Intereſt, or the Safety of their Country, to their own Safeties, or their own little private Views; yet, if the Balance of Power were in any Danger, the People would force them to join in the War. The Magiſtrates of that Republick are not protected either by Riot-Acts, or by regular Troops quarter'd in the very Bowels of their Country; and therefore the People might and certainly would force them to do their Duty, or would maſſacre them as they have done heretofore: For this Reaſon I am inclined to think, that the Balance of Power is not yet in any Danger, and if the Balance of Power be as yet in no Danger, nor the particular Intereſt of this Nation in any Danger, there was no Occaſion for our being at any Expence on account of the preſent War; much leſs is there any Occaſion for our putting ourſelves to the Expence of the Augmentation propoſed; for which Reaſon I muſt be againſt it.'

To this it was replied by the Members, who were for the Motion for 30,000 Men, as follows,

Sir R. Walpole. Mr H. Walpole. Mr Oglethorpe.

Sir

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Sir,

' Gentlemen have of late fallen into a Method of departing from the Queſtion in Hand, and throwing out a great many Things no way relating to the Subject they ſpeak to. This I ſuppoſe they do with Deſign to make an Impreſſion upon ſome that hear them; and conſcious that they cannot convince by Reaſon, they endeavour to perſuade by Oratory, and by florid Expreſſions no way relating to the Affair in Diſpute. Tho' it be irregular even to follow them in theſe Deviations, yet, as ſuch Things ought not to paſs without ſome Sort of Anſwer, I hope the Houſe will give me Leave to make a few Remarks upon ſome Things that have been ſaid, notwithſtanding their having no Relation to the Affair now before us; but firſt I ſhall endeavour to ſpeak to the Queſtion in Hand. The only proper Queſtion now before us, Sir, I take to be, What is the Number of Seamen neceſſary for the Security of this Nation during the enſuing Year? Which is a Queſtion that, in my Opinion, no way relates to our paſt Conduct, to the Conduct of any of our Allies, nor to the Queſtion, whether or no we ought to take a Share in the preſent War?

' With relation to the Queſtion now before us, his Majeſty has given us, from the Throne, all the Information that is proper or neceſſary, and all the Information that can, I think, be deſired by any Man who wiſhes well to his Country. He told us at the Beginning of laſt Seſſion of Parliament, that he was no way engaged in the preſent War, nor had any Part, except by his good Offices, in thoſe Tranſactions, which had been declared to be the Cauſes and Motives of it: But that he could not ſit regardleſs of the Events of this War, nor could he be unconcerned for the future Conſequences of it; and I am ſure no Man, who has a Regard to the Welfare of this Nation, or to the Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, can deſire he ſhould. At the Beginning of this Seſſion his Majeſty told us, that he is not yet any farther engaged, than by employing his good Offices, in Conjunction with the Dutch, for reſtoring the Peace of Europe; but that his good Offices have not as yet had the deſired Effect: We are therefore in the preſent Queſtion to ſuppoſe, that this Nation is not as yet any way engaged in the War; but, as his Majeſty has told us, the bad Conſequences, that may ariſe and affect us by the War's being carried on, are obvious; and they ought certainly to be provided againſt, let the Charge be what it will. Where Facts are notoriouſly known to the whole World, where Conſequences are obvious to every Man of common Capacity, ſurely Gentlemen do not expect that his Majeſty, either in his Speech, or by particular Meſſage, ſhould

ſhould give this Houſe a long and particular Detail of ſuch Facts or of ſuch Conſequences; the bare Mention of them is enough, and that his Majeſty has ſufficiently done, both at the Beginning of the laſt, and at the Beginning of the preſent Seſſion of Parliament.

'The Balance of Power in Europe may perhaps not be as yet in Danger: Nay, Sir, we are to ſuppoſe it is not in Danger; for if it were, his Majeſty would certainly have acquainted his Parliament with it, and we ſhould have been now providing for a vigorous War, inſtead of providing only for our Security and Defence. Both Parties as yet profeſs their ſincere Diſpoſition to put an End to the preſent Troubles, upon honourable and ſolid Terms, and theſe Profeſſions may at preſent be truly ſincere; but the Events of War may make them alter their Profeſſions, or may render their Profeſſions inſincere; and theſe Events may be ſo ſudden and ſo extraordinary, that without our joining immediately in the War, one of the Parties engaged may be utterly undone: Two or three ſignal and entire Victories might, in a few Months, have ſuch Conſequences, as might put it out of our Power to relieve the Party conquered, or to ſtem the Torrent of Succeſs on the Side of the Conqueror. And I am ſure it cannot be pretended, that in a few Months we could raiſe and diſcipline ſuch Armies, and fit out ſuch Fleets, as would be neceſſary, both for the Defence of our own Dominions, and for aſſiſting effectually the Party in Danger of being quite undone: Armies, 'tis true, may be ſoon raiſed; but according to the exact Diſcipline now obſerved, it requires many Months before thoſe Armies can be made fit for Service, or proper to engage againſt an Army of veteran well-diſciplin'd Troops. I ſhall likewiſe grant, that our Ships of War may be manned with one Third Land-Men or Marines, but even theſe Land-Men or Marines muſt be ſome Time on Board, before they can either know or perform their Duty in the fighting of a Ship; for, I believe, a Man of War, with a third Part of her Men juſt taken from the Plough, would make but a poor Figure againſt a Ship of equal Force, provided with able Sailors and well diſciplined Marines. For this Reaſon, Sir, when the Affairs of Europe are brought to ſuch a Criſis, that an unlucky Accident may render it abſolutely neceſſary for us to engage immediately, and without Delay, in the War, I muſt think it is incumbent upon us to provide in Time, in order to have a ſufficient Number of well-diſciplined Men, both for Sea and Land-Service, ſo ready and ſo much at Command, as to enable us to perform immediately that Part, which a ſudden Emergency may make requiſite, both for our own Safety and the Safety of Europe; and this cannot

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be done but by Augmentations ſeaſonably made, both to ou Fleets and Armies.

'As the Preſervation of the Balance of Power is of ſ much Conſequence to this Nation, and ſo intimately con nected with our Safety, it is very certain, that whateve Power in Europe may project the overturning of that Ba lance, that Power muſt expect to have Great Britain for he Enemy, as ſoon as her Project comes to be diſcover'd: We may therefore be aſſured, that when any one of the Power of Europe begins to entertain ſuch ambitious View, they will of courſe endeavour to make a Diverſion, by invading this Iſland; and this they will the more readily attempt, be cauſe we have always a ſtrong Party among us, who are ready to ſecond any foreign Attempts, for the Accompliſh ment of their own ſelfiſh Views, eſpecially if at any Time they find us not properly provided for our own Defence. Becauſe one of our neighbouring Powers is engaged in War with another, we are not from thence to conclude, that neither of them will make any Attempts upon this Iſland; for if either of the Parties engaged in War has really a Deſign to overturn the Balance of Power, they will certainly conceal that Deſign, and endeavour to cover it with Pro feſſions of Juſtice and Moderation as long as they can: But when they find they can conceal it no longer, when they find that we begin to ſmoke what they aim at, can we be lieve they will wait till we attack them, or join with their Enemies againſt them? On the contrary, ought we not to expect that they will endeavour to divert us, by giving us ſome Buſineſs at Home? and how do we or can we know but this may be the Caſe at preſent? Ought not we therefore to provide againſt ſuch Attempts in Time, that we may be at Liberty to do our Duty, when we find the Balance of Power is really ſtruck at?

'Gentlemen cannot, it ſeems, diſtinguiſh, or at leaſt, Sir, I find they will not diſtinguiſh between thoſe Events which might have happened, and Events which, by proper Care and Precaution, were perhaps prevented: If by not pro viding in Time for our Defence, ſome ſignal Misfortune ſhould happen to the Nation, ſuch Men would then have a juſt Reaſon for finding Fault with thoſe employed in the Adminiſtration. And if any ſuch Thing had lately happened, I do not doubt but that it would have been propagated with great Induſtry, that our Surprize was entirely owing to the two blundering Brothers; but when all ſuch Accidents are prevented by the prudent Meaſures that have been purſued, and by making ſeaſonable and proper Proviſions for our De fence, then it is pretended we never were in any Danger; and from thence they take Occaſion to find Fault with the Expences

Expences that have been wiſely and neceſſarily incurred by the making of ſuch ſeaſonable and proper Proviſions; and thus, Sir, ſome Gentlemen will always find plauſible Pretences for decrying thoſe Meaſures that have been purſued, let them be what they will. However, I ſhall always think they act the beſt and the wiſeſt Part, who chuſe to give us Time and Leiſure to roaſt them in this Houſe, for their expenſive and extravagant Meaſures, rather than to have our Attention diverted from them by a civil War kindled up, or a foreign Army actually landed in the Iſland. And when a War was broke out, in which this Nation might very probably be involved; when our Neighbours, and thoſe Neighbours too from whom we have moſt to fear, were leading out great Armies, and fitting out powerful Squadrons, I muſt think that it was at leaſt prudent in us to make thoſe Proviſions for our Security which were made laſt Year; and as we are in the greater Danger of being involved the longer the War continues, I cannot be againſt the ſmall Augmentation now propoſed. Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

'To pretend to tell us, Sir, what France and Spain intended to have done laſt Year, or to pretend to tell us what they intend to do this next Year, with the Ships of War they have continued in Commiſſion, is, I think, ſomething extraordinary. We may perhaps gueſs at ſome of their Deſigns, but I ſhall always think it very imprudent, to leave the Peace and Quiet of this Nation to depend upon ſuch Gueſs-work; eſpecially when we conſider, that they have no Occaſion to fit out any great Fleet againſt any Power in Europe but ourſelves; and therefore it is not to be preſumed, that they would put themſelves to ſuch a great Expence, unleſs they were ſuſpicious that the Meaſures they have reſolved to purſue, may make this Nation engage in the War; and in ſuch a Caſe, I think it is natural to believe, they would take the firſt Opportunity to invade or diſturb us: They have ſuch an abſolute Command over all the Seamen of their Country, they have always ſuch Numbers of regular Troops upon their Coaſts, or within a few Days march of their Sea-Ports, that when they have their Ships ready equip'd and fit for ſailing, it would be eaſy for them to clap Seamen and Land-Forces on Board; and they might arrive upon the Coaſts of this Kingdom, before it would be poſſible for us to man and fit our Fleet ſufficient to engage them, if we had not made ſome extraordinary Proviſion beforehand: This every Man muſt be convinced of, who knows the Difficulty we had to procure Seamen enough for the Squadron we fitted out laſt Summer, notwithſtanding the long Time we had to look for them, and the Method of Preſſing which we were even then obliged to make uſe

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of. Nor does it ſignify to tell us, that at this Rate we ſhall always be obliged to fit out Squadrons, and put ourſelves to a great Expence, whenever any of our Neighbours begin to fit out one; for I take it to be a right Maxim, I really think we ought to prepare and fit out a Squadron, whenever we ſee any of our Neighbours doing ſo, unleſs we very well know the Purpoſes their Squadron is deſigned for. The Expence beſtowed upon fitting out a Squadron may be an Expence to the Publick, but it is little or no Loſs to the Nation; the whole is expended among our own People, and it not only improves our Seamen, by making them acquainted with the Service on Board a Man of War, but it increaſes their Number; for every Fleet we fit out encourages a Number of Land-Men to engage in the Sea-Service: Whereas, if by neglecting to do ſo, the Kingdom ſhould be invaded, and a civil War kindled up, the Nation would in that Caſe ſuffer a real Loſs, a Loſs which might far ſurmount the Expence the Publick could be put to by the fitting out of twenty Squadrons; ſo that We may ſuffer by neglecting this Maxim, but can never ſuffer by obſerving it.

'I ſhall readily grant, that this Nation would be more formidable, if we owed no publick Debts, and had the ſame Fleet and the ſame regular Army we have at preſent; but if we had no Squadron ready to put to Sea, nor any regular Troops ready to take the Field, I cannot admit that we ſhould then be ſo formidable as we are at preſent, even tho' we did not owe a Shilling in the World. We all know, that what now makes a Nation formidable, is not the Number nor the Riches of its Inhabitants, but the Number of Ships of War provided with able Seamen, and the Number of regular well diſciplined Troops they have at Command: And, whatever Gentlemen may think of the Acceptation of his Majeſty's good Offices, I am perſuaded they would not have been ſo readily accepted, if the Parties had not ſeen us preparing to do them bad Offices, in Caſe they had refuſed to accept of our good. The accepting of our good Offices will, at leaſt, furniſh us with an Opportunity of making ourſelves better acquainted with the Views of all the Parties concerned; and there is no Condition annexed by either Party, but what was and muſt have been underſtood when we made the Offer. For ſurely, when we offered the Interpoſition of our good Offices, we were not to ſuppoſe that the Emperor was, by his Acceptance, to paſs from any Demands he thought he had upon us; nor were we to ſuppoſe that the Allies would or could accept of our good Offices, unleſs we continued neutral: And while we do ſo, our Preparations can give no Encouragement to either Side to inſiſt upon unreaſonable Terms; nor can they give the leaſt

Jealouſy

her Side, unleſs one or the other have Views, now to be inconſiſtent with the Preſervation of Power in Europe.

r, ſome Gentlemen have got into a very odd g, when they have Occaſion to mention the ce; for if it the leaſt exceeds a Million it is wo, if it exceeds two it is to be called three: may probably this Year a little exceed three efore it is to be called four: So that a Million Gentlemen ſeems to be of very little Conſi- t when we talk of Engliſh Money, I cannot at a Million, or near a Million, is a Sum not , and one in four is ſurely a material Difference. blick Expence was, during the War in King eign, or what the Number of Seamen was that during the late War, I ſhall not now inquire; th were as the honourable Gentleman has been preſent, but I think neither material at preſent; not to proportion our yearly Expence, or our Seamen, by paſt Times, but by preſent Neceſ- n our Neighbours increaſe their publick Ex- eir Numbers either of Seamen or Land-Soldiers, reaſe ours, otherwiſe we may happen to fall a ur Frugality: And as both France and Spain, y the latter, have very much encreaſed their Na- nce laſt War, if we ſhould be obliged to engage e two Powers, which I hope will not be the certain we ſhould be forced to maintain a grea- of Seamen, than we had at any Time during the nd the ſooner we begin to provide, the leſs Harm our Merchants, the leſs Stagnation ſhall we make de.

Sir, naturally leads me to take Notice of the ne to our Trade, by the fitting out a Squadron r. I ſhall allow, that our Merchants thereby e Inconvenience, and were put to greater Charge or the Freight of Ships and Wages of Seamen: the Whole is in Danger, the private Intereſt of erſons muſt yield to it; and the Stop that was rade laſt Summer, is, in my Opinion, the ſtrong- nt that can be thought of for the Augmentation ed, and for our laying it down as a Maxim, al- gin early to fit out Squadrons, as ſoon as the War begins to appear: For if we ſhould never ny Augmentation of Seamen 'till we come up- Brink of a War, we muſt take or preſs 30 or ,000 Seamen all at once into the Service of the nd if the raiſing of 12 or 15,000 Seamen laſt Summer

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Summer put ſuch a Damp to our Trade, ſurely the ra
of 30 or 40,000 all at once would put an entire Sto
it: Whereas if we begin early, and raiſe our Seamen by d
grees, freſh Men encouraged by high Wages, will be d
entering into the Merchants Service; thoſe that enter this Y
will be Seamen againſt the next, and thus every Year wil
ford a new Fleece for the Navy, ſo that in a little Time
may have our Navy fully provided, even for the moſt ha
War, without putting at any Time any great Stop to
Trade.

'As for the Dutch, Sir, I do not think it neceſſary
enter into a Diſquiſition about what they have done, w
they ought to do, or what Number of Land-Forces m
be neceſſary for the Safety of that Republick? For th
they are our natural Allies, yet ſurely we are not in ev
Thing to be directed altogether by their Conduct: We ar
diſtinct Nation, and tho' our Intereſts be generally the ſa
yet in ſome particular Caſes they may happen to be d
ferent; and when it ſo happens, we muſt certainly follo
different Meaſures. The Dutch are, 'tis true, a wiſe Peop
but, as wiſe as they are, they may perhaps neglect
miſtake their own Intereſt, as well as the general Interes
Europe; and if they do ſo, muſt we neceſſarily do the ſam
I hope no ſuch Thing will be pretended; for in ſuch
Caſe we ſhould become in ſome manner a Province to Ho
land, we ſhould become a meer Cypher in all publick Tra
actions, and ſhould be no way regarded by any of the Pow
ers of Europe; for if they could but ſecure the Dutch, th
might always depend upon getting us into the ſame Me
ſure; and when the Dutch found we had ſuch a thorou
Dependence upon them, as good Allies as they are, th
might perhaps, now and then, make uſe of it in a W
which would no way contribute either to our Intereſt
Honour.

'Permit me now, Sir, to take ſome Notice of the R
flections that have been thrown out upon our late Ne
tiations and Treaties. As for the Treaties of Hanover a
Seville, we had certainly very good Reaſons to enter in
them at the Time they were negotiated and concluded: A
as they were approved of by both Houſes of Parliamen
I think I have no Obligation to ſay any Thing in Favour
either; for the Approbation of a Britiſh Parliament I take
be a more authentick Proof of their Utility, than any thi
that can be ſaid by a private Gentleman in their Commend
tion; and all the Objections to them have been already
often anſwered, that 'tis needleſs to repeat them: But wh
Gentlemen give us ſuch a terrible View of the Conſequenc
that may enſue in Caſe the preſent Emperor ſhould ha

P

e the Affairs of Germany are fully ſettled, hear them find Fault with the late Treaty h was concluded for no other End but to l Cataſtrophe: Fatal it would certainly be Europe in general; and therefore I muſt e ſtrongeſt Inducement to enter into the Pragmatick Sanction, in the moſt unlimit- eing the only Expedient by which that fatal be prevented. What Reaſons the Dutch their Backwardneſs or Caution about enter- aty, I do not know; but if I were to judge from their Behaviour in that Reſpect, I ould have the beſt Opinion of it.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

l to the Attack made upon the Emperor Spaniards and the King of Sardinia, it is Nation has neither given them any En- any Provocation to do ſo; and whether rt has given them any juſt Provocation, is the Mediators muſt of courſe inquire into, to offer a Plan for a Pacification. As to nd, where the honourable Gentleman had with reſpect to what he has been pleaſed out that Affair, I ſhall not pretend to t believe, that his Majeſty knows nothing Anſwers having ever been given to the any ſuch Inſtructions having been ſent to land: This I muſt believe from what his his Speech, at the Opening of laſt Seſſion nd if there ever was any ſuch Thing, I am m not to anſwer for all the Meaſures that purſued, for that is one Article I know

Sir, the Nation has already been put to a nd muſt be yet put to a farther Expence on eſent War; perhaps too ſome private Men poſed to ſome Inconveniencies, by the Pre- e already made; but theſe Expences and cies ought to be born with Patience, when Difference between our Situation and that of ghbours: I believe I may juſtly compute, y and obſtinate Battles, Sieges and Skirmi- already happened ſince this War firſt broke Parties engaged has loſt at leaſt 50,000 ile the Trade of our Neighbours is inter- Stop has been put to all ſorts of Manufac- ments among them, while their Lands are Multitudes of their Men deſtroyed, we have ade with Security; our Manufactures have been

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been improved, and extraordinary Quantities of our Corn exported; no Britiſh Farmer has been diſturbed, not an Acre of Land laid waſte, not a Drop of Britiſh Blood ſpilt: Therefore, while we enjoy ſo much Safety and Quiet, I can't think any Man has Reaſon to complain of the Charge the Nation has been put to, or of the few Inconveniencies he has ſuffered, for the Preſervation of that Safety and Quiet which he has enjoyed: And as I am fully ſatisfied, that what is now propoſed is abſolutely neceſſary, for ſecuring our future Enjoyment of the ſame Safety and Quiet, I ſhall moſt heartily give my Conſent.'

30,000 Men voted for the Sea-ſervice for the Year 1735.

Then the Queſtion being put, That 20,600 Men be employ'd for the Sea-Service for the Year 1735 it paſſed in the Negative by 256 to 183. After which it was reſolv'd, without dividing, that 30,000 Seamen be employ'd for the ſaid Service.

Mr Sandys's Motion for an Addreſs to the King, for an Account of the Expences incurr'd in conſequence of the Vote of Credit paſs'd laſt Seſſion.

Feb. 13. Mr Sandys moved, 'That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would give Directions to the proper Officer to lay before the Houſe an Account of the Expences incurred, in Conſequence of the Vote of Credit paſſed at the End of laſt Seſſion of Parliament.'

Debate thereon.

Mr H. Walpole. Mr H. Pelham. Sir W. Yonge. Col. Bladen. Mr Winnington. Mr Danvers.

But this Motion was oppos'd by Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Henry Pelham, Sir William Yonge, Col. Bladen, Mr Winnington, and Mr Danvers, who alledg'd, 'That the Houſe had then before them what was propos'd to be deſir'd by the Addreſs moved for; for in one Account they had the whole of the Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Sea-Service, in Conſequence of that Vote of Credit; in another they had an Account of the whole Expences that had been incurred by any Addition made to the Land-Service; and in a third they had an Account of what had been incurred on occaſion of the Treaty lately concluded with Denmark: Beſides all which, they had an Account of what Monies had been iſſued from the Treaſury, for all or either of theſe Services in Purſuance of a Clauſe in an Act of Parliament, paſs'd laſt Seſſion, for enabling his Majeſty to apply any Part of the Money granted for the Service of laſt Year, towards the Expence of making ſuch Augmentations of his Forces by Sea or Land, or of concerting ſuch other Meaſures as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the Safety of this Nation: That from theſe Accounts any Man might eaſily ſee what Expences had been incurred, in conſequence of that Vote of Credit; for that as to the Sea-Service, whatever appeared from that Account to have been incurred, over and above what was granted by laſt Parliament, for maintaining the 20,000 Seamen then voted for laſt Year's Service, muſt appear to be an additional Expence, incurred in conſequence of that Vote of Credit; And as to the Land

ce, whatever appeared from the Account then be- Anno 3. Geo. II. 1729-30.
relating to that Service, to have been incurred
above what was granted by laſt Parliament, for
Land-Forces then voted to be kept up in
in, Guernſey and Jerſey, for laſt Year, muſt be an
Expence incurred, in conſequence of that Vote of
And as to what had been incurred on Occaſion of
reaty with Denmark, it was certain the whole
placed to the Account of Expences incurred, in
e of that Confidence, which was ſo reaſonably
is Majeſty in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. So that
not poſſibly expect any farther or new Accounts
ddreſs propoſed; and the preſenting of ſuch an
would, in their Opinion, ſhew a want of Reſpect to
y, and a ſort of Jealouſy and Diffidence in what
eady ordered to be laid before them.'

on Mr Sandys propoſed an Amendment to his Mo- Mr Sandys.
dding thereto the following Words, viz. *Over and
e, of which Accounts had already been laid before*
; and was ſupported by Mr Pulteney and Sir Wil- Mr Pulteney. Sir W. Wyndham.
dham: But the Members who oppoſed the Motion
oppoſed by Mr Sandys, objected likewiſe to the A-
t offered. 'That it was not to be ſuppoſed that any Mr Walpole. Mr Pelham. Sir W. Yonge. Col. Bladen. Mr Winnington. Mr Danvers.
ences had been incurred, than thoſe contained in
unts then before them: That they could af-
tlemen, that no Money had been iſſued from the
, by Virtue of the Clauſe they had mentioned, but
as ſtated in the Accounts already laid before the
nor had any Expences been incurred but what
tained in the three Accounts relating to the Sea-
the Land-Service, and the late Treaty with Den-
That the preſenting of ſuch an Addreſs was real-
ne manner provoking the Crown to make farther
s upon them: And that if what was then propoſed
ome to be a Precedent, it would become neceſſary
Crown to add a Certificate to every Account to be
hereafter to Parliament, certifying, *That theſe are
Expences that have been incurred*, or ſome ſuch
to that Purpoſe, which they thought would look a
ſurd: That therefore they could not agree to the
ent, but when it was diſagreed to, as they hoped it
they would propoſe that the following Words ſhould
l, by way of Amendment to the Motion, viz. *Not-
ding that full Accounts of all Expences, that had
rred, had been already laid before that Houſe*: That
the moſt natural Amendment that could be made
lotion, becauſe, by the Addition of theſe Words, it
ppear in its proper and true Light, and in that

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Light they were perſuaded the Houſe would not agree to it.'

To this it was anſwered by the Members, who were for the Motion, 'That they could not but think that the Motion, as it ſtood at firſt, was a very proper Motion, becauſe it would be much better and more diſtinct, to have all theſe Expences fairly and fully ſtated in one Account, than to have them diſperſed in ſeveral Accounts, and confounded with a great many other Articles: That this Method of ſtating thoſe Expences would be attended with this Advantage, that it would clearly ſhew to Gentlemen, how ſparing his Majeſty had been in making uſe of that unlimited Credit given him the laſt Seſſion, which would be a great Inducement to that Houſe to renew that Credit, whenever his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to demand it: This they thought the honourable Gentlemen would not have obſtructed, becauſe it might perhaps be of great Advantage to them upon ſome future Occaſion; but as thoſe Gentlemen did not ſeem to like that Way of ſtating the Account, therefore they were willing to make the Amendment propoſed to their Motion, in order to prevent a Negative's being put upon a Queſtion of ſuch Moment: That they hoped no Expences had been incurred, in conſequence of that Vote of Credit, but what appeared upon the ſeveral Accounts then before them; but it would be a great Satisfaction to the Houſe, to have a direct Anſwer upon that Subject from the Crown; 'for tho' they were perſuaded that the Gentlemen, who had taken upon them to aſſure the Houſe that no other Expences had been incurred, or Money iſſued, but what were contained in theſe Accounts, really believed it to be as they had declared; yet in ſuch Caſes that Houſe was not to take an Anſwer from any Member, for were he the greateſt Subject in the Nation, his Word or his Declaration was no Parliamentary Satisfaction, nor could it be taken as ſuch: That with reſpect to the Certificate mentioned, it was in the preſent Caſe ſo far from being abſurd, that it was abſolutely neceſſary: When certain Sums were granted by Parliament, and thoſe Sums appropriated by Parliament to certain Uſes, ſuch a Certificate would, 'twas true, be quite unneceſſary, it would be ridiculous to inſiſt upon any ſuch; but when an unlimited Credit had been granted by Parliament, and that Credit unlimited likewiſe as to the Uſes it was to be applied to, it was abſolutely neceſſary to have a Certificate in the Manner mentioned by the honourable Gentlemen, certifying that ſuch Sums, and no more, had been taken up on that Vote of Credit; and that the Sums ſo taken up had been applied to ſuch Uſes, and none other: For, without ſuch a Certificate, it would be impoſſible for that Houſe to know how the

Mr Sandys. Mr Pulteney. Sir W. Wyndham.

Accounts

ts of the Nation ſtood; they could not know but ſucceeding Year might bring a new Demand, to pro- ar ſome Expence incurred, or ſome Debt contracted, equence of the unlimited Credit they had formerly That therefore it was incumbent upon them, as rs of that Houſe, to demand ſuch a Certificate; they ound in Honour, and in Duty to their Conſtituents, upon having ſuch a Certificate, and ſuch a Certifi- uld not be had any other Way than by preſenting reſs propoſed: That as to the Amendment intended dded by the worthy Gentlemen, in order to make eſtion appear ridiculous upon the Journals of that it did not at all deter them from inſiſting upon their , nor from inſiſting upon the Amendment they had : That they had no Cauſe to ſuſpect, that that ould agree to the Amendment intended by the wor- tleman; but if they had, it would give them no or whatever that Houſe might do, the World with- rs would judge rightly, and would fix the Ridicule properly belonged: That they would, upon that , put the Gentleman in mind of what appeared ir Journals: They remembered a certain great Man a former Parliament, accuſed of ſome very high and a Queſtion was actually moved and ſeconded Houſe for a Reſolution in theſe Terms, 'That it to this Houſe, that ſuch a great Man [*naming him*] en guilty of ſeveral heinous and fraudulent Prac- ce.' That this was the Queſtion as firſt moved; Friends of that great Man, in order to defeat the by rendering it ridiculous, propoſed that the Words, *to this Houſe*, ſhould by way of Amendment be f the Queſtion: That upon a Diviſion this Amend- approved of by a corrupt Majority, and that the ſo made ridiculous by the Amendment, ſtood to upon their Journals, as the worthy Gentlemen if they pleaſed; but that the thus rendering the ridiculous, was far from rendering ridiculous thoſe at firſt propoſed it: On the contrary, the Ridicule thoſe, who made the Queſtion ridiculous by their nt; and accordingly at the Elections for the very iament, moſt of them were neglected by their and juſtly refuſed the Honour of continuing any Repreſentatives of the People in that Houſe.'

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eſtion being at laſt put upon the Amendment, it d in the Negative, by 167 to 106.

The Houſe being in a Grand Committee on the Mr Andrews moy'd, That the Number of effective Men,

Debate concerning the Number of Land-Forces, for the Year 1735.

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35

Men, to be provided for Guards and Garriſons in Great Britain, Guernſey and Jerſey for the Year 1735, be 25,744, including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men for the Service of the Highlands. Mr Andrews's Motion was ſupported by Sir William Yonge, Col. Bladen, Mr Winnington, Mr Horatio Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole, as follows:

Mr Andrews. Sir W. Yonge. Col Bladen. Mr Winnington. Mr H. Walpole. Sir R. Walpole.

Sir,

'Though we are not as yet any way engaged in the preſent War, yet ſuch Events may happen, as may make it abſolutely neceſſary for us to engage of one Side or the other. The Affair of Poland, which is the only Motive, the only Bone of Contention hitherto publickly avowed, is an Affair this Nation has very little to do with; but if that ſhould appear not to be the real Motive, or if Succeſs ſhould encourage either Side to extend their Views, the Balance of Power may at laſt be brought into real Danger; and then, for the Sake of preſerving the Liberties of Europe, upon which the Liberties of this Nation will always depend, we muſt take a principal Share in the War. This Danger may not perhaps be ſo remote as ſome People imagine; which has made his Majeſty become a Mediator for reconciling the contending Powers, before Conqueſts of either Side ſhall take away all Hopes of Succeſs in that Way; and his Majeſty has already puſhed his Negociations with ſo much Vigour, that a Plan of Peace will ſoon be offer'd; a Plan ſo well adapted to the Honour and Intereſt of all Parties concerned, that whoever refuſes it will thereby ſhew, that their ſecret Views are more extenſive than they have hitherto been declared.

'From hence, Sir, I muſt conclude, that we ſhall be very ſoon able to determine, whether we muſt engage in the War or not: If that Plan be accepted, then we ſhall attain our Ends; the Peace of Europe will be reſtored, the Balance of Power will be preſerved, without our engaging in the War, without ſubjecting this Nation to any Inconvenience, or to any Expence; but if reaſonable Terms ſhould be haughtily rejected by either Side, we muſt then neceſſarily take a Share in the War. It is therefore very much our Intereſt at preſent, to take every Meaſure that may contribute towards rendering his Majeſty's Endeavours ſucceſsful; that may contribute towards inducing, or even compelling, every one of the contending Powers to accept of that Plan, which his Majeſty, in Conjunction with his Allies, is to offer to them: And, in my Opinion, nothing can contribute more towards theſe great Ends, than our having ſuch a Standing regular Force, as may convince all Parties that we are in earneſt, and that we have it in our Power to alter the Scale whenever we have a Mind. For this Reaſon I can hardly imagine, that any Gentleman in this Houſe will

the ſmall Augmentation of our Land-Forces Anno
d, when he conſiders how many Millions we
ged to expend, if, by refuſing ſuch a ſeaſona-
, we ſhould at laſt make it neceſſary to involve
a heavy War.

oſperity of this Nation, Sir, or at leaſt our Se-
nds upon the Tranquility of our Neighbours:
are at Peace, they will always conſume more of
ctures than when they are involv'd in Blood and
and conſequently we ſhall always, in Times of
e a greater Demand for the Manufactures of our
n in Time of War. Beſides, while they continue
he Balance of Power can be in no Danger, but the
War no Nation can depend on; and therefore
among the reſt, may be deeply affected by the
ry Succeſs of any one Power in Europe. Let us
re grudge a ſmall Expence, when it may evident-
te towards reſtoring Peace among our Neigh-
n which our own Proſperity and Security does and
ſt depend.

Houſe is not as yet on Fire, but our Neighbour's is
ame; and then certainly it is Time for us to pre-
Engines neceſſary for preſerving our own: Theſe
erful Fleet, and a ſufficient Body of regular well
Troops, ready to march at the firſt Word of
. This, Sir, will give Weight to his Majeſty's
ons, it will make all the Parties concerned give a
tion to what may be propoſed, by his Majeſty's
for reſtoring the Peace of Europe; for a Miniſter,
nipage conſiſts of a large Body of good Troops,
ys be better hearkened to, than one whoſe Equi-
iſts only of a great Number of fine Pages and
otmen.

greeing to the Augmentation propoſed, we may
ir, that the Parties now at War will be prevented
ning any ambitious Views, either againſt this Na-
againſt the Balance of Power; and if any ſuch
ave already been formed, the Projectors will find
es under a Neceſſity of laying them aſide; by which
ve ſhall be able to reſtore the Peace of Europe,
liſh the future Security of this Nation, without ex-
rſelves to the Inconveniences, the Misfortunes and
tful Events of War. From a contrary Behaviour,
nſider what we are to expect: Will not France and
es from thence conclude, that they may go on and
; that they may place upon the Imperial Throne a
f the Houſe of Bourbon; and that England is not
formerly, apprehenſive of the growing Power of
France,

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France, or concerned about the Preſervation of a Balance of Power in Europe. Theſe are Concluſions which, I am ſure, no Engliſhman ought to give them an Opportunity to make; for the Continuance of the War is a certain Conſequence of ſuch Concluſions, and if it ſhould continue, we muſt engage in it, or we, as well as the reſt of Europe, muſt ſubmit to be Slaves to the Conqueror. Thus the Danger of not agreeing to what is propoſed, is infinitely great; but in agreeing to it there is no Danger, and the Expence is inconſiderable: If it procures a Re-eſtabliſhment of the publick Tranquility, the Uſefulneſs of it muſt be acknowledged by all; but if it ſhould fail of the Effect deſired, it will enable us to join ſpeedily and with Vigour in the War.

'To me, Sir, it is evident, that the ſmall Expence, now propoſed, may prevent an infinite Expence and an infinite Danger; and therefore I muſt think we are at preſent ſomething in the Caſe of a Gentleman, ſuppoſe in the Iſle of Ely, whoſe Eſtate is in great Danger of being overflowed by the Decay of, or ſome Breach in, thoſe Dykes and Mounds which were made to prevent Inundations: In ſuch a Caſe, ſuppoſe the Gentleman's Stewards and Managers ſhould come to him, and tell him of his Danger; and that the Dykes might then be repaired for a ſmall Expence, but that one Flood or two might make ſuch a Breach as would coſt him near the Value of his Eſtate to repair: Would not that Gentleman be very much in the wrong, would he not be mad, not to hearken to ſuch Repreſentations, and put himſelf to a ſmall immediate Charge, in order to prevent the entire Ruin of his Eſtate?

'Our preſent Caſe, Sir, is the very ſame; one ſucceſsful Campaign, two or three compleat Victories, would make ſuch a Breach in thoſe Barriers, by which the Liberties of Europe are preſerved, as would coſt an infinite Treaſure and a vaſt Effuſion of Blood before it could be made up. This is a Danger apparent from the Circumſtances publickly known; but there may be particular private Tranſactions concerted, or now carrying on, which would demonſtrate the Neceſſity of what is now propoſed: Theſe his Majeſty may probably have diſcovered; and from the Experience we have of his Majeſty's great Regard for the Eaſe of his People, we may, I think, conclude, that he would not have propoſed to have made any Augmentation of his Land-Forces, or to have put his Subjects to any additional Charge, without an evident Neceſſity for ſo doing: I hope therefore Gentlemen will depend upon his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Conduct in an Affair, which is of ſuch a Nature, as may render it impoſſible for his Majeſty to lay his particular Reaſons before this Houſe, without running the Riſk of diſappointing

pointing all the Meaſures he has concerted for defeating any ambitious Projects, that may have been formed; and for reſtoring the Peace of Europe, and thereby preventing this Nation's being obliged to engage in the War.'

Mr Andrews's Motion was warmly oppos'd by Lord Morpeth, Mr Gibbon, Lord Noel Somerſet, Sir John Barnard, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Pulteney, and ſeveral other Members, who gave the following Reaſons againſt it.

Lord Morpeth.
Mr Gibbon.
Ld Noel Somerſet.
Sir J. Barnard.
Sir Jof. Jekyll.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Pulteney.

Sir,

'I wiſh every Gentleman would be more cautious of bringing his Majeſty's Name into every Debate in this Houſe. I am perſuaded, no Gentleman in this Houſe doubts of his Majeſty's ſincere Regard for the Eaſe of his People, or of his Wiſdom and Conduct in all Matters which are honeſtly and fairly laid before him: Theſe are Queſtions which can never be properly brought before us. Upon this Occaſion, as well as all other Occaſions of the ſame Nature, it is not his Majeſty's Regard for the Eaſe of his People, but the Regard his Miniſters have for the Eaſe of the People, that we are to conſider; it is their Wiſdom and Conduct that are now under our Conſideration: And, in my Opinion, this Houſe has no great Reaſon to depend much upon either. I am ſure the Generality of the Nation have no great Confidence in either; and therefore, if we ſpeak the Language of our Conſtituents, which I hope will always be the Language of this Houſe, we cannot depend ſo much upon their Wiſdom and Conduct, as to load the People with any additional Expence, for no other Reaſon but only becauſe the Miniſter has told us it is neceſſary. This is a Method of Proceeding, which no Man ought to agree to in any Caſe; but eſpecially in a Caſe which is of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of our Country.

'The honourable Gentlemen, Sir, were very much in the right to argue from general Circumſtances, and ſuch as are publickly known; for particular Care has been taken that we ſhould not have any Thing elſe to argue from: But if we argue only from ſuch Circumſtances, we muſt conclude, that we are neither concerned in the War, nor can be concerned in the Event. If we have nothing to do with Poland, if we are no way engaged to protect the Emperor's Dominions in Italy, ſurely we have no Concern in the War; and as to the Event, France has declared they will not pretend to keep any of the Conqueſts they make: They have declared, they have no Intention to make any Conqueſts or to extend their Dominions, but that their only Aim is to eſtabliſh Staniſlaus upon the Throne of Poland; and the other

two

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two Allies have declared, that they have no other View but to eſtabliſh and preſerve the Neutrality of Italy: Theſe are the only Circumſtances publickly known; and from theſe neither this Nation, nor the Balance of Power, can be in any Danger.

'What particular Reaſons we may have not to truſt to thoſe Declarations, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but all the other Princes and States of Europe, not already engaged in the War, ſeem to put their Truſt in them, becauſe none of them have as yet made any Preparations. Nay, even the Princes of Germany ſeem to think their Country in no Danger, for ſome of the chief of them ſtill continue neutral; and thoſe who have joined in the Declaration of War, have great Numbers of Troops unemployed, which certainly would be all ſent to the Rhine, if they thought their Country were in any real Danger, or that France had a Deſign to impoſe an Emperor upon them. While they remain ſo ſecure, while they give themſelves ſo little Concern about the Event of the War, why we ſhould be ſo terribly frightened, why we ſhould imagine that France has a Deſign to conquer Germany, and to place one of the Houſe of Bourbon upon the Imperial Throne, I cannot comprehend: I am ſure no ſuch Intention can be preſumed from any Circumſtance yet publickly known; and I hope we do not think that either Spain or Sardinia has a Mind to conquer Germany, or that France would allow them, if either or both were able to accompliſh ſuch a Deſign. From publick Circumſtances, therefore, I can ſee no Reaſon we have now, or indeed ever had, to put ourſelves to any Charge, or to make any Preparations; and if there be any private Reaſons, they muſt be ſuch as concern us in particular, becauſe, if they related to Europe in general, the other Courts of Europe, particularly the Dutch, would certainly have diſcovered them as well as we; nay, if they had not, it would have been the Duty of our Miniſters to have diſcovered them, not only to the Dutch, but to all the Princes of Europe; for whatever Danger there might be in diſcovering them to this Houſe, there could not ſurely be any Danger in diſcovering them to thoſe Courts, which have as deep a Concern as we have in the Preſervation of the Liberties of Europe.

'As no Part of our late Tranſactions has ever been laid before this Houſe, as all ſuch Lights have been denied us, I do not know, Sir, but there may be private Reaſons for our being particularly concerned in the Event of the preſent War: If there are any ſuch, they muſt proceed from ſome of our late Tranſactions; and in that Caſe, thoſe Tranſactions ought to have been laid before this Houſe at

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the very Beginning of the War, that we might from them have ſeen our Danger, and might have provided for our Safety in Time. But to inſinuate, that either of the Parties now engaged in War may have ambitious Views againſt the Liberties of Europe, is an Inſinuation that is contradicted by the Behaviour of all the Princes and States of Europe not already engaged in the War; and therefore cannot, in my Opinion, have any Weight. Anno 8. G. 1714-5

'We are next told, Sir, that tho' neither Party at preſent have any ambitious Views, yet they may form ſuch Views, and in order to prevent their forming any ſuch, we muſt make great Preparations; that this will ſhew them we are in earneſt, and will make them give Ear to the reaſonable Plan of Peace which his Majeſty, in Conjunction with his Allies, is to offer: Whereas, if we make no ſuch Preparation, that France will conclude we have loſt all Apprehenſions of the growing Power of that Kingdom, and that we have no Concern for the Preſervation of the Balance of Power. For God's Sake, Sir, can Gentlemen be ſerious when they argue at this Rate? Can France, or any Power on Earth, imagine that we will look tamely on, and ſee the Liberties of Europe overturned; or can the Addition of 7 or 8000 Men to our Army add any thing to their Dread of our Power? They all know, and France in particular has Reaſon to know, the Strength and Power of this Nation, when wiſely managed and prudently exerted; if therefore they form any ambitious Views, if they reject the juſt Terms of Peace that are to be propoſed by his Majeſty, or if they deſpiſe the Mediation that has been offered, it cannot proceed from any Contempt they have of the real Strength of this Nation, but from a Contempt of the Councils by which that Strength is to be exerted: This is a Contempt which, I am afraid, they have already conceived; and if we ſhould agree to the Propoſition now before us, without ſeeing Reaſon for ſo doing, I am ſure either the Wiſdom or Integrity of this Houſe will ſuffer conſiderably, in the Opinion of the World both abroad and at home.

'Another terrible Thing we are this Day taught to apprehend, is, that Succeſs may inſpire one of the Parties engaged in War, with an ambitious View of overturning the Balance of Power: That two or three complete Victories may make it abſolutely neceſſary for us to engage immediately in the War; and that therefore we ought to prepare in Time, that we may be ready to fly to the Relief of the Unfortunate, before they are quite overwhelmed: Upon this, Sir, I ſhall only aſk if any Gentleman in this Houſe can imagine, that Germany, Poland and Muſcovy, for I think I may now ſay they are united, can be conquered in one Campaign;

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or ſuppoſing the other to be the unfortunate Side, can they imagine that France, Spain and Italy can be conquered in one Campaign? If any Gentleman can imagine ſuch a Thing, with him I ſhall not pretend to argue; but with thoſe who cannot, which I believe are the Majority of this Houſe, I think I may contend that neither Side can in one Campaign be reduced ſo low, but that the united Force of Great Britain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, thrown in early the next Campaign, will be ſufficient for their Relief, and for obliging the proudeſt Conqueror to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms; in which Caſe we ſhall have the whole Winter to prepare, and till then 'tis certainly quite unneceſſary to put ourſelves to any Expence.

'As this Day ſeems to be a Day of Paradoxes, among the reſt we have been told one with reſpect to our Trade. We are told, Sir, that the Proſperity of this Nation depends upon the Tranquility of our Neighbours; and that in Times of Peace, there is always a greater Demand for the Manufactures and Produce of this Country, than in Time of War. This, Sir, is ſo far from being a juſt Maxim in Trade, that the direct contrary is true. The chief Part of the Produce of this Country conſiſts in the Neceſſaries, and not the Luxuries of Life; and conſequently our Neighbours will always conſume as much of ſuch Sort of Things in Time of War as in Time of Peace: But the Difference is, that when their Heads are not diſtracted, nor their Hands diverted, by any foreign or domeſtick War, they have Time to apply themſelves to Tillage; they have Time to apply themſelves to Manufactures of all Kinds; they have Leiſure to think of and to improve all the Arts of Peace; and by ſo doing they furniſh themſelves at home with a great many of thoſe Neceſſaries which, in Time of War, they are oblig'd to purchaſe of us. This is not only evident in Theory, but is confirmed by Experience; for our Trade has ſuffered more by the Domeſtick Improvements made by our Neighbours, during the laſt long Tranquility in Europe, than it has done by any other Means; except the heavy Duties we have laid upon ourſelves, and the great Trouble and many Fees and Perquiſites we have ſubjected our Merchants to, both in importing and exporting their Goods and Merchandize: Theſe Incumbrances will in Time moſt certainly ruin every Branch of our Trade, if we do not take Care to remove them ſpeedily, by paying off thoſe Debts by which they have been occaſion'd. And as to our Security, it can never be diſturbed by any Broils among our Neighbours, unleſs the Balance of Power ſhould be brought into real Danger, which our Neighbours upon the Continent would take better Care of than they do, if we did not upon all

all Occaſions ſhew ourſelves ſo mighty officious as to do it for them. Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

'It is an eaſy Matter, Sir, for any Man, who has a quick Invention and a ſtrong Imagination, to form imaginary Dangers. In Time of Peace we are frightened with Invaſions, becauſe our Neighbours have their Troops quartered upon their Coaſts, and have nothing elſe to do with them; and in Time of War, becauſe our Neighbours have great Armies in the Field, tho' no Power in Europe has any Quarrel with us. In Time of Peace we muſt keep up a more numerous Army than is conſiſtent with the Liberties of a free People, in order to prevent a War's breaking out; and in Time of War we muſt add to that Army, and put ourſelves to great Expence, in order to reſtore the publick Tranquility, and preſerve the Balance of Power, tho' no other Nation in Europe appears to be in the leaſt apprehenſive of its being in Danger. Thus, Sir, we are always in a Fright, and, for what I know, our Apprehenſions may at laſt become ſo extravagant; that if Angria, the Eaſt-India Pirate, ſhould fit out any greater Number of Grabs than uſual, we muſt fit out a Squadron and augment our Land-Forces, for fear of his coming to make an Invaſion upon us. By this, Sir, I do not mean to inſinuate that we are now in no Danger; I do not know but we may: But whatever Danger we may be in, I am my ſure it does not appear from any Circumſtances yet publickly known, nor from any Thing that hath as yet been communicated to this Houſe; and therefore I cannot agree to load the People with any new Charge. If the Danger is ſuch as cannot be immediately communicated, it muſt be ſuch as cannot be immediately apprehended; and if we are only like to be in Danger, we ought to follow the Example of our wiſe Neighbours the Dutch, in putting our People to no Expence, and in reſerving our whole Strength to be vigorouſly exerted againſt thoſe, whoſe future Deſigns ſhall ſeem any way to threaten the Safety of Europe.

'We have been told, Sir, that the Danger of not agreeing to what is propoſed is infinitely great; but that in agreeing to it there is no Danger; Sir, in my Opinion, it is directly otherwiſe. It is certain, that the Regard we are to expect from Foreigners muſt always depend upon the Eſteem they have of the Strength of the Nation, and of the Wiſdom of thoſe Councils by which that Strength is to be directed. The Strength of the Nation does not ſurely conſiſt only in the Troops we have on Foot, or the Squadrons we have at Sea, but upon the Number of Troops we are able to raiſe and maintain, and the Squadrons we are able to put to Sea. Therefore it is certain that the Adding 7 or 8000 Men to our Land-Forces, or to the Squadrons we have already

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fitted out, can add nothing to the Opinion Foreigners have of our Strength: But the putting ourſelves to ſuch needleſs Expence, when no Man can ſay that we are in any real Danger, will certainly give Foreigners a very mean Opinion of our Councils. The Armaments we have made can oblige neither of the Sides engaged in War, but may probably give great Offence, by which we may draw a War upon ourſelves; our Armaments may very probably unite ſeveral of the Powers of Europe againſt us, while by the Inaction of thoſe Armaments we may be deprived of every Ally.

'But, Sir, with regard to our domeſtick Affairs, the Danger is more apparent and much more terrible. The keeping up of a numerous Standing Army, in Time of Peace, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Liberties of this Nation. The Gentlemen, or at leaſt ſome of them, who ſupported this Motion, talk of an Army of 18,000 Men as always neceſſary to be kept up within this Iſland. This, Sir, is the true Secret of this Day's Motion; thoſe Gentlemen know that when Peace is reſtored, the Nation will inſiſt upon a Reduction's being made, therefore, think they, let us now increaſe the Army, that when Peace is reſtored we may ſtop the Mouths of the Diſaffected, (as they call them) by making a Reduction of the Troops we are now to add: And thus, Sir, we ſhall have a Standing Army of 18,000 Men ſaddled upon us for ever. As I am of Opinion, that an Army of 18,000 Men is at leaſt 10,000 more than we ought to have in Time of Peace; as I am of Opinion that ſuch a numerous Army can be neceſſary for no End, but that of enabling a Miniſter to trample upon the Liberties of his Country; therefore I think the Motion ought to be rejected with Diſdain.

'As for Miniſters, they muſt not expect Regard and Eſteem from their Equipage, but from the Wiſdom and Addreſs of their Negotiations; for a Miniſter with a blundering Head, or one that is ſent upon ridiculous Errands, will make as ſorry a Figure with an Equipage of regular Troops, as an Equipage of Footmen; and I am afraid the Aſs's Ears will appear much more conſpicuous under a well-burniſhed Head-piece, than ever they did under a well powder'd Peruke.

'The other Parallel, Sir, that has been drawn is very much to the preſent Purpoſe, if it had been properly related. We are in the very Caſe of a Gentleman, who is told by his Steward and the Workmen employed by that Steward, that his Eſtate is in great Danger of being overflowed by the Breach in thoſe Dykes and Mounds, which, as they ſay, were made to prevent Inundations. The Gentleman is ſurpriſed at this, knowing that there were never any Dykes

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nade upon his Eſtate for preventing Inundations, re made by Nature; and that his Eſtate could owed without ſome artificial Inlets made, or even r Fire-Engines prepared and ſet up for that e anſwers, you really ſurpriſe me, I can hardly is a Poſſibility in what you relate; however, with you and examine every Part of my Eſtate, n take ſuch Meaſures as may be proper for pre- Danger: Upon this the Steward and his Work- a Fright, they know that the Inlets were made mills ſet up, either by themſelves or by ſome of s Neighbours, with their Connivance; and there- ply, O Lord, Sir! you muſt not examine into the Breaches are of ſuch a Nature that if you on them they will become irreparable; give us Sum of Money, and an Order for ſuch of your we ſhall name, to attend and aſſiſt us, we can ake up the Breach; but if you delay, or offer to it, the Reparation will coſt you more than the our Eſtate: If ſuch a Gentleman ſhould comply h ſuch a Demand, I am ſure, Sir, it muſt be it if he was not mad, he was very much under ment of his Steward.

the Dutch, and all the other States of Europe ged in the War, ſhew ſo little Concern about it; he Princes of Germany ſhew ſo little Inclination r whole Strength upon the Occaſion; I cannot alance of Power in any imminent Danger: And er threatens this Nation in particular, in God's it be told; when we know what it is, or from is to be apprehended, we may eaſily take ſuch may prevent it; but do not let us, under ima- ences of diſtant foreign Dangers, ſubject our Con- a real, an imminent domeſtick Danger; for what us to preſerve the Liberties of Europe, if under ce we deſtroy our own?'

t was replied by the ſame Members who ſupported ys's Motion, as follows:

Sir W. Yonge. Col. Bladen. Mr Winnington. Mr H. Walpole. Sir R. Walpole.

ver Advantage we may draw from the Tranqui- ers, it is certain we muſt always draw great and ntages from our own; and it is as certain, that igns of the Parties engaged in War be at preſent will, we may be deeply concerned in its Event. he preſent Deſigns ſhould be puſhed too far, or ambitious Deſigns encouraged and ſet up by Suc- uſt neceſſarily at laſt be involved; and this is what

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what we ought if poſſible to prevent. This I take the true and only Deſign of the Augmentation no poſed; it is ſo ſmall that I cannot look upon it as d to engage us in the War, but to prevent our being en and for this Reaſon, I think, we may the more eaſil to it.

'Whether the Balance of Power be now in Dan whether this Nation in particular be now in Danger the Queſtion before us; but whether both may not Danger by the Event of the preſent War, and this think can't be made a Queſtion. In ſuch a Caſe not to be directed by the Behaviour of other States: I am ſure, the Reſolutions of this Houſe ought as be regulated by the Example of the Dutch, or Princes of Germany, as they ought to be regulated Advice of our own Miniſters. In the War which w menced before the Death of the late King William lieve it will not be denied but that the Balance of was really in Danger, and yet, for ſome Time commenced, the Dutch ſeemed, to all publick Appe as quiet as they ſeem at preſent; the Princes of G ſeemed as little concerned, nay, ſome of them actu gaged againſt the Liberties of Europe, and of thei try. 'Till we declared ourſelves, no Prince in Europ venture to ſtir to the Relief of the Houſe of Auſtri therefore I muſt think, that the outward Behaviour or any of the Princes of Europe, can never be mad as any Argument in this Debate. Beſides, Sir, t Princes and States of Europe have no Occaſion to m Augmentation of their Forces till they are juſt ready the Field: They have, all of them, great Bodies of Forces in continual Pay; there is hardly an Elector of Germany, but what maintains as great a Nu Land-Forces as are now in this Iſland; and yet, I will not be ſaid, but that if we were to engage, only could, but ought to take the Field with a much Army than either of them can maintain; for which we are always under a Neceſſity to begin to prepa ſooner than any of our Neighbours.

'We may talk what we will of the Number of our Country, and the Numbers of Ships in our Ha but from ſuch Calculations the Strength of a Nation now to be computed. It is from the Number of well-diſciplin'd Troops, and from the Number of War provided with experienced Seamen, that the S of a Nation is always now computed: A Number o lar well-diſciplined Troops is now become as neceſſary for Offence or Defence, as a well-diſciplined, wel

f old ; and the Regard a Nation is to expect Anno 3. Geo. II. 1729-15.
hbours, depends now as much upon the former,
ed of old upon the latter. 'Tis true, Regi-
ſoon raiſed, Regiments may be ſoon augment-
egiment newly raiſed muſt be exerciſed for ma-
before it can expect to engage ſucceſsfully againſt
diſciplined Regiment ; and even an old Regi-
augmented, cannot pretend to enter upon im-
on, it muſt have ſome Time to diſcipline the
it have been incorporated. This is the Reaſon,
my Opinion, a convincing Reaſon, why we
ys begin to increaſe our Land-Forces, at leaſt,
is before there may be a Neceſſity for entering
: And by what is now propoſed, the Increaſe
ade in the moſt proper, and the leaſt expenſive
is, by adding a Number of private Men to each
the Service, without raiſing any new Regiments
s, which could not ſo ſpeedily be made fit for
d would, by increaſing the Number of Officers,
enſive to the Nation.

none of thoſe, Sir, who imagine that Germany,
Moſcovy, can be conquered in one Campaign ;
leſs do I imagine that France, Spain, and Italy,
ered in one Campaign. And yet I do verily believe,
leat Victory or two, gained in the very Begin-
ampaign, eſpecially by that Side which has hi-
the beſt Succeſs, might be attended with ſuch
es, and might bring the unfortunate Side ſo low,
with no Relief or Aſſiſtance before the Begin-
next Campaign, that to recover the Loſſes of
ign, and compel the Conquerors to accept of
Terms, would moſt certainly coſt this Nation a
e of Blood and Treaſure ; even though we were
joined by Holland, Denmark, and Sweden,
whoſe Aſſiſtance, even in ſuch a critical Con-
can pretend to depend upon with Certainty.
ch an Occaſion, ſome of them might expect to
dvantage by joining the victorious Side ; and if
e obliged to engage ſingly, and without the Aſſi-
ither of the three Powers I have mentioned, one
Campaign might involve us in a tedious, an
and even a doubtful War : Whereas, if we put
n ſuch a Condition as to be able to give immediate
the unfortunate Side, or to engage immediately
t Side whoſe Views ſhall hereafter be diſcover'd
nſiſtent with the Safety of Europe, we may then
the Balance, and give Law to the Conquerors.

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' I ſhall admit, Sir, that France and her Allies ha
made the Declarations mentioned by the honourable Ge
tleman; and I do not know but they may be ſincere, bu
am ſure they are not to be truſted to: For even grantin
that theſe Declarations are ſincere, that they have real
no other Views but what they openly profeſs, yet we kno
that Succeſs may elate the Minds of the Conquerors, an
may make them conceive new Deſigns, which they coul
not at firſt have thought of. And againſt theſe we are t
provide, as well as againſt any Deſigns they may have a
preſent which we have not yet diſcovered; for if Franc
and her Allies ſhould over-run all Germany, eſtabliſh Sta
niſlaus upon the Throne of Poland, and oblige the Czarin
to ſubmit to their Terms, I am very far from thinking tha
either of them would abide by the Declarations with whic
they began the War: I am ſure, our Conſtitution would b
expoſed to much greater Danger, than it can be from th
ſmall Addition now propoſed to be made to our Army.

' This leads me, Sir, to conſider that terrible, that im
minent Danger our Liberties are expoſed to, by keeping up
a numerous Standing Army in Time of Peace; which is a
Danger that has been much exaggerated, upon this and many
other Occaſions, by the Gentlemen of the other Side of the
Queſtion. I could eaſily ſhew, that an Army kept up from
Year to Year, under the Direction of Parliament, and com
manded by Gentlemen of the beſt Families, and ſome of
them of as good Eſtates as any in the Kingdom, can never
be dangerous either to our Conſtitution or to our Liberties
were it much more numerous than it is, or is now propoſed
to be; but the keeping up a Standing Army in Time of
Peace is not the Queſtion under our Conſideration. Will
Gentlemen ſay, that when all Europe is in a Flame, we
ought not to begin to make Preparations? Will they ſay
that we ought never to make any Augmentation, or to pre
pare for War, till it is publickly declared? Can this, Sir,
be a ſafe Maxim for any Nation?

' I do not know, Sir, that any Gentleman has in this
Debate declared, that 18,000 is the Number of Land-Forces
which muſt always be kept up in this Nation, even in time
of the profoundeſt Tranquility: However, it has been diſco
vered, it ſeems, that this is the Opinion of ſome Gentle
men; and that the Addition now moved for, is propoſed for
no other Reaſon, but only that theſe Gentlemen may have
an Opportunity of ſtopping the Mouths of the Diſaffected
by reducing that additional Number as ſoon as the pub
Tranquility is re-eſtabliſhed. Sir, if no Reaſon had been
aſſigned for the Addition propoſed, there might have been
ſome Room for this Preſumption; but as other Reaſons
have

affigned, as thoſe Reaſons are apparent from the rcumſtances of Europe, I cannot ſee how ſuch a on can be made: But ſuppoſe this were really of ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, will not every tleman be at Liberty to oppoſe that Deſign when is reſtored? May not every Gentleman, who ſhall the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe, pro- eat a Reduction as he pleaſes? Is it not as eaſy to e Reduction of 17,000 as of 7000? And when happy as to have an Opportunity to make a Re- he Queſtion will then come properly to be argued, nber of Land-Forces is neceſſary to be kept up in n in Time of Peace? Upon that Queſtion, I hope Number will be reduced, without any regard to tion now made, as the Safety of the Nation can for I ſhall join with the honourable Gentlemen n, that we ought never to keep up a greater Num- is abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety of the Nation, Support of his Majeſty's Government; and whoe- inſt keeping up that Number, ſhall always be look- me as a Perſon diſaffected to both.

re I conclude, Sir, I muſt take Notice that from ate it appears to me, that the Gentlemen employed dminiſtration of our Affairs are always in the moſt Situation. If they propoſe to make Proviſions a- ngers, by which Proviſions the People muſt be put pence, they then are charged with raiſing imaginary in order from thence to take an Opportunity to People with new Taxes: And their Misfortune is, more careful they have been in time paſt, the Ar- grows every Day ſtronger againſt them; becauſe egin at laſt to believe, that the Dangers which were t were imaginary, tho' in Reality they were pre- nly by the Proviſions that were made againſt them. r, many People may come at laſt to be confirmed in neous Opinion, by which the Miniſters may be at ſed thoſe Proviſions that are actually neceſſary; and uch Refuſal, any ſignal Misfortune ſhould befal the the Miniſters would be ſure to be loaded with me of it, tho' they had done all that was in their o warn us of the Danger.

annot really comprehend, Sir, what Sort of Informa- is that Gentlemen want upon this Occaſion; would ve his Majeſty ſend to tell us, that there is a bloody arried on by France, Spain and Sardinia againſt the or? Surely they do not expect that his Majeſty ſhould a particular Meſſage, in order to acquaint us with a of News that is known to the whole World! Pro-

 bably

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bably his Majeſty has not yet diſcovered, whether any of the Parties engaged in War have any farther Views than what they publickly avow; this I ſay may not probably have been yet diſcovered, becauſe no Plan of an Agreement has yet been offered to the Parties concerned: Or perhaps his Majeſty has already diſcovered, that ſome of the Parties concerned have ſome ſecret and ambitious Views, which will oblige him to declare very ſoon againſt them. In the firſt Caſe, his Majeſty can give us no farther Information than what he has already given; but ſuppoſe the laſt to be the Caſe, ought his Majeſty, either by Meſſage or otherwiſe, to diſcloſe to us the Secrets he has diſcovered, or the Reſolutions he has taken upon ſuch Diſcovery? Would not ſuch a Meſſage be an open and a publick Declaration of War? And will any Gentleman ſay, that it would be wiſe in his Majeſty, or in thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe him, to make any ſuch publick Declaration, before he has made all the neceſſary Preparation, and is juſt ready to enter upon Action? In ſhort, let us put the Caſe what Way we will, it is impoſſible we can have, or ought to have, any farther Information than what every Gentleman without Doors, as well as within, fully knows from the Circumſtances Europe is in at preſent. And as theſe are, in my Opinion, more than ſufficient for inducing every Man, who regards the Safety of his Country, to agree to the Augmentation now propoſed, I ſhall very little regard what may be thought of the Wiſdom or the Integrity of this Houſe; for I am very ſure, every Man whoſe good Opinion is worth deſiring, will, from our agreeing to this Queſtion, be convinced of both.'

Some Members, who agreed to the Neceſſity of an Augmentation of our Forces, thought it more eligible to hire foreign Troops than increaſe the Number of our Army at Home: And in Support of this Propoſal, Mr John Howe ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Mr Howe.

Sir,

'It is with great Diffidence and Confuſion, that I ſtand up to ſpeak on this Occaſion: I think it one of more Difficulty, a more critical Conjuncture, than ever I knew under the Conſideration of this Houſe. I cannot, Sir, but with the greateſt Reluctancy think of adding to the heavy Burthen my Country already labours under; and yet it would be the greateſt Concern imaginable to me, if through an ill-tim'd Piece of good Huſbandry, I ſhould ſuffer the Nation to be involv'd in Calamities, which ſome Expences might have prevented. In this Streight I ſhould be glad to give no Opinion; but yet muſt now offer ſuch as occurs to me.

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ent. Peace is the greateſt Advantage that can be deſired by a free and trading Nation: Any Expence which will contribute to continue that Bleſſing to us, will be Money well employed; and what is now propoſed to us, I ſee in the Light of a Meaſure for Peace: The Increaſe of our Forces in general appears to me, to be with an Intention, not to make, but to prevent War. We are now in the righteſt Situation poſſible: We take on us the Part of Mediators, not of Principals or Parties in the War: May our good Offices be effectual? All I can do to make them ſo, I am ſure I will: God ſend they may be ſo? But we muſt put ourſelves into a Condition to be a Weight in whichever Scale we may throw ourſelves; for bare Reaſons, Perſuaſives alone, will, I fear, have little Effect. But if the ſtronger Party is made ſenſible, that if it refuſes to come into reaſonable Terms, it will not long continue the ſtronger Party, our Mediation will be more regarded; and a Miniſter will be beſt hearkened to, whoſe Equipages, inſtead of a great Number of fine Footmen, conſiſts of a large Body of good Troops: I am therefore, Sir, free to declare for arming ourſelves, convinced that an unarmed Mediation muſt prove an unſucceſsful one. But, Sir, as the ſhewing what a contrary Meaſure would produce, does beſt illuſtrate Things, let us conſider what would be the natural Effects of our declining to make any warlike Preparations. Would it not be declaring to the French that they may go on and conquer? That they may place upon the Imperial Throne a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon? That England is not now, as formerly, apprehenſive of the Increaſe of the Power of France? This would certainly be the Concluſion the French would naturally draw from our not arming: A Concluſion no Engliſhman ſurely would give them an Opportunity to make. Warlike Preparations will, I hope, conduce to making Peace; and if they fail of making Peace, they will enable us to make War: The Expence will neither way be loſt. A noble Lord was pleaſed to ſay, that the Proſperity of this Nation depended on the Peace and Tranquility of our Neighbours; I join with him in Opinion; at leaſt ſo far that it may be diſturbed by their Want of Tranquility: But ſurely then we ought not to repine at any Expence to procure that Peace and Tranquility to them, upon which our own Proſperity is thought to depend. Some Gentlemen ſeem to apprehend, that arming will engage us in War, without the Dutch; far from it; for if it ſhould fail of its deſired Succeſs, we are ſtill at Liberty to act as we think beſt: But upon that Article, I think it moſt proper to be ſilent at preſent. We may, as the Country People expreſs it, when the Time comes, do like our Neighbours.

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But now, Sir, as I have given my Conſent to the Increaſe of Forces in general, I muſt likewiſe declare, that for the Method, now propoſed, of increaſing them, by raiſing more national Troops, I can by no Means approve of it. After which it will be expected of me to ſay in what Manner I would have them increaſed; for to oppoſe a Meaſure, and propoſe no other in its Place, is certainly very unjuſtifiable. On this Occaſion therefore, I am not ſhy of declaring that the warlike Preparation I mean, is by making Contracts with foreign Princes for their Troops, in caſe we call for them. To this Method there is no Objection but the unavoidable Expence; and yet the Expence of national Troops is ſtill greater: Even the diſbanding of national Troops does not free us from the Expence of them; their Half Pay remains; and 'tis remarkable, that Half-Pay Officers, tho' they hardly live, they never die. But other Objections ariſe to national Troops; the Burthen they are otherwiſe, and the Danger from them is likewiſe greater; not that I look on them, as another noble Lord does, as a Standing Army; for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that this can be the Number to be kept up: That is not my Objection; but I object to the Increaſe of national Forces, as a Method in no Circumſtance ſo eaſy or ſafe, as the engaging foreign Ones. Arming in general I think abſolutely neceſſary; and were there no other Method, I would conſent to this. Our Houſe indeed is not on Fire, but our Neighbours is in a Flame; I therefore approve the increaſing of our Forces in general, and only oppoſe the Method now propoſed of raiſing national Ones, as there is a more eaſy and more convenient one of doing it, by engaging foreign Troops.'

Mr Lindſay.

To this Speech of Mr Howe's it was replied by Mr Lindſay, 'That by the Augmentation propoſed, it was not intended to add new Officers, but only ſo many private Men to each Company; ſo that when Peace was reſtored, the Augmentation then made could be reduced, without leaving any Charge upon the Nation: That in a Time of ſuch publick Danger it was neceſſary to augment our Forces within the Kingdom, and therefore any ſmall Inconveniencies that might from thence ariſe muſt be borne with: That by increaſing our own Troops no Money was carried out of the Kingdom: That it would add to the Number of our trained Soldiers, which, if any future Danger ſhould ariſe, would be an Advantage to the Nation: That by a Man's becoming a Soldier his Labour and Induſtry was not quite loſt, for many of them were as induſtrious after liſting as ever they had been before: That old and infirm Soldiers muſt always of courſe be diſmiſſed, and new Recruits raiſed in *their Stead*, tho' no Augmentation were ever made.

Mr

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)rummond, in Support of the Motion for the , took Notice of the Number of Forces the Foot, and their Diſpoſition to act in Concert ritain.' Then Mr Robert Dundaſs ſtood up, inſt the Augmentation, and mention'd the bad which the Forces were employ'd, and inſtanc'd up of the Regiment in the Abbey Cloſe at o over-awe the Election of the Scots Peers, he Elections of Commoners; and to induce ſuch conceiv'd to wiſh for Troops, to vote for Cour- rwiſe to have the Troops remov'd from them.'

Mr J. Drummond.

Mr Dundaſs.

r Duncan Forbes* anſwer'd, 'That the Drawing ps in the Abbey Cloſe was an ordinary Muſter of Arms; and the Abbey Cloſe an ordinary th Muſters; and that there was great Need of in Scotland; without which the notorious In- e to Smuggling and Cheating the Revenue, and d reſiſt the Execution of legal Proceſs, could d; and concluded with diſapproving the Pro- ring Foreign Troops.' Hereupon Mr James up and ſaid,

Mr D. Forbes.

Mr Erskine.

th to take up the Time of the Houſe, now it ut as the Affair of the Troops at the Election en Scots Peers has been miſrepreſented; and as acquainted with the Truth of that Tranſaction, Houſe will indulge me.

re no Member of this, or any other former Par- s ever aſſerted that a Standing Army was con- our Conſtitution, or even attempt to deny but it s to our Rights and Liberties. A Standing Army ept up, it is true, from Year to Year, and ſome- ented, by pretending the Exigencies of the Times; Exigencies, that the ſame, or other ſuch, may to 's End be pretended: So that if the ſame mean pirit continues in Britain, a Standing Army is for e the Oppreſſion of this once flouriſhing Iſland. guments are indeed too general to be dwelt on, Queſtion is not, Whether to have an Army; but, o augment it? Since it ſeems granted on all Sides, muſt have an Army for this Year; that Britain one Year longer ſubmit to that Badge and great lavery: But if it is ſo dangerous to have any, it is dangerous to add to it; and if Exigencies requir'd rmy as we had laſt Year, yet it behoves us to ſee ncies, that requir'd ſo large an Addition as 8000 ore we ought to conſent to it.

'The

* *Advocate for Scotland.*

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' The Pretext made uſe of is, that we and the Dutch
to be Mediators between the contending Powers of Euro
and that unarmed Mediators cannot effectually media
yet the Dutch are to be unarm'd, not only by Sea, but
to add nothing to their Land-Forces, as was but now
knowledg'd: Tho' the other Day we were told, That
we ſhould increaſe our Fleet, the Sea being our natur
Barrier; ſo would the Dutch augment their Troops, th
Barrier being by Land. But now we ſee that our Neig
bours are to ſhare with us the Honour and Advantage
Mediating, and we are to bear all the Burden: Yet it
neither they nor we are indeed to be Mediators; for
Majeſty's Speech ſays only, that his good Offices, and
good Offices of the States General, had been accepted
and as ſome Gentlemen had openly in the Houſe decl
that we were to be Mediators, they explain'd the accept
of theſe good Offices to be no more than barely to allow
to make Propoſals to the Powers in War. And is this
the mighty Matter for which our domeſtick Army is to
augmented ſo greatly? If a ſtrong Army is neceſſary
this Purpoſe, the Augmentation is too little: But
Augmentation in our preſent Circumſtances is not
Way to make us to be regarded by the Potentates
War. They know our Caſe, that we are under
Debts, much whereof was contracted for no Purpoſe,
for bad Purpoſes: And to ſee us acting wiſely and
gally, and to have Money and Credit as formerly, wo
give Britain the Weight it formerly had; and they k
that then we could raiſe Troops at Home, and hire Abro
But they would never believe us noticeable for having 25,
or 26,000 Men in our Army at Home, with not a Farth
in our Pockets. After all, it ſeems hard to be believed
it is in earneſt ſaid we are to be Mediators, or at all to
terpoſe, or that we are any ways afraid of the Conſequen
of the preſent War in Europe: For ſome Years ago
were offer'd the Mediation, and then refus'd it; no doub
to ſhew our Modeſty, and that we were not ſo vain a
take on us to offer Laws to France, a Nation ſuperior
Britain, and whom then we obſequiouſly courted. And
ſay, we now dread the Progreſs of the Arms of the Fren
and their Confederates, one muſt be tempted to think
a Pretext: For ſo wiſe Men as adminiſter the Britiſh Affair
did certainly foreſee it, and can not be frighted at
Conſequences of their own Actions; ſince all flow'd
the Introduction of Don Carlos into Italy, which was
by our own Fleet. I am, in my own private Opinio
ſo little perſuaded of the Wiſdom of that Expedition,
I hope the 30,000 Seamen, voted the other Day, are deſig
for

as to great Success; and our Trade to which Country
as precarious as our Trade to Spain: They likewiſe
ave foreſeen the Progreſs of the French Arms on the
; for who did not know, that the Emperor, having a
Army in Italy, was over-power'd by a greater; and
rance, in the German War, having nothing to appre-
from Italy or Spain, as in former Wars, could not
an Over-match for the Emperor on the Rhine?
ore as all this has happen'd, having been foreſeen and
on by our own Miniſtry, the Fear ſaid to ariſe from
muſt be but an affected Pretence, as well as the Me-
which we had formerly refuſed, and now did not
was offer'd to us: Nay, if it was otherwiſe, yet this
ntation of our Army is not the right Way to make
iderable in the Mediation, nor a good Way to act for
s, ſince we are not like to be attack'd this Year.
an't help taking Notice of what was ſaid by the Gen-
who ſpoke laſt, [*Mr Duncan Forbes*] relating to the
Troops in Scotland. I am ſorry that ſuch Things
be ſaid of that Country, by a Gentleman whom I
ſo much, and whoſe Worth and Learning I am not
ger to: I dare aſſert the Law, and the Execution of le-
ceſs, in Scotland has free Courſe without the Aſſiſtance
ops: I have heard of no remarkable Inſtance of the
ſition of Troops in ſuch Caſes; but when it was done
by thoſe in Power and Office, to the Oppreſſion of
jects, and Overthrow of our Liberties, and contrary
; Inſtances of which I can give, and I hope will
Time be adverted to, and meet with deſerved Re-
There are more Inſtances of Mutiny and Tumult
ed than in Scotland; and more Running of Goods

Anno 2. Geo. II. 1714-15.

flected on him, whoſe Regiment it was; and endeavour'd t ſhew that it was but an ordinary Meeting there, and that no thing could be meant by it, ſince the Regiment march'd from Town at Mr Dundaſs's Election: That he deſerv'd Thanks, and not Blame, for his Conduct by the Gentlemen of that Country; but that ſome wiſh'd there had been Mob and Tumults, and from their Diſappointment proceeded their Complaints.'

Mr Erſkine.

Sir J. Campbell.

Mr Erſkine riſing up to reply, Sir James Campbell ſtood up likewiſe, and endeavour'd to ſhew the Neceſſity of Troops in the Highlands; Urging, 'That they ought to be continued though the Highlanders were, at preſent, moſtly well affected; and gave for Inſtance the Advantage of having Troops in Scotland in the Year 1715, when the Rebellion was rais'd and carried on by the Earl of Mar, Brother to the honourable Member who had ſpoke laſt againſt the Motion.' Several Members, reſenting this Expreſſion as a Reflection on Mr Erſkine, call'd out, To Order: Hereupon Mr Erſkine ſtood up again, and ſaid, 'That when he laſt roſe up to ſpeak, it could not be to anſwer the Member who had now ſpoke, [*Sir James Campbell*] for then he had ſaid nothing; and that he might for the ſame Reaſon paſs by all that the worthy Gentleman had ſpoke ſince.' Here Sir James Campbell got up again; but the Houſe would not allow him to interrupt: Then Mr Erſkine went on, and ſaid, 'That the honourable Gentleman, who ſpoke before, [*meaning Colonel Handaſyde*] could not, on the leaſt Reflection, imagine that any Thing ſaid was meant againſt him, who he had never, that he knew of, ſeen in his Life till now; and that the Colonel was not then in Scotland, and therefore could not be blam'd for any Thing done by his Regiment: That he blam'd not even his Officers preſent, not doubting but they had Orders: That this was not the Time to argue that important Matter and flagrant Encroachment on the Britiſh Liberties, which might come to be inquir'd into afterwards; yet the Account he had given of it was juſt, notwithſtanding the Anſwer: That the Regiment had been muſter'd, and in the Field but a Day or two before, and therefore the Meeting on that Day was not an ordinary one: That it could not be without a Deſign, and a bad one too: That on ſuch a Day the three Companies at Leith were march'd to join thoſe at Edinburgh, and kept altogether under Arms during the Election, and then march'd back to Leith: And that other Facts, equally or more groſs, could in due Time and Seaſon, be made appear to ſhew that it was done on a bad Deſign: That their marching from Edinburgh at the Election for the County, proves only they were not in the Wrong at that Time, tho' they were prodigiouſly wrong at the Election

Sir James Campbell call'd to Order, for reflecting on Mr Erskine, on account of his Brother the Earl of Mar's being concern'd in the Rebellion, *Anno* 1715.

Elections of the Peers: That the Accuſation of wiſhing for Mobs and Tumults was injurious, and as weak as unjuſt: That if it was meant againſt the Majority, what could they gain by it? And ſtill leſs could the Minority reap any Advantage from it, except to put themſelves in the Wrong, when they had no Reaſon to hope they would meet with Pardon and Indulgence: That Mutiny was the ſtale Pretence of thoſe, who wanted a Handle to oppreſs by ſuperior Power: That by Mobbing, the Minority could only expect ſuch Ruin to themſelves, as had befallen his Kinſman by the Rebellion, which an honourable Member had, with ſo much Diſcretion and Juſtice, objected to him: That the Objection was ſo entirely from the Purpoſe, he would paſs it by unanſwer'd, as well as the reſt of what that honourable Gentleman had ſaid, did not the high Nature of it require him to ſpeak to it: That he had ſuffer'd more by it than any Man, except his deceas'd Friend and Relation, who was at the Head of it: That his Principle and Conduct, with reſpect to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, ever ſince he enter'd on the World and Buſineſs, had been uniform and firm in all Times and Situations, as every Body knew, who knew him; and as the Objector and his Friends had often acknowledg'd: And if now his greateſt Enemies could bring an Inſtance to the contrary, he conſented to have it reckon'd that he had always been a Traitor: That, therefore, if the Occaſion of flinging out this at him, and the Air with which it was done, had not look'd ſo unfavourably, he muſt, in Juſtice to the Gentleman who ſpoke it, have thought he intended to do him Honour; by ſhewing his Loyalty to have been ſo unconquerable, that his neareſt Relations, and with whom he had ſo great Connection, could not ſhake or diminiſh it.'

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

Mr Charles Areſkine * ſtood up next, and ſaid, 'That the Abbey and Parliament Cloſe were ſo far diſtant, † that the Regiment drawn up in the former could not over-awe the Election at the latter.'

Mr Cha. Areſkine

Then the Queſtion being put on the Motion made by Mr Andrews, it paſs'd in the Affirmative by 261 to 208.

Feb. 17. Mr Walter Plumer mov'd, That the Poſtmaſter General might lay before the Houſe a Copy of the King's Warrant, whereby Letters were permitted to paſs Poſt-free.

Mr Plumer's Motion for laying before the Houſe the King's Warrant for permitting Letters to paſs Poſt-Free.

Feb. 19. The ſaid Warrant was laid before the Houſe.

Feb. 24. Several Reſolutions of the Committee on the Supply, having been agreed to by the Houſe, Sir William Wyndham mov'd, 'That the Journal of the Houſe of the

* *Solicitor General for Scotland.*

† *The Diſtance is little more than Half a Mile.*

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

5th of December 1690, in the ſecond Year of William and Mary, in relation to the Report from the Committee, to whom the Conſideration of the Eſtimates and Accounts relating to the Army, Navy and Treaſury were referred, might be read; which was done accordingly. Then he mov'd for reading the Journal of November 9th, 1691, in the third Year of the ſame Reign, in relation to appointing a Committee to inſpect the Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1692, which having been alſo read, Sir William Wyndham ſtood up again, and ſpoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

Sir W. Wyndham's Motion for referring the Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1735, to a ſelect Committee.

'When I reflect on the long Peace this Nation has enjoy'd, I am ſurpriſed how ſmall a Part of our publick Debts has been paid off; but when I conſider the vaſt Sums that have been yearly raiſed, that the People have not been made quite free of any one Tax which the preceeding War brought upon them, nor any Tax, except one only, in the leaſt diminiſhed; I cannot comprehend how it was poſſible, in every Year of this long Term of Peace, to find Pretences for putting the Nation to ſuch a vaſt Expence: And I muſt think, If our Parliaments, for theſe twenty Years paſt, had followed the Example laid down in the Precedents now read to you, and had always appointed a ſelect Committee, to examine the Eſtimates yearly laid before them, it would not have been poſſible to prevail with them to agree that ſuch an Expence was neceſſary.

'This, Sir, I wiſh had been done by every Parliament ſince the Revolution; and as this is the firſt Seſſion of a new Parliament, I hope we ſhall begin to follow that Example which was ſhewn by the firſt Parliament after the Revolution. I hope it will not be ſaid, but that Parliament had as good Reaſon to put a Confidence in the Adminiſtration as this Parliament has, or as any Parliament had ſince that Time; and yet we find that Parliament, in their very firſt Seſſion, paſſing an Act, and by Ballot appointing Commiſſioners, for taking and examining the Account of all publick Money, and reſolving that no Perſon ſhould be one of thoſe Commiſſioners, who had any Office of Profit, or was accountable to their Majeſties; and their Care of the publick Money, in their ſecond and third Seſſions, we may collect from the Journals now read to us. For this Reaſon I am convinced, that what I am now to propoſe cannot be thought ſhewing the leaſt Diſreſpect to his Majeſty: It is only ſhewing that prudent Care of the People's Money, which we ought always to ſhew as their Repreſentatives, even tho' there were no particular Reaſon for our being ſo careful.

at preſent, Sir, we have a melancholy Reaſon
the ancient Uſage of Parliament: It is well know
nates have been every Year laid before this Houſe
Expences, which were then ſuppoſed to be neceſ-
he enſuing Year; and notwithſtanding thoſe Eſti-
re much larger than were ever before uſual, yet in
ar ample Proviſion has been made for the Expences
uing Year, conformable to the Eſtimates laid before
ſe: This is known to almoſt every Man, and every
does know it muſt think it very odd, that in ſo
umber of Years ſuch a great Debt ſhould be con-
is at preſent due upon Account of our Navy; but
pear ſtill more ſurprizing when we conſider, that
eſſion of Parliament Accounts have been laid be-
Houſe, of the Deficiencies of all former Grants,
iſe of all Services incurred and not provided for
nent. If ſuch Accounts had been rightly conſi-
ey would certainly have been made good, and the
if found to have been neceſſarily incurred, would
ave been provided for, out of the firſt and readieſt
rants made for the Service of the next enſuing

Sir, is the only proper Way of providing for all
ncurred and not provided for in the former Seſ-
arliament: While this Method is regularly pur-
Strength of the Nation is not impaired by loading
with Debts and Mortgages; nor can the People
y prevailed on to ſubmit to any unneceſſary Ex-
nd the Facts being freſh in every Man's Memory,
aud be couched under any of the Articles of the
given in, it may be eaſily diſcovered; but when
n is thus ſecretly run in Debt, the People being
f their Expence, cannot find Fault with any of
vagant Meaſures which occaſioned that Expence;
Accounts are brought into this Houſe in a Heap,
the Tranſactions to which they relate are all for-
is then impoſſible for Gentlemen to diſcover the
hat may be practiſed in the Manner of ſtating theſe

ſuch a ſlight View, Sir, as I have taken of the
now upon the Table, it is not poſſible for me to
the particular Articles; but I cannot help taking
one which to me appears very extraordinary.
near 250,000 l. charged, not for the Building of
for the Building of Houſes; whether ſuch Houſes
ſſary I ſhall not now pretend to determine; but if
, I think it is too large a Sum for any Admini-
have expended, without a previous Authority

Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.

om Parliament; and that I am ſure was never aſked
What the preſent Age may think of ſuch a Sum,
not know, but I am ſure our Anceſtors, even of the
laſt Age, would have been extremely ſhy of loading
People with at leaſt Six-pence in the Pound upon al
Lands in Great Britain, for building Houſes for the
ficers belonging to the Admiralty; and I muſt think it
tle extraordinary to ſee Miniſters, of their own Heads
dertake to do that which even Parliaments of old w
ſcarce have undertaken to have done. 'Tis true, P
ments have of late become very good natur'd, they hav
great Confidence in Miniſters, and have generally, I
not ſay blindly, approved of all miniſterial Meaſures:
may perhaps have made Miniſters preſume a little fa
than they would otherwiſe have done; but I am very
that till very lately, no Miniſter would have dared to
drawn the Nation into ſuch an Expence without an A
rity from Parliament for ſo doing.

'This Article would, I believe, Sir, have appear
little extraordinary, in the moſt flouriſhing Circumſt
that ever this Nation was in; but when the Peopl
groaning under heavy Taxes, when moſt of thoſe T
are already engaged for the Payment of our Debts, I
think it highly extravagant. We ought to make our
our own, we ought to free it from Mortgages, befor
think of beautifying it with coſtly Buildings. However,
let me ſuppoſe that this Expence was abſolutely neceſ
yet ſtill it ought to have been provided for by Parlia
before it was undertaken, or at leaſt the next Seſſion
it was laid out: In that Caſe the Parliament would
bably have taken Care to have ſaved as much upon
other Article: By that means our being involved in ſo h
a Debt as we are at preſent would have been preve
and we might have been in a Condition for acting that
which the preſent Circumſtances of Europe may make
cumbent upon us to undertake.

'The Revenues of a Nation, Sir, which always
from thoſe Taxes the People are to pay, may be comp
to the Revenues of a private Gentleman's Eſtate; and e
Gentleman who has a Regard to his Family, or to his
Credit, will certainly proportion his Expence to the R
nues of his Eſtate, taking Care to ſave as much year
may be neceſſary for providing for younger Children,
for anſwering future Accidents or Misfortunes: Such a
leman will conſider that if, by his Way of Living, he ſp
more than the yearly Revenue of his Eſtate may, accor
to this Computation, anſwer, he muſt yearly deſtroy a
of his Eſtate; and that the greater this Surplus is, the ſo

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ir and Family will be ruined. Let us ſuppoſe then
t a Gentleman ſhould order his Steward to compute
ner how he was to live, ſo as not to ſpend yearly
an the Revenue of his Eſtate could bear, allowing ſo
early for Childrens Fortunes, paying off Mortgages,
re Contingencies: Suppoſe this Steward had pre-
ſuch a Manner of living, and had for ſeveral Years
with a Notion that he was ſpending no more year-
his Eſtate could bear; but at laſt brings him in a
Account of Debts contracted, by that Manner of
which he himſelf had preſcribed, and gravely tells
e muſt ſell or mortgage one of his beſt Manors for
off thoſe Debts: What would ſuch a Steward de-
Surely he muſt at leaſt expect all his Accounts to be
ed in the ſtricteſt Manner, and his Maſter would ne-
ce a Confidence in any of his Calculations for the

he Caſe, Sir, is the ſame with this Nation at pre-
We have been made to believe, that what we were
g yearly was no more than the yearly Taxes would
: Theſe Taxes have been chearfully granted by Par-
, and as chearfully paid by the People, in full Ex-
on that theſe were all that were neceſſary for anſwer-
annual Expence; but now, Sir, when we are in
of being brought into a great and unforeſeen Ex-
we are told that we have run much in Arrear, that
Debt has been contracted, and that for the Pay-
of this Debt, we muſt either mortgage thoſe Funds
ought to be reſerved for a Time of Danger, or we
y violent Hands upon thoſe Funds which have been
go declared ſacred, and religiouſly appropriated for
g us from thoſe heavy Burdens we at preſent groan
While we are Members of this Houſe, Sir, we
Truſtees of the People; and when the People have
inſenſibly run into a heavy and unexpected Arrear,
e approve of the Accounts of thoſe Services by which
rrear has been occaſioned, without examining ſtrictly
ery Article? I muſt think we are, both in Honour
ſcience, bound to examine them in the ſtricteſt Man-
nd therefore I ſhall beg leave to move, That the
y Eſtimate of his Majeſty's Navy, for the current
may be referred to the Conſideration of a ſelect Com-
, and that they do examine the ſame, and report the
with their Opinion thereupon, to the Houſe.'

Debate thereon.

William Wyndham being ſeconded by Mr Sandys, the
ccaſion'd a great Debate, in which Sir Robert Wal-
Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Winnington, Sir William
Yonge

Mr Sandys.
Sir R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Winnington.
Sir W. Yonge.

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Col. Bladen.

Yonge, and Colonel Bladen, urg'd the following Argument against the Motion.

Sir,

'The Affairs of Europe, and the various Incidents that have occurred ſince the famous Peace of Utrecht, are ſo freſh in every Man's Memory, that I think it ſufficient to obſerve in general, that every Man, who knows any Thing of the Hiſtory of Europe for theſe laſt twenty Years, must eaſily give a Reaſon why we have not been able to pay off any conſiderable Part of the publick Debts. There was no Method of paying off honeſtly and fairly any of our Debts formerly contracted, but by increaſing the publick Revenue, or ſaving a Part yearly of that which had before been eſtabliſhed; and every Gentleman muſt acknowledge, that both theſe Methods have been purſued as much as it was poſſible. We could not increaſe the publick Revenue by impoſing any new Taxes, for our People think they are already burdened with too many; and if any ſuch Method had been propoſed, it would certainly have been oppoſed, perhaps by ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who now find Fault with ſo ſmall a Part of our Debts having been paid off: The only other Method of increaſing the publick Revenue was, by having the Taxes carefully collected, and thereby endeavouring to increaſe the Produce of each; and this has been purſued with the moſt Care, ſo that moſt of our Taxes produce more now than they did twenty Years ago.

'With reſpect to the ſaving a Part of the publick Revenue which had been before eſtabliſhed, it could be done no other way but by reducing the Intereſt payable to the Creditors of the publick, or by reducing the publick annual Expence: The firſt of theſe Methods has been purſued, and luckily for the Nation, with great Succeſs; and no Man can with Juſtice ſay, that for theſe twenty Years the Nation has been put to any Expence but what was abſolutely neceſſary according to the Circumſtances which the Affairs of Europe, or the Affairs of the Nation were in at that Time; nor has it been put to any Expence but what was regularly laid before the Parliament, and always approved of by Parliament: ſo that the finding Fault with any Part of our Conduct for theſe twenty Years paſt, is not really finding Fault with the Conduct of our Miniſters, but with the Conduct of King and Parliament.

'I ſhall agree with the honourable Gentlemen, Sir, that Eſtimates have been every Year laid before the Houſe, of what was then ſuppos'd to be neceſſary for the Service of the enſuing Year; and I hope they will agree with me that it was right to do ſo; but I never heard that the Gentlemen who computed thoſe Eſtimates and laid them before the Par-

liament

retended to be infallible. The Eſtimates they have have been found to be deficient, ſome of the ne- rvices have been ſometimes omitted, or the Sums lotted have been found not ſufficient for anſwering ces for which they were appointed, and this is one eaſons why ſo large a Debt now appears to be due nt of the Navy: Another Reaſon is, that the ppointed by Parliament for raiſing thoſe Sums, which rly granted by them for the Service of the Navy, n always found deficient; and a third Reaſon is, Parliament have often found it neceſſary for the f the Nation, to give his Majeſty Votes of Credit, ance of which ſome additional Expences have been , above what were mentioned in the Eſtimates year- in at the Beginning of the Seſſion: And as ſuch s were generally incurred by making Additions to y, which is the natural Defence of this Nation in s of Danger, it has greatly increaſed the Debt due nt of our Navy, and is one of the chief Reaſons t Debt is now become ſo conſiderable.

e of thoſe Accounts relating to the Navy-Debt, n for ſeveral Years ſucceſſively laid upon your Ta- l all of them, except ſome few Articles which have crued, were laid before the laſt Seſſion of Parlia- and for what Reaſons, I ſhall not pretend to deter- he Parliament never thought fit to provide for thoſe cies, or to pay off any Part of that Debt which had reby occaſioned: tho' I muſt ſuppoſe that, as the s were regularly laid before the Parliament, when the tions to which they related were freſh in every Man's , if an Error or Fallacy could have been pointed if any Objection could have been made to any one Articles, it would not only have been taken Notice is Houſe, but would have been made a Subject for r over the whole Nation; for there always have nd I hope there always will be, a great Number of nen in this Houſe not only capable, but ready and to diſcover any Fallacies that may be artfully foiſted publick Accounts; and if any ſuch Diſcovery had de, thoſe who are diſaffected to his Majeſty's Go- nt might, and would certainly have from thence en- ed to have raiſed a popular Clamour againſt the Ad- tion: For this Reaſon I may ſuppoſe, that all the s upon your Table have already been ſufficiently d, and therefore I cannot think there is any Occaſion nting a ſelect Committee for that Purpoſe.

ſir the Article, Sir, which the honourable Gentle- ve been pleaſed to diſtinguiſh by a particular Re- mark,

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mark, it is certain that Houſes, Docks, Dock-yards, a Magazines, are as neceſſary for the Support of our Navy Ships of War; and it is as neceſſary to rebuild the form when fallen to Decay, as it is neceſſary to rebuild the lat To pretend that Miniſters, by Directions from his Majeſ ought not to order a Dock, Dock-yard, or Admiralty-Of to be repaired or rebuilt, without having firſt laid the ſa before Parliament, ſeems to me very extraordinary; it m be as well pretended, that they ought not to order a M of War to be rebuilt or repaired, without firſt having la the ſame before Parliament: In this reſpect the Sum c make no Difference; it is the Nature of the Service th we are to regard, when we are to determine, whether ought to be laid before Parliament before it be undertak and ſurely no Man will ſay, but that his Majeſty, or h Miniſters by his Direction, may give Orders to rebuild Man of War, or to repair or rebuild a publick Offi without having firſt laid the Affair before Parliament f their Approbation. I believe it will be granted, and it were inquired into it would be found, that no Mon has been laid out in this way, nor any Houſe built, b what were abſolutely neceſſary; and if there had been an Fallacy in the Accounts relating to that Expence, as th have been long upon the Table, it would certainly befo now have been taken Notice of.

'Thus it muſt appear, Sir, that the Story we have be told of a Steward's running his Maſter in Debt, is no Wa parallel to the preſent Caſe; for this Nation has been ne into no extraordinary Expence, but what had not only th Authority of Parliament before it was undertaken, but th Approbation of Parliament after it was laid out: And if any Debt has been contracted, if the Funds appropriated for th Service of the Year have proved at any Time deficient, o if any Services have been incurred which were not provide for by Parliament, thoſe Deficiencies and thoſe Services ha been regularly laid before Parliament as ſoon as they cou be brought into an Account: And it is very certain, if a Steward ſhould run his Maſter into no Expence but what he had a previous Authority for, and ſhould fairly and honeſtly lay before his Maſter every Year, or as often as it coul poſſibly be done, a full Account of the Debt he had con tracted in the preceding Year, that Steward could deſerv no Cenſure from his Maſter.

'Now, Sir, as the naming of a ſelect Committee, to in quire into Accounts and Eſtimates, is a very extraordinar Method of Proceeding, a Method which has not been prac tiſed for many Years, and never was often practiſed, w muſt ſuppoſe it will give a general Alarm, and make Peopl imagi

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...imagine that ſome Frauds have been committed. This will of courſe throw a Reflection upon his Majeſty's Government; and therefore I think we ought not to enter into any ſuch Method without ſome very ſtrong Reaſons; and as I can ſee no Reaſon for our entering into any ſuch Method, as I can ſee no Good that can be expected from any ſuch Method, as I am convinced it will do a great deal of Miſchief, by raiſing Jealouſies and Fears among his Majeſty's Subjects, therefore I muſt be againſt the Motion.'

Mr Gybbon. Sir Joſ. Jekyll. Mr Pulteney.

To this it was replied by Mr Gybbon, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr William Pulteney, and other Members as follows:

Sir,

'It is from the Knowledge I have of the Hiſtory of this Nation in particular, and of Europe in general, that I am ſurpriſed, with reſpect to the ſmall Part of our publick Debts paid off, notwithſtanding the Continuance of all our Taxes, and the vaſt Sums that have been raiſed every Year; and the more I conſider it, the leſs I can account for the unprofitable Uſe we have made of ſuch a long Term of Peace. But I am ſtill more ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman ſay, that all poſſible Methods have been purſued, either for diminiſhing the publick annual Expence, or the annual Intereſt due to the Creditors of the Publick; on the contrary I am convinced, that all poſſible Methods have been purſued for increaſing the firſt, and no Opportunities have been embraced for reducing either the Principal or the Intereſt due to the Creditors of the Publick, but ſuch as durſt not be uſed or neglected.

'We have been for theſe twenty Years in a continued Courſe of publick Peace, at leaſt we have had no War declared, nor any Broil with any of our Neighbours; and yet every Year we have been very near at as great an Expence, as we were at in any one Year of the heavy War in King William's Reign: We have had numerous Armies kept up in our own Country, we have maintained many Princes and Armies in foreign Countries, and we have ſent many expenſive Squadrons into almoſt all Places of the World; and I ſhould be glad to hear a Reaſon given for any of our naval Expeditions into the Baltick or the Mediterranean, by thoſe, who are now for our looking quietly on to ſee the Emperor ſtript of his Dominions in Italy, and Muſcovy giving Sovereigns to its neighbouring Kingdoms. I ſhould be glad to hear a Reaſon for our being ſo alarmed at the Alliance, lately between Spain and the Emperor, by thoſe who now ſeem to be ſo little alarmed at a Treaty, not only of Alliance but of Conqueſt, between France, Spain and Sardinia: This, Sir, I do not ſay with a Deſign to inſinuate that we

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have as yet any great Reaſon to be alarmed at this laſt Alliance, but I muſt think we had from the Beginning much greater Reaſon to be alarmed with it, than ever we had to be alarmed with the former; and I muſt think it would now have been more juſtifiable to have thrown ourſelves into the Arms of the Emperor, to have prevented the Conſequences of this laſt Alliance, than ever it was to threw ourſelves into the Arms of France, to prevent the Conſequences of the former: From all which I muſt conclude, either that a great Part of the Expence we have formerly been at might have been ſaved, or that our preſent Inactivity is highly inexcuſable; and which of theſe two to chuſe I ſhall leave to the Gentlemen who now ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſt, that for theſe laſt twenty Years we have taken all poſſible Methods to diminiſh our annual Expence.

'Now, Sir, as to the diminiſhing of the Intereſt payable to the Creditors of the Publick, can it be ſaid that we have taken any one Method to diminiſh it, but what the Nature of the Thing and the Circumſtances of the Nation pointed out ſo plainly, that it would have been highly criminal in any Adminiſtration to have neglected the Opportunity? But if we had applied the Sinking Fund regularly to the Payment of our publick Debts, if we had ſaved that Expence, which has been thrown away in maintaining numerous idle Armies, and ſending out many idle Squadrons, and had applied all the Savings to the ſame honeſt Purpoſes, the Principal of our publick Debts would have been ſo greatly reduced, that the Creditors who remained unpaid would have been glad to have taken what Intereſt we pleaſed: Nay, I do not know but the Principal would, by this Time, have been ſo greatly reduced, that the three great Companies would have been glad to have paſſed from the Payment of any future Intereſt upon what was due to them, in order to have had their Charters continued.

'Whether Accounts were regularly laid before the Parliament of the preſent Navy-Debt, yearly as it became due, is what I ſhall not pretend to deny, becauſe I do not really know whether it was ſo or not; but if this be true, which I ſhall, in Complaiſance to the honourable Gentlemen, admit, it is the ſtrongeſt Argument that can be given for what is now propoſed; it is a full Confirmation of the old Proverb that *What is every Man's Buſineſs is no Man's Buſineſs*, and therefore an unanſwerable Argument for our returning to the old Cuſtom of Parliament, and appointing ſelect Committees every Year to conſider and examine every Eſtimate laid before us: For I hope no Man will ſay but that we ought, in Time of Peace eſpecially, to raiſe as much within the Year as will anſwer the Service of the Year

and

any Deficiency ſhould happen in the Funds granted Anno 8. Geo. II. 1714-35.
e Year, or if it ſhould be found that the Eſtimates
eficient, all thoſe Deficiencies ought certainly to be
good the very next Year. It is certainly inconſiſtent
he publick Good to leave Arrears long due, becauſe
Tradeſmen, or thoſe who furniſh the Publick with
s neceſſary for publick Uſe, muſt lie for Years out of
Money, it is certain they neither can nor will ſerve the
k ſo cheap, as when they know they are ſure of their
y within a few Months after the Goods are delivered;
e longer any of thoſe Arrears ſtand unpaid, the greater
they will be obliged to pay for every Thing afterwards
t for publick Uſe.

With reſpect to Miniſters, indeed, and the Tools em-
d under them, I muſt obſerve, Sir, that it is of great
ntage to have publick Accounts ſtand long in Arrear;
is Advantage is greater in the Navy than in any other
h of publick Buſineſs, becauſe Tradeſmen, and others
ſerve the Publick, but eſpecially Seamen, cannot lie
ut of their Money: If they cannot get their Money
after it becomes due, they muſt go to Uſurers, mini-
Tools, and ſuch like Extortioners, to ſell or pledge
publick Securities. This brings ſuch Securities to Diſ-
, the longer they are of being paid, the greater Diſ-
they come to be at; ſo that at laſt they furniſh a plen-
Harveſt to Miniſters and their Favourites; for when
iſcount upon thoſe Securities is raiſed to a ſufficient
t, Miniſters then give the Watch-Word to their Agents
avourites to go out and purchaſe; and when they have
hem all, or moſt of them into their Hands, then the
erial Bowels begin to yearn for the Sufferings of the
k Creditors, in having lain ſo long out of their Mo-
and great Merit is aſſumed from their coming to a com-
nate Reſolution, to have ſuch or ſuch a Claſs of pub-
Creditors paid off: This Houſe is always too good na-
to refuſe ſuch a juſt Requeſt; and thus Extortioners
e full Value of thoſe Securities, which they purchaſe
great Diſcount. This, Sir, I ſhall not ſay is the Caſe
ſent; but I muſt ſay I am apt to believe, if an In-
were made into the Affair, it would be found that
is but a ſmall Part of the Debt, due upon the Navy,
n the Hands of the original Creditors of the Publick;
ven this, Sir, is an Inquiry not unworthy of the Re-
ntatives of Great Britain in Parliament.

But, Sir, whatever the Intereſt of Miniſters may be, it
rtainly the Intereſt of the Publick to pay off their
regularly, and as ſoon as poſſible; and as I am con-
d every Gentlemen now, or formerly, in this Houſe,

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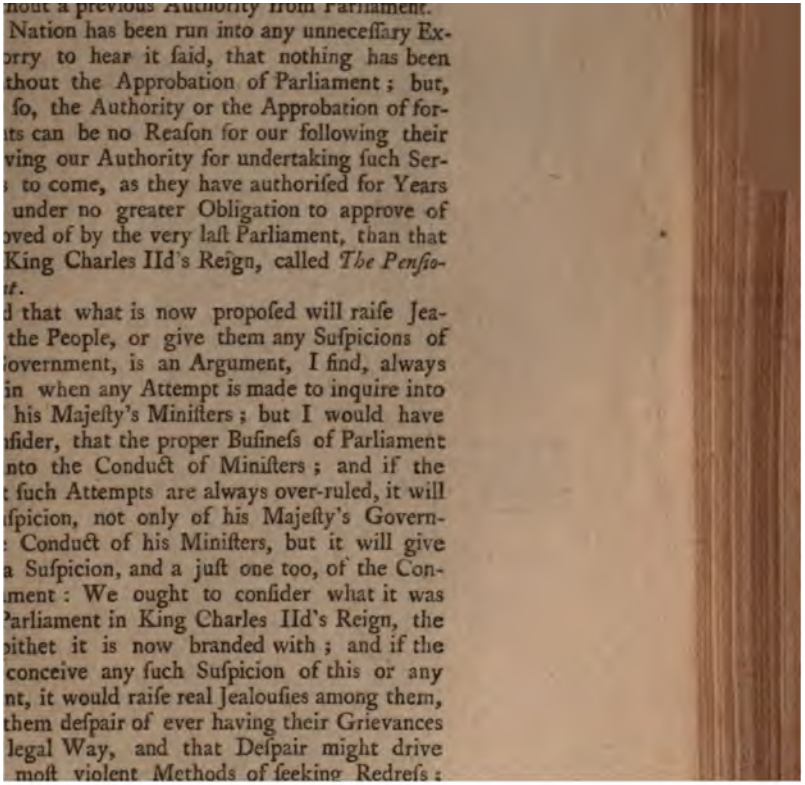
has, and always had, the Intereſt of the Publick more at Heart than the Intereſt of the Miniſter; therefore I am convinced, that if theſe Accounts have been upon our Table, all the other Gentlemen of the Houſe are in the ſame Condition with me; they are ſo far from having canvaſſed every Article of them, that they are quite ignorant of their having been ever laid upon the Table before this Seſſion: If any Gentleman had but caſt his Eye upon ſuch Accounts, in any preceeding Seſſion, and had obſerved the Arrears ſtanding unpaid, or unprovided for by Parliament, his Regard for the Publick, his Regard for the Diſtreſſed Creditors of the Publick, would certainly have prompted him to have moved to have had them taken into Conſideration, and paid off long before now; nothing could have prevented it but a Neglect, which has been occaſioned by its not having been made the Concern of any particular Set of Men; and for this Reaſon we never ought to think it ſufficient to have Accounts or Eſtimates laid upon our Table, we ought always to refer the Conſideration of them to ſelect Committees; and thus, by making it the particular Buſineſs of a few, we may expect they will never be neglected as thoſe now before us ſeem to have been, by their having been left to the Care of the whole Houſe.

'I muſt beg Leave to differ with the honourable Gentlemen, when they ſay, that the Nature of the Service is only to be regarded, when we are to determine, whether it ought or ought not to be laid before the Parliament; for in my Opinion, the Sum to be laid out ought likewiſe to be conſidered: If the Sum be but ſmall, and the Nature of the Service ſuch as often occurs, it may be undertaken without any particular Authority from Parliament; but if the Sum be large, tho' the Nature of the Service be ſuch as often occurred, and has generally been undertaken without any particular Directions from Parliaments, yet ſuch Directions become neceſſary when the Sum is much larger than what is uſually required for that Service: His Majeſty may, without Doubt, give Orders to have a Man of War, or perhaps half a Dozen in a Year, repaired; but if by any great Misfortune, it ſhould become neceſſary to lay out, in any one, two or three Years, a very large Sum for that Purpoſe, it would then be proper to lay that Neceſſity before Parliament; and I think no Miniſter ought to undertake ſuch an extraordinary Service without having firſt obtained an Authority from Parliament for ſo doing: In the Caſe mentioned, I believe it will be granted, that the building of Houſes is a Service that does not often occur; and I am very ſure the Sum that has been laid out, and which now makes a great Part of our Navy Debt, is a much larger Sum



hout a previous Authority from Parliament.
Nation has been run into any unneceſſary Ex-
orry to hear it ſaid, that nothing has been
thout the Approbation of Parliament; but,
ſo, the Authority or the Approbation of for-
its can be no Reaſon for our following their
ving our Authority for undertaking ſuch Ser-
s to come, as they have authoriſed for Years
under no greater Obligation to approve of
oved of by the very laſt Parliament, than that
King Charles IId's Reign, called *The Penſio-*
t.
d that what is now propoſed will raiſe Jea-
the People, or give them any Suſpicions of
overnment, is an Argument, I find, always
in when any Attempt is made to inquire into
his Majeſty's Miniſters; but I would have
nſider, that the proper Buſineſs of Parliament
nto the Conduct of Miniſters; and if the
ſuch Attempts are always over-ruled, it will
ſpicion, not only of his Majeſty's Govern-
Conduct of his Miniſters, but it will give
a Suſpicion, and a juſt one too, of the Con-
ment: We ought to conſider what it was
Parliament in King Charles IId's Reign, the
ithet it is now branded with; and if the
conceive any ſuch Suſpicion of this or any
nt, it would raiſe real Jealouſies among them,
them deſpair of ever having their Grievances
legal Way, and that Deſpair might drive
moſt violent Methods of ſeeking Redreſs;

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of the moſt ſignal Benefit to this Nation. We have be talking, Sir, of putting ourſelves in a Condition to comp the Acceptation of the Terms of Peace we are to propo but I wiſh we may not find that our Neighbours are w well acquainted with our Circumſtances to be afraid any Thing we can do: They know that our People are already as heavily taxed as they can bear: They know th all thoſe Taxes are already engaged, either for the Pa ment of our Debts, or for the Support of our Civil G vernment; can it be ſuppoſed that our Menaces will ha great Influence upon any of their Reſolutions? But if th ſhould find, that our Parliament were beginning to loo cloſely into the Management of our publick Affairs, th would from thence conclude, that the beſt Uſe would b made of every Shilling hereafter to be raiſed; that th People would contribute with the more Alacrity, and fro thence they will probably be induced to give ſome Atte tion to whatever we may think neceſſary to propoſe, for ſtoring the Peace of Europe. For this Reaſon, if the were no other, we ought to agree to what the honourabl Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe.'

Then the Queſtion being put upon Sir William Wyn ham's Motion, it was, upon a Diviſion, carried in the N gative, by 198 to 168.

Mr Plumer's Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Poſt-Office.

Feb. 26. Mr Walter Plumer mov'd, 'That the Copy the King's Warrant, whereby Letters were permitted to pa Poſt-Free, which had been laid before the Houſe on th 19th Inſtant [*See p.* 73] might be taken into Conſider tion. The Warrant being accordingly read, Complai were made by ſeveral Members, that their Letters were n only charged at the Poſt-Office, but that they were ofte broke open and peruſed by the Clerks: That this Practi of breaking open Letters was become frequent, and was publickly known, that the very End for which that Liber was given to the Poſtmaſter was entirely diſappointed; t the Intention being at firſt to diſcover any treaſonable Co reſpondence that might be carried on againſt the Gover ment, that Intention was rendered altogether vain, becau by the Practice of opening Letters being ſo frequent, and well known, it was certain that no Man would carry on a treaſonable Correſpondence by Means of the Poſt-Office; that the Liberty given to break open Letters at the Poſt-O fice could now ſerve no Purpoſe, but to enable the lo Clerks about that Office to pry into the private Affairs every Merchant, and of every Gentleman in the Kin At laſt it was inſiſted, that the Warrant then laid the Houſe was not the laſt Warrant granted by his Majes nor the Warrant by which the Poſt-maſters then acted; a

the

fore it was moved, that a Committee be appointed to ire into that Affair.

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Debate thereon, Mr Liſle, Mr Heathcote, Mr Pulteney, Mr Dundaſs, Mr Perry, Sir R. Walpole, Mr H. Pelham

t Plumer's Motion was ſupported by Mr Liſle, Mr heate, Mr Pulteney, Mr Dundaſs, and Mr Perry; it ſome Meaſure oppoſed by Sir Robert Walpole, and ſenry Pelham, but at laſt they agreeing to the Mo- provided that Committee did not inquire into any that might tend to the diſcovering the Secrets of the rnment; a Committee was appointed accordingly.

Sir Wal. Wagſtaff Bagot's Motion for a Clauſe to be added to the Mutiny-Bill, relating to the inliſting of Soldiers.

e ſame Day the Mutiny-Bill being reported to the e, Sir Walter Wagſtaff Bagot, Bart. ſtood up, and 'That ſince the Houſe had made ſuch a large Addi- to the Army, and ſeemed inclined to continue the Penalties on Deſerters, and the Method of recruiting ibed by that, and former Bills of the like Nature, thought it neceſſary to add ſome Clauſe, to make Bill leſs dangerous to the Subject: That by a Clauſe in Bill it was propoſed to be enacted, as in former Bills, if a poor Country-Fellow ſhould inliſt with an Officer ake his Money, and afterwards, when carried before a e, refuſe to declare himſelf inliſted and to take the Oaths ibed by Law, it ſhould then be in the Power of the r to ſend ſuch a poor Fellow to Priſon, and confine n a Dungeon for a whole Month, even tho' it ſhould r that the poor Fellow inliſted when he was drunk, as willing to return the Money he had taken, and ſatiſ- the Charges the Officer had been at: That this Power ining a Man in a Dungeon, where he might be in Dan- f ſtarving, was, he thought, too great a Power to be ted abſolutely in the Hands of any Officer: That it no way neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, and might dangerous Conſequence, becauſe it might tempt ſome ers to practiſe all the inveigling Arts they could think et with an Intention to recruit his Majeſty's Forces, compel poor Country-Fellows to give them a Sum of ey, by way of Compoſition, for being diſcharged from Bargain they had made when drunk, or in a Paſſion, for being freed from the Confinement to which the er had, by Law, an uncontroulable Power to ſubject : That therefore he would beg Leave to offer a Clauſe e added to the Bill, 'That every Officer, who ſhould reafter inliſt any Man to ſerve in any Regiment, ſhould hin Days carry the Man ſo inliſted before ſome of the next Juſtices of the Peace, where the Man ſo iſted ſhould be at Liberty to declare his Diſſent, and having repented of what he had done; and upon his doing, and returning to the Officer the inliſting Money, the Expences the Officer had been at by inliſting him,

'and

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'and carrying him before the Juſtice, not exceeding the 'Sum of ſuch Juſtice ſhould forthwith 'diſcharge him: And that an Officer, guilty of any Fa- 'lure or Neglect in this Reſpect, ſhould be liable to the 'ſame Penalties to which Officers are made liable for falſe 'Muſters.'

Debate thereon.

Mr Bramſton.

This was ſeconded by Mr Bramſton, who informed the Houſe, 'That he actually knew a Caſe, where a poor Fellow was inveigled when he was drunk, and when he came to be ſober, repented, and therefore refuſed to take the Oaths when carried before the Juſtice; but the Officer inſiſted upon his being ſent to Priſon, and confined for a Month in the Terms of the Act of Parliament, tho' the poor Fellow offered to return the inliſting Money and all Charges; and it not being in the Power, or in the Inclination of the Juſtice to refuſe the Officer's Demand, the poor Fellow was accordingly ſent to Jail, where he remained for ſome Time; but having no Victuals nor Drink, he was at laſt compelled to go before the Juſtice and take the Oaths preſcribed, in order to prevent his being ſtarved.'

Gen. Wade. Mr Hen. Bromley. Mr Lindſay. Mr Hay.

To this it was anſwer'd by General Wade, Mr Henry Bromley, Mr Lindſay, and Mr Hay, 'That what was propoſed by the Clauſe offered had already been taken Care of by his Majeſty's Orders for regulating the Army, for as no Soldier could be tried upon the Mutiny-Act, unleſs he had taken the Oaths preſcribed by that Act before ſome Juſtice of Peace, therefore his Majeſty had given an Order to all Officers, that no Recruit ſhould be brought to or entered in any Regiment, 'till he had firſt been regularly inliſted, and had taken the Oaths preſcribed by Law, before ſome of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace; ſo that by his Majeſty's Order every Officer was obliged to do what was propoſed by the Clauſe offered; and as the Bill then before them was of the ſame Nature with former Bills againſt Mutiny and Deſertion, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to continue the ſame general Order to all Officers, with reſpect to their carrying Recruits before ſome Juſtice of Peace, therefore they thought it was unneceſſary to add any Clauſe for that Purpoſe; and it would be attended with many Inconveniencies, particularly, that it would be ſometimes impoſſible for an Officer to carry a Recruit before any Juſtice within the Time propoſed, or within any limited Number of Days.'

Sir W. Wyndham. Sir J. Barnard. Mr Sandys.

To this it was replied by Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Barnard, and Mr Sandys, 'That the very Clauſe then propoſed had been in ſeveral Mutiny-Bills during the Reign of King William, tho' it was then in Time of War, and Recruiting of Courſe more difficult than it could be ſuppoſed to be at preſent: That the honourable Gentlemen who oppoſed

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Clauſe, could not ſay, that by any Order his Ma- ld give, the Juſtice of Peace was obliged to diſ- ne Man inliſted, upon his declaring before him his pented of what he had done, and returning to the e inliſting Money and all the Charges the Officer at for inliſting him: That what was propoſed by e was to lay an Obligation upon the Juſtice, and to ur Fellow an Opportunity to get off upon reaſonable in caſe he ſhould repent of what he had done; nei- hich could be effectuated by any Order his Majeſty n, or could give for regulating the Army: That the e complained of was, the inveigling of Men to inliſt, ing a Property of them after their having been ſo : That this was a Privilege which they hoped no ould inſiſt on: That the Aboliſhing of this Privilege t the Clauſe offer'd chiefly aim'd at; and therefore 'd the Houſe would agree to it.

Sir R. Walpole. Mr H. Pelham.

obert Walpole and Mr Henry Pelham having de- That they would be for the Clauſe, if it could be as not to be attended with any Inconvenience to ice; and thereupon propoſed that the Debate be d till the next Day, in order that ſuch a Clauſe e contrived: And it being admitted of the other at the Clauſe, as it then ſtood, might perhaps ſtand of ſome little Amendment, it was agreed to ad- e Debate accordingly till next Day; when the Clauſe ed to, and added to the Mutiny-Bill.

Mr Walpole's Motion for a Subſidy of 56,250l. to Denmark.

28. The Houſe being in a Grand Committee on the and the Treaty with Denmark, dated *Sept.* 19, aving been referred to the ſaid Committee, a Mo- made by Mr Horatio Walpole, 'That the Sum 50l. be granted to his Majeſty, on account of the to the King of Denmark, purſuant to the ſaid Trea- the Service of the Year 1735.' This occaſioned a bate, in which Mr Walpole's Motion was ſupported Winnington, Mr * Willes, Col. Bladen, and Sir Walpole, as follows:

Debate thereon.

Mr H. Walpole. Mr Winnington. Mr Willes. Col. Bladen. Sir R. Walpole.

hough we are not engaged in the preſent War, yet, alance of Power in Europe depends very much upon nt of it, we may be ſoon under a Neceſſity of join- or other of the Parties; therefore it is incumbent to ſtrengthen ourſelves before-hand, by engaging as oreign Powers as we can to join with us upon ſuch ſt. In this Situation, it was natural to caſt our Eye wards Denmark, the Intereſt of that Nation being

* *Attorney General, now Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.*

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generally the ſame with our own; and at preſent was the more neceſſary, becauſe great Endeavours were us'd to engage that Court on the other Side of the Queſtion, which might have proved of the moſt fatal Conſequence to the Liberties of Europe, and conſequently to thoſe of this Nation.

'The Experience of the laſt two Wars againſt France may convince us, Sir, how dangerous it is to allow any one Power in Europe to exalt itſelf too much, and how expenſive it may prove, to reduce a Power that has once got too great an Aſcendant over its Neighbours. The Expence, which Great Britain is to be put to by this Treaty with Denmark, muſt appear very inconſiderable to every Gentleman who conſiders, that we thereby not only ſecure the Aſſiſtance of a powerful Kingdom, but prevent their being engaged againſt us, in caſe the Event of the War ſhould make it neceſſary for us to join the other Side. In all Caſes it is certainly prudent upon any Emergency, to lay out a ſmall Sum, when it is probable we may by ſo doing prevent our being afterwards brought under a Neceſſity of putting ourſelves to a much greater Expence: And this is the very Caſe at preſent in relation to our Treaty with Denmark.

'It is well known, Sir, that Nations are, in all their publick Tranſactions, governed by their own Intereſt; and as all Europe knew that great Offers were making to Denmark, to ſecure them on that Side, againſt which we might ſoon be under a Neceſſity to engage; therefore it became abſolutely neceſſary for us to offer them ſuch Terms as might convince them, that it was more their Intereſt to join in Alliance with us, than with either of the Parties concerned in the War: I muſt therefore think, that the concluding this Treaty was one of the moſt prudent Steps his Majeſty could take, and the Conditions on our Part are ſo reaſonable, that I think every Gentleman in this Houſe muſt approve of them; and therefore, I hope, this Motion will be agreed to without Oppoſition.'

Sir W. Wyndham. Mr Pulteney. Sir J. Barnard. Mr Sandys. Mr Shippen. Sir John Hynde Cotton.

Mr Walpole's Motion was oppos'd by Sir William Wyndham, Mr Pulteney, Sir John Barnard, Mr Sandys, Mr Shippen, and Sir John Hynde Cotton, who alledg'd the following Arguments againſt the Motion.

Sir,

'I am glad to hear that we are as yet no way engaged in the War; if it be ſo, I am ſure it is ridiculous to put the Nation to a great Expence, to provide againſt a Danger which may never happen. As we have no particular Intereſt of our own for inducing us to engage in the preſent War, but only the Danger the Balance of Power may be in by that Event: And as all the Powers of Europe are as much

much, or more, intereſted in the Preſervation of that Ba- Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-35.
lance than we are; if it ſhould come to be in any real Danger, they would certainly engage in its Defence, without receiving any valuable Conſideration from us; but if we ſhould be always the firſt to take the Alarm upon any War's breaking out, and offer Bribes and Penſions to all the Princes in Europe, the whole Charge of preſerving that Balance would fall upon this Nation; and each of them would, upon every ſuch Occaſion, expect a Bribe or a Penſion from England, for doing that which he would otherwiſe be obliged to do for his own Preſervation: Even the Dutch may at laſt refuſe to aſſiſt, when the Balance of Power is really in Danger, unleſs we ſubmit to make the Grand Penſionary of Holland a Penſionary of England, and take a Number of their Forces into Engliſh Pay.

'It is really ſurpriſing, Sir, to hear Gentlemen talk of the Balance of Power's being in Danger, and that we muſt already begin to provide for its Preſervation, when there is not a Prince or State in Europe, who ſeems to apprehend any ſuch Matter. The Dutch have not put themſelves to one Shilling Expence on account of the preſent War, or for that Mediation they are engaged in as well as we. The Princes and States of Germany are ſo far from being apprehenſive of any Danger, by the Event of the preſent War, that ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them have actually engaged in a Neutrality. Even the King of Denmark, whom we have thought neceſſary to engage by a conſiderable yearly Penſion, is himſelf a Prince of the Empire, and would certainly ſuffer, by the Overturning the Balance of Power in Europe, much ſooner than this Nation would; and therefore we muſt conclude, that it is more immediately his Intereſt to engage, not only in Defence of that Balance, but in Defence of the Empire; yet we, it ſeems, have been ſo generous as to promiſe to reward him bountifully for doing what is abſolutely neceſſary for his own Preſervation. This, Sir, is a moſt pernicious Example, it may at laſt bring the Balance of Power into real Danger, becauſe it may tempt all the Princes of Europe to neglect it, until we grant them yearly Penſions for taking Care of it; and perhaps this very Precedent has now provoked all the other Princes of Germany to ſtand off, on Purpoſe to engage us to extend our Bounty in the ſame Manner to each of them.

'To tell us, Sir, that if we had not entered into this Treaty with the King of Denmark, he might have been prevailed on to have concluded a Treaty with another Power, which might have been prejudicial to us, is, in my Opinion, very odd. Princes, 'tis true, Sir, do not always ſee their real Intereſts, but if we reſolve upon every Occa-

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caſion to clear their Eyeſight by a Penſion, I am afraid none of them will ever open their Eyes without receiving ſome ſuch Remedy from us. We are never to ſuppoſe that any Prince of Europe will engage againſt the Liberties of Europe, or will perform any former Engagement, when the Performance comes to be apparently inconſiſtent with the Liberties of Europe, and conſequently with his own Independency, unleſs he be very much blinded by ſome particular Intereſt of his own: And of all the Princes of Europe the King of Denmark is, in this Reſpect, the leaſt liable to any Temptation; there are ſeveral other Princes of Europe, who may be tempted to join with thoſe who have Deſigns againſt the Liberties of Europe; becauſe they may be made from thence to expect ſome Addition to their own Dominions; and theſe are the Princes upon whom we ought to have a watchful Eye; theſe are the Princes, if any, upon whom we ought to beſtow our Penſions, in order to keep them firm to the general Intereſt of Europe. If we had by any Subſidy engaged the Duke of Bavaria in an Alliance; if we had by any Subſidy diſengaged the King of Sardinia from his preſent Allies; or if we had laid out a Sum of Money in engaging the Polanders to make ſuch a Choice of a King, as would have prevented the breaking out of the War, (and perhaps a leſs Sum might have done than the Expence we have been at on account of the War) there might have been ſome Reaſon for our being at ſuch an Expence; but I can ſee no Advantage we can expect, from the Expence we are to be at, on account of this Treaty with Denmark.

'I ſhall readily agree with the honourable and learned Gentleman [*Mr Willes*] that Nations are entirely governed by their own Intereſt; but as it is the Intereſt of Denmark, as much as it is the Intereſt of this Nation, to preſerve the Balance of Power in Europe, therefore I muſt think it was quite unneceſſary for us to give them a Fee for doing ſo: I ſhall indeed grant, that they were in the Right to take it, for, I believe, few will refuſe to take a Fee for that, which is both their Duty and Intereſt to do without any Reward. As I have a great Opinion of the Honour and the Penetration both of the King and the Miniſters of Denmark, I muſt conclude they would never have entered into any Engagements, that were inconſiſtent with the Liberties of Europe; I muſt conclude they will always be ready, without any Fee or Reward, to join with all their Force in the Preſervation of the Balance of Power, whenever it ſhall appear to be in any real Danger. Conſequently it was altogether unneceſſary for us to enter into any ſuch Treaty as that now before us, or to promiſe any ſuch Subſidy as is by that Treaty ſtipulated; and therefore, as one of the Repreſentatives

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le, to whom they have entruſted the laying out y, in the moſt frugal Manner, I cannot agree to neceſſary Expence as what is now propoſed.'

Sir Joſ. Jekyll. Mr Howe.

is Sir Joſeph Jekyll, and Mr Howe declar'd, y approved of the Treaty as little as any Gentle- That tho' they thought it was altogether unneceſ- t the Nation to ſuch an Expence 'till the Danger re apparent, yet as it was the firſt Treaty his ad concluded upon the preſent Emergency, they e to the Motion; becauſe if that Houſe ſhould not what his Majeſty had done with reſpect to that might be, at ſuch a Conjuncture, of the moſt Conſequence to the Liberties of Europe, by encou- ambitious Views which ſome of the Parties en- War may now have, or hereafter form to them- d by diſcouraging any of the Princes or States of om entering into any Treaties with his Majeſty, he Circumſtances of Europe ſhould then abſolutely h Treaties to be concluded.'

he Queſtion being put for agreeing with the Mo- as carried in the Affirmative, by 270 to 178.

Sir J. Barnard moves for a Bill for reſtraining the Number of Play-Houſes.

5. Sir John Barnard mov'd for bringing in a Bill, ing the Number of Houſes for playing of Inter- for the better regulating Common Players of In- In Support of this Motion he repreſented the Miſ- e to the City of London by the Play-Houſes, in the Youth, encouraging Vice and Debauchery, prejudicial to Trade and Induſtry; and how much would be increas'd, if another Play-Houſe ſhould the very Heart * of the City.' Sir John Barnard

Debate thereon.

ded by Mr Sandys, and ſupported by Mr Pulte- Robert Walpole, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Sir Thomas n, and ſeveral other Members; Mr James Ereſ- articular reckon'd up the Number of Play-Houſes ondon, viz. The Opera-Houſe, the French Play- the Hay-Market, and the Theatres in Covent-Gar- ury-Lane, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and Goodman's- nd added, 'That it was no leſs ſurprizing than ſhame- e ſo great a Change for the worſe in the Temper and ons of the Britiſh Nation, who were now ſo extra- addicted to lewd and idle Diverſions, that the Num- Play-Houſes in London was double to that of Paris; now exceeded in Levity even the French them- from whom we learned theſe and many other ridi- uſtoms, as much unſuitable to the Mein and Manners gliſhman or a Scot, as they were agreeable to the Air and

Mr Sandys. Mr Pulteney. Sir R. Walpole. Sir Joſ. Jekyll. Sir T. Saunderſon. Mr J. Ereskine.

* *e was at this Time a Project on foot for erecting a Play-Houſe ertins le Grand.*

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and Levity of a Monſieur: That it was aſtoniſhing Europe, that Italian Eunuchs and Singers ſhould have ſ laries, equal to thoſe of the Lords of the Treaſury and ges of England. After this it was order'd, *Nem. Con.* a Bill be brought in purſuant to Sir John Barnard's Mot which was done accordingly: But it was afterwards d on Account of a Clauſe offer'd to be inſerted in the ſaid for enlarging the Power of the Lord Chamberlain, with gard to the Licenſing of Plays.

Mr Bramſton's Motion for reſtraining the Counſel from offering Evidence, touching the Right of Election for any Place, contrary to the laſt Determination of the Houſe.

March 7. Mr Bramſton moved, 'That the Clauſe o Act made in the ſecond Year of his preſent Majeſty's R intitled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing Br and Corruption in the Elections of Members to ſerve in liament*, which relates to the laſt Determination in Houſe of Commons, concerning Votes for Members to in Parliament for any County, City, Borough, Cinque-P or Place; with the Clauſe relating to the Oath to be t by returning Officers, ſhould be read; and the ſame ha been read accordingly, Mr Bramſton ſtood up again, ſpoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

'By the Clauſe of the Act now read to you, it app that the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons, regard to the Right of voting at any Election, is declare be final to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever, any U to the contrary notwithſtanding; ſo that in all future Diſp about any Election for the ſame Place, the laſt Determi on of this Houſe is the Rule, by which the Right of vo is to be determined, and againſt which no Arguments, any Proof can be admitted: This I take to be now the L of the Land, and conſequently is binding as well upon Houſe, as upon every Gentleman who has been ſince Act, or may hereafter be concerned in any Election.

'At all Times, Sir, and particularly in ſuch a dange Conjuncture as the preſent, it is incumbent upon us to bliſh among the People a good Opinion of the Impartia Integrity, and Juſtice of this Houſe in all our Proceed With Reſpect to State Affairs, eſpecially ſuch as relat Foreign Tranſactions, the Facts are not publickly kn nor can the Motives or Arguments for or againſt any Qu on relating to them be underſtood by the Vulgar; and th fore in ſuch Queſtions it is not eaſy for the People in ge to comprehend the Debates; nor would it be poſſible them to diſcover the Injuſtice or the Partiality of our ceedings, were it poſſible for this Houſe to be guilty of ſuch. But in all our Proceedings relating to Elections, People in general, or at leaſt thoſe who live in the N bourhood of the Place where any Diſpute happens abo

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Seſſion, know every Circumſtance, and are as capable of judging of the Motives or Arguments for or againſt moſt of the Queſtions that occur upon ſuch Occaſions, as any Member of this Houſe: And when the People obſerve a Contradiction in our Determinations relating to ſuch Affairs; when they obſerve the Right of voting at an Election given by this Houſe to one Sort of People, and in the very next Seſſion, perhaps, that Right determined by this Houſe to be in a quite different Sort of People, they muſt conclude, that the Determination of this Houſe in relation to that Affair did not proceed from Juſtice and Impartiality, but from private Intereſt, or from Party-Zeal. This is the Concluſion they muſt neceſſarily form with Reſpect to thoſe Affairs they know, and can judge of; and the Misfortune is, that they muſt thence naturally conclude, that our Proceedings are governed by the ſame Motives in thoſe Affairs which they do not know, nor can judge of.

'To prevent an Effect ſo dangerous to our Conſtitution as, I believe, Sir, one of the chief Motives for inſerting the Clauſe now read to you in the Act of Parliament, and Care has been taken to expreſs it in Terms ſo ſtrong and explicit, that it cannot, in my Opinion, be evaded by any Artifice or Subterfuge. It is now the Law of the Land; a Law ſo reaſonable, that I hope it will never be altered or repealed; and a Law ſo plain, that I can make no Doubt, but that the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons will, for the future, be, in all ſuch Caſes, a Rule from which we cannot depart. However, Sir, as ſome Gentlemen are not ſufficiently appriſed of this Law, or may entertain Hopes that this Houſe will not, in their future Determinations, ſtrictly adhere to it, they may therefore put themſelves to great Expence in bringing up Witneſſes, and may take up a great deal of your Time with Arguments to ſhew, that the Right of voting at any Election now diſputed, is not in thoſe People only, in whom it was declared to be by the laſt Determination of this Houſe: This will be putting themſelves to great Expence, and taking up the Time of this Houſe to no Purpoſe, ſince the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons is now by Law eſtabliſhed as a Rule, from which we cannot depart, notwithſtanding the cleareſt Proof of any Uſage to the contrary.

'As we ought, Sir, to prevent Gentlemen putting themſelves to any needleſs Expence, as we ought to prevent their attempting to take up the Time of this Houſe to no Purpoſe, therefore I think this Law ought to be ſome way reviv'd, not only to put Gentlemen in mind of it, but to ſhew them that we are reſolved to adhere to it in the ſtricteſt Manner; and as the only proper way for us to revive any Law, is by coming

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coming to ſome new Reſolution in relation to it, ther
hope the Houſe will agree to the following Motion,
is, 'That the Counſel at the Bar of this Houſe, or
'the Committee of Privileges and Elections, be re
'from offering Evidence, touching the Right of Elec
'Members to ſerve in Parliament for any City, Boro
'Place, contrary to the laſt Determination in the
'of Commons; which Determination, by an Act pa
'the ſecond Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, i
'*An Act for the effectual preventing Bribery and Cor*
'*in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament*,
'final to all Intents and Purpoſes whatſoever, any
'to the contrary notwithſtanding.'

Debate thereon.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr H. Pelham.
Sir W. Yonge.

This Motion being ſeconded by Mr Sandys, and ſu
by Mr Walter Plumer: The ſame was objected to
Horatio Walpole, Mr Henry Pelham, and Sir W
Yonge, who did not directly oppoſe the Motion itſe
propoſed the Delaying of it a few Days, as follows.

Sir,

'I muſt own, I have not lately conſidered the
now read to you, and therefore am not prepared
ſpeak to it: But upon the firſt View, I take the M
be of the utmoſt Conſequence, becauſe I look upon
Reſtraint deſigned to be put upon the Juriſdiction
Houſe in the moſt material Point, that of determi
Queſtions relating to electing the Members of o
Houſe. I really never imagined, that the Intention
Act, or of any Clauſe in it, was to reſtrain the H
Commons, with reſpect to their Determinations in
of Election; for in all ſuch Determinations I think w
not to be under any Limitation, nor confined by any
and if there had been any ſuch Intention, I beli
Houſe would never have agreed to the Bill, or at le
Clauſe by which any ſuch Reſtraint was intended to
upon this Houſe.

'It is for this Reaſon, Sir, that I have always in
and ſtill think, that the Clauſe now read to you rela
to Returning Officers, and was deſigned as a Direc
them, what Sort of Perſons they were to admit to
any Election; with reſpect to which they were
Clauſe obliged to take the laſt Determination of the
of Commons, as a Rule to be inviolably obſerved b
at all ſucceeding Elections. This, Sir, I muſt ſtill
is all that was deſigned by the Clauſe; for it is
that if in all future diſputed Elections, we were to t
laſt Determination of this Houſe as an infallible Rule
Conduct, a very great Injury would thereby be do
great many Cities and Boroughs in England; and I

t that it was ever the original Intention of any Act Anno 8. Geo. II. 1734-5.
liament to do an Injury to any one, much leſs to great
ers of his Majeſty's Subjects.
ever, Sir, as I have not lately read or conſidered the
will not now pretend to be poſitive in my Opinion,
erefore I hope the honourable Gentlemen will agree
off the Conſideration of this Motion to ſome ſhort
to Monday next if they pleaſe, that other Gentlemen
as myſelf may have Time to conſider it, before we
liged to give our Opinion in a Caſe which is certainly
at Conſequence.'

this it was reply'd by Sir Joſeph Jekyll:

ir,

I had the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe Sir J. Jekyll.
the Clauſe now under Conſideration had the good
e to paſs, I well remember the Hiſtory of it: This
was not originally in the Bill, but was put into it by
er Houſe, and I believe, with a View to prevent the
of it; or at leaſt that it was the Intention of thoſe
ſt contrived this Clauſe; for they imagined that this
would never agree to ſuch an Amendment: But when
l came back to this Houſe, the Gentlemen who pro-
the Bill were ſo juſtly fond of it, that they choſe to
to all the Amendments made by the other Houſe,
s among the reſt, rather than loſe ſo good a Bill. In-
to this Clauſe they had a very good Reaſon for
g to it; for tho' it did lay ſome Reſtraint upon the
ction of this Houſe in Matters of Election, yet the
ty of the Houſe then thought it a reaſonable Re-
, and even a neceſſary Reſtraint, in order to prevent,
e to come, that frequent Contradiction in our Deter-
ons with reſpect to Elections, which had in Time paſt
contributed to the giving People a contemptible O-
of all the Proceedings of this Houſe.

he Clauſe now read to you, Sir, is ſo full, and conceiv-
Terms ſo plain and eaſy to be underſtood, that I am
ed to hear any Gentleman deſire an Hour to conſider
but I am ſtill more ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman,
lly a Gentleman who has often attended the Com-
of Elections, ſay, he imagined this Clauſe was in-
only as a Direction to Returning Officers, what Sort
ple they were to admit to poll at any Election; be-
this very Direction was given by Act of Parliament
Years ago to all Sheriffs and Returning Officers: So
go as the eighth Year of King William's Reign, all
s and Returning Officers have been prohibited, by an
hen made, to return any Member to ſerve in Parlia-
contrary to the laſt Determination in the Houſe of

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Commons, as to the Right of Election for ſuch Places; and therefore it would have been ridiculous to have inſerted in a late Act ſuch a Clauſe as that now before us, if no more had been intended by it, than to give the ſame Directions to Sheriffs and other Returning Officers, which were given to them by a former Act then in full Force: But, without any ſuch Conſideration, the Clauſe before us is in itſelf ſo clearly expreſſed, that it is impoſſible to miſtake its Meaning; and as the honourable Gentleman intends nothing by his Motion but to prevent Gentlemens putting themſelves to a needleſs Expence, and giving this Houſe an unneceſſary Trouble, I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould make any Difficulty in agreeing to what he has propoſed.

'Can Gentlemen be ſerious, Sir, when they ſay that this Houſe is not to be confined by any Rules; that we ought not to be under any Reſtraint, with reſpect to our Determinations about the Election of our own Members; and that this Houſe would never have agreed to the Clauſe, if any ſuch Thing had been intended? Our Determinations in ſuch Caſes are, 'tis true, ſupreme and final; but ſurely, Sir, even in ſuch Caſes we are confined by the Rules of natural Juſtice and Equity, and likewiſe by the antient Cuſtoms and the Laws of the Kingdom. Let a Court of Judicature be as abſolute and ſupreme as can be imagined, yet I ſhould have a very bad Opinion of the Judges of that Court, if they confined themſelves to no Rules, nor even to thoſe Laws they themſelves had before made for their future Conduct. I do not know but ſome of the Cities and Boroughs of England may have been injured by the laſt Determination of this Houſe, and in ſuch a Caſe it is a Hardſhip to make that injurious Determination abſolute and final as to them in all Time to come; but if there were any ſuch injurious Determinations made, it is the more neceſſary by a Law to put a Stop to them. The Hardſhip is already put upon them; the Law is already paſſed; it is now one of the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom, and cannot therefore be altered or amended by any Reſolution of this Houſe: It is not the firſt Time that a Hardſhip has been put upon particular Men for the Good of the Society in general; but in this Caſe, if any City or Borough has been injured by the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons, and that Injury fix'd upon them by the Law now under our Conſideration, they may apply to Parliament for Relief, and will certainly obtain an Act of Parliament for that Purpoſe, which is the only Method by which they can now be relieved; ſo that the Hardſhip, if any has been put upon them, cannot come under our Conſideration in the preſent Queſtion.

'However,

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'However, Sir, tho' I do not think it at all neceſſary to take a Day to conſider of the preſent Motion, yet I ſhall not be againſt it; becauſe I wiſh it were made a ſtanding Order of this Houſe, that no Motion ſhould be taken into Conſideration or agreed to the ſame Day it is made: For this Reaſon I ſhall not be againſt adjourning the Debate 'till Monday, according to the honourable Gentleman's Deſire; and I agree to it the rather, becauſe I hope when the Motion has been fully and maturely conſidered, it will be unanimouſly agreed to: But, on other Occaſions, I hope thoſe Gentlemen will ſhew the ſame Complaiſance to others, and will not inſiſt, that any Motion they may hereafter think fit to make ſhall be immediately taken into Conſideration; for if this ſhould be made a Rule for one Side, and not for the other, it would be as partial a Method of Proceeding as was ever practiſed by former Parliaments in their Determinations about Elections.'

It was ordered accordingly, that the farther Conſideration of that Queſtion ſhould be adjourned to the Monday Morning next, when the Motion was amended thus: 'That the 'Counſel at the Bar of this Houſe, or before the Committee 'of Privileges and Elections, be reſtrained from offering E'vidence, touching the Legality of Votes for Members to 'ſerve in Parliament, for any County, Shire, City, Borough, 'Cinque-Port, or Place, contrary to the laſt Determination 'of the Houſe of Commons: Which Determination, by an 'Act paſſed in the ſecond Year of his preſent Majeſty's 'Reign, intitled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing 'Bribery and Corruption, in the Election of Members to ſerve 'in Parliament*, is made final to all Intents and Purpoſes 'whatſoever, any Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.' And then it was agreed to without any farther Debate.

A Bill ordered to be brought in, for limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons, upon Mr Sandys's Motion.

March 19. Upon the Motion of Mr Sandys, it was order'd, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons; and Mr Sandys, Mr Wortley, Mr Howe, Sir John Hynde Cotton, Mr Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir William Lowther, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame.

Mr Wortley.
Mr Howe.
Sir John Hynde Cotton.
Mr Watkin Williams Wynn.

March 21. The ſaid Bill was preſented to the Houſe by Mr Sandys.

The Reſolutions of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Complaints relating to the Poſt-Office.

April 16. The Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the Complaint relating to the Poſt-Office, being taken into Conſideration, the Reſolutions of the ſaid Committee were as follows; viz. I. That the Privilege of franking Letters by the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, choſen to repreſent the Commons in Parliament, began with the erect-

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ing a Poſt-Office within this Kingdom, by Act of Parliament. II. That all Letters, not exceeding two Ounces, ſigned by the proper Hand of, or directed to any Member of this Houſe, during the ſitting of every Seſſion of Parliament, and forty Days before and forty Days after every Summons or Prorogation, ought to be carried and delivered freely and ſafely from all Parts of Great Britain and Ireland without any Charge of Poſtage. III. That it is an high Infringement of the Privilege of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, choſen to repreſent the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, for any Poſt-maſter, his Deputies or Agents, in Great Britain or Ireland, to detain or delay, open or look into, by any Means whatſoever, any Letter directed to, or ſigned by the proper Hand of any Member, without an expreſs Warrant in Writing, under the Hand of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, for every ſuch Detaining, Delaying, Opening, or Looking into. IV. That all Letters directed to any Member of this Houſe at any Place within the Bills of Mortality, be carried by the proper Officers of the Poſt-Office to the Houſe or Lodgings of ſuch Member, or to the Lobby of the Houſe of Commons. V. That it is a notorious Breach of the Privilege of the Houſe of Commons, for any Perſon to counterfeit the Hand, or put the Name of any Member of the Houſe of Commons upon any Letter, in order to prevent its being charged with the Duty of Poſtage. VI. That ſuch Perſons as ſhall preſume to do the ſame, ought to be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt Severity.

The firſt two of theſe Reſolutions were agreed to, and on the 25th the third Reſolution was amended thus: viz. That it is an high Infringement of the Privilege of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, choſen to repreſent the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament, for any Poſt-Maſter, his Deputies or Agents, in Great Britain or Ireland, to open or look into, by any Means whatſoever, any Letter directed to, or ſigned by the proper Hand of any Member, without an expreſs Warrant in Writing, under the Hand of one of the principal Secretaries of State, for every ſuch Opening or Looking into; or to detain or delay any Letter, directed to, or ſigned with the Name of any Member, unleſs there ſhall be juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect ſome Counterfeit of it, without an expreſs Warrant of a principal Secretary of State as aforeſaid, for every ſuch Detaining or Delaying.

Which are agreed to by the Houſe.

Then the three other Reſolutions were ſeverally read a ſecond Time, and agreed to, without any Amendment.

Debate on a Motion for committing the Bill for limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons,

April 22. The Bill for limiting the Number of Officers to ſit in the Houſe of Commons being read a ſecond Time; and a Motion being made for committing the ſame, there enſued

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ded a great Debate. The chief Speakers for committing the Bill were Mr John Pitt, Mr Boone, Mr Lyttleton, Lord Polwarth, Mr Hume Campbell, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Sir William Wyndham, and Sir John Hynde Cotton. The Speakers againſt committing it were Mr Stephen Fox, Hon. Mr Stephen Cornwallis, Mr Lewis, (of Hampſhire) Mr Henbury Williams, Hon. Mr Robert Byng, Mr Lindſay, Mr Oglethorp, Mr Danvers, Mr Thomas Corbet, Hon. Mr Henry Pelham, General Wade, Sir Robert Walpole, and Mr Rider the Solicitor General.

Mr John Pitt.
Mr Boone.
Mr Lyttleton.
Lord Polwarth.
Mr H. Campbell.
Sir Jof. Jekyll.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Sir J. H. Cotton.

Mr Stephen Fox.
Hon. S. Cornwallis.
Mr Lewis.
Mr Han. Williams.
Hon. Rob. Byng.
Mr Lindſay.
Mr Oglethorp.
Mr Danvers.
Mr Tho. Corbet.
Mr Hen. Pelham.
Gen. Wade.
Sir R. Walpole.
Mr Rider.

But the Queſtion being at laſt put for committing the Bill, it was carried in the Negative by 216, againſt 192.

May, 15. The King came to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent for and attending, his Majeſty gave the Royal Aſſent to ſeveral Bills: After which he put an End to the Seſſion with the following Speech to both Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech at putting an End to the firſt Seſſion.

"I Am glad the Buſineſs of this Seſſion of Parliament is brought to ſuch a Concluſion, that I have now an Opportunity of giving you ſome Receſs, after the great Pains you have taken in the Service of your Country. On this Occaſion I muſt in Juſtice return you My Thanks for the many Inſtances you have given Me of your Duty and Affection to My Perſon and Government, and for the neceſſary Proviſions you have made for the Publick Security, as far as the immediate Circumſtances of Affairs might require.

"I have conſidered with great Care and Attention the preſent Situation of Europe, and duly weighed the Conſequences, that may ariſe from the Progreſs of the War, either by means of its becoming more general, or continuing only to be carried on between the Powers already engaged.

"As Accommodation of theſe unhappy Troubles appeared to be the beſt Means to prevent the Dangers, that were to be apprehended on either Side. In this View, a Plan of Pacification was concerted between Me and the States General with great Impartiality, and not without reaſonable Grounds to hope for Succeſs, altho' it hath not had the deſired Effect.

"But all future Reſolutions, to be taken in this important and critical Conjuncture, muſt be principally determined by future Events: This makes it impoſſible for Me, at preſent, to take the previous Advice and Concurrence of My Parliament in ſuch Meaſures, as may become abſolutely

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" ſolutely neceſſary to be entered into. But you may be " aſſured, that My conſtant Concern for the Publick Wel- " fare, the Liberties of Europe, and, in particular, for the " Felicity and Security of theſe Kingdoms, will never ſuf- " fer Me to take any Steps, but ſuch as the Honour and " Intereſt of My Crown and People ſhall call for and ju- " ſtify; and in the Purſuit of theſe great and deſireable " Ends, I do, with the beſt grounded Confidence, promiſe " Myſelf your zealous and affectionate Support."

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I return you My hearty Thanks for the Supplies you " have, with ſo much Chearfulneſs and Diſpatch, granted " for the Service of the current Year, which have been ſo " effectually raiſed, and accompanied with ſo ſeaſonable an " Augmentation of Our Forces by Sea and Land, that I " ſhall be in a Condition to make uſe of them, in the moſt " advantageous Manner, for the Publick Service, as any Oc- " caſion, that may happen to ariſe, ſhall require."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The Conduct and Prudence of this Parliament, in a " Time of ſo great Difficulty, cannot be enough commend- " ed. The Poſture of Affairs before us required all poſſible " Reſolution, joined with Caution, neither to be unwarily " involved in the preſent Diſturbances, nor to remain un- " provided againſt thoſe Dangers, which are too obvious to " ſtand in Need of any Explanation, and may either directly " or remotely affect Us.

" As I think it neceſſary this Summer to viſit My Do- " minions in Germany, it is My Intention to appoint the " Queen Regent here during My Abſence; of whoſe juſt " and prudent Adminiſtration you have on the like Occaſion " had Experience. Let Me earneſtly recommend it to you, " to render the Burden of this weighty Truſt as eaſy to Her " as poſſible, by making it your conſtant Study and Endea- " vour, as I am ſure it is your Inclination, to preſerve the " Peace of the Kingdom, and to diſcountenance and ſup- " preſs all Attempts to raiſe groundleſs Diſcontents in the " Minds of My People, whoſe Happineſs hath always " been, and ſhall continue My daily and uninterrupted " Care."

The Parliament prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 12th of June: They were afterwards farther prorogued to the 15th of January.

MINUTES, *&c. of the* SECOND SESSION *by way of* Introduction *to, and* Illuſtration *of, the* DEBATES, *which follow, to the End of the ſaid Seſſion.*

ON Thurſday the 22d of January, the Houſe having, upon the Report of the Committee of Supply, reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*, that a Supply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, they ordered, among others, the following Eſtimates, State, and Accounts to be laid before the Houſe, viz.

1. An Eſtimate of the Ordinary of the Navy for the Year 1736, with the Half-Pay of the Officers of the Navy and Marines.

2. An Eſtimate of the Charge for Guards, Garriſons and Land Forces for the Year 1736.

3 An Eſtimate of the Charge of Ordnance for the Land Service for the Year 1736.

4. A State of the Debt of his Majeſty's Navy, as it ſtood at Chriſtmas then laſt.

5. An Account ſhewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1735, had been diſpoſed of, diſtinguiſhed under the ſeveral Heads.

6. An Account of the Services incurred and not provided for by Parliament.

Of which the firſt and fourth were laid before the Houſe next Day; the ſecond, third, and ſixth, on Monday thereafter; and the fifth on Tueſday the 3d of March, and follow in their Order as called for.

An Abſtract of the Ordinary ESTIMATE *of the Navy for the Year* 1736.

To the Right Hon. the Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
1. The Commiſſioners of the Navy, with the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, Inſtruments and Contingencies relating thereto					28,062	14	1
2 Superannuated Sea-Officers		5109	12	7	8,667	7	7
3 Penſions and Allowance		3557	15	0			
4. Chatham	Yards	3507	7	2	17,595	11	8
5. Deptford		3082	11	4			
6. Woolwich		2521	8	8			
7. Portſmouth		4162	14	6			
8. Sheerneſs		1313	4	6			
9 Plymouth		2506	5	6			
10. Maſter-Maſters and other Officers of the Out Ports					3,623	5	6
11. Wages to Ships and Veſſels in Ordinary					30,712	6	0
12. Victuals to the Officers and Men ſerving therein					13,450	5	0
13. Charge of the Harbour Moorings					24,084	0	0
14 Ordinary Repairs of his Majeſty's Ships in Harbour, and of the Docks, Wharfs, Buildings, &c.					60,005	0	0
15. Ordinary Charge of ſick and hurt Seamen					1,068	15	0
16. Half-Pay to Sea Officers					30,000	0	0
Total of the Ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1736.					217,269	4	10

	l.
Brought over	217,269
To which may be added	
For defraying the Expence in maintaining, in the Royal Hoſpital of Greenwich, an additional Number of Diſabled Seamen, taken and to be taken into it, who are worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country, there being now 900 poor Seamen maintained in the ſaid Hoſpital; as alſo for a ſufficient Number of Nurſes, being the Widows of Officers and poor Seamen, and for carrying on the Buildings and other Incidents of the ſaid Hoſpital for the Year 1736, 10,000 l.	10,000
Total	227,269

And then the Total of the Ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy for th 1736, amounts to Two hundred twenty-ſeven Thouſand two h ſixty-nine Pounds four Shillings and ten Pence.

Richard Haddock, James Ack
Thomas Pearſe, George Purvis.
J. Fawler.

An Eſtimate of the Charge of the Guards, Garriſons, and other his M Land Forces in Great Britain, *for the Year* 1736.

Horſe	Number.	Pay for 365 Days. l.	s.	d.	T l.
1ſt. Troop of Guards	181	16,592	0	0	
2d ditto	181	16,592	0	0	
3d ditto	181	16,592	0	0	
4th ditto	181	16,592	0	0	
1ſt Troop of Grenadier Guards	176	10,772	12	0	
2d ditto	177	10,900	14	0	
Royal Regiment of Guards	337	26,949	16	0	
Lord Pembroke's Regiment	319	26,126	6	0	
Lieutenant General Evan's	214	17,744	18	0	
Lieutenant General Wade's	214	17,744	18	0	
	2161				176,607
Dragoons.					
Royal Regiment	369	17,461	5	0	
Brigadier Campbell's	369	17,461	5	0	
Lieut. General Honeywood's	369	17,461	5	0	
Lord Cadogan's	369	17,461	5	0	
Major General Kerr's	369	17,461	5	0	
Sir Robert Rich's	369	17,461	5	0	
Major General Churchill's	369	17,461	5	0	
Lord Mark Kerr's	369	17,461	5	0	
	2952				139,690
	5113				316,297

	Numbers.	Pay for 365 Days.	Total. l. s. d.
Brought forward	5113		316,297 4 0
nent of Guards	2005	51,291 17 0	
	1288	33,299 17 0	
	1288	33,354 16 0	
en. Tatton's Regiment	705	13,917 3 0	
en. Barrel's	705	13,917 3 0	
Montague's	705	13,917 3 0	
ien. Whetham's	705	13,917 3 0	
Middleton's	705	13,917 3 0	
Harrison's	705	13,917 3 0	
Handasyde's	705	13,917 3 0	
m. Sabine's	705	13,917 3 0	
	10,221		229,283 15 0
Invalids.			
Fielding's Regiment	515	9,933 17 0	
endant Companies	1300	22,646 5 0	
	1815		32,580 2 0
adant Companies.			
pendant Companies rth Britain	555		9,146 17 0
taff Officers, &c.			
cers		10,907 9 7	
s, Fire and Candle		36,060 14 4	
nts upon Account		15,000 0 0	
			61,968 4 0
	17,704		649,276 2 0

timate of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance, for the Year 1736.

LAND-SERVICE.

	l. s. d	l. s. d.
of the Office, comprising Repairs of houses, Barracks, Platforms, Carriages, for Garrisons, Rents, Salaries, and incident Charges	38,835 7 6.	
ments at Mahon, Gibraltar, Anapolis, tia, and North Britain	9,962 3 9	
of the Officers, that have served well Trains of Artillery in Flanders, Spain, several Expeditions	462 12 6	
		49,260 3 9

EXTRAORDINARIES.

carrying on the cations, repair- Storehouses, and ing of Stores at	Gibraltar	10,000 0 0
	Mahon	5,000 0 0
	Anapolis	700 0 0
	Placentia	300 0 0
		16,000 0 0
		65,260 3 9

		l. s. d.	l. s. d.
Brought forward			65,260 3 9
Towards rebuildings and repairing the Fortifications at Sheerneſs		3,000 0 0	
Towards building and repairing the Fortifications at Portſmouth		5,000 0 0	
Towards carrying on the new Fortifications and Barracks at Fort Auguſtus in the Highlands of Scotland		2,000 0 0	
One hundred Ton of Salt Petre		4,500 0 0	
			14,500 0 0
Exceedings, for which no Allowance hath been made by Parliament.			79,760 3 9
Ordnances and Stores ſent by his Majeſty's Order in Council, dated 3d April, 1735.			
John Armſtrong, Geo. Gregory, L. Smelt. Wr. Earle.	To Barbadoes — Leward Iſlands	3,725 6 4 / 865 7 4	

Services incurred Anno 1735, *not provided for by Parliament.*

The Remainder of the Supplies voted by Parliament the 24th Dec. 1735, for victualling the Garriſon of Gibraltar, more than was ſufficient to ſatisfy the Demands of the late Contractor, and applicable to the new Contract for this Service, made with Tho. Bennett Eſq; dated September 1733, was,			7,636 12 4
Voted in Parliament for this Service, An. 1734.		25,000 0 0	
Deficiency Anno 1734, made good		7,769 13 3	
Voted for this Service, Anno 1735		25,000 0 0	
			57,769 13 3
Total of Supplies to 24th Dec. 1735			65,406 5 7
Payments made to Thomas Revel, Eſq; Contractor for this Service, from the 4th of February 1733-4, the Commencement of the Contract, to the 4th of September 1735, incluſive			59,250 0 10
The Payments from the 15th of September, 1735, to the 4th of January following, being four Months, at 28 Days per Month, eſtimated at		10,349 4 2	
Inſurance, Anno 1735		508 9 3	
Extraordinary Magazines and neceſſary Repairs, eſtimated at		300 0 0	
			11,157 13 5
			70,407 14 3

Total

Total of actual and eſtimated Payments to the 4th of January, 1735	65,400 5 7	
Deduct the foregoing Supplies		5001 8 7
Remains to be provided for by Parliament		
To make good the Difference of Pay between the Engliſh and Iriſh Eſtabliſhments for Lord Rothes's Regiment of Foot upon the Eſtabliſhment of Ireland, but now ſerving at Gibraltar, for 365 Days, from the 25th of December 1734, to the 24th of December 1735,		876 0 0
To make good the like Sum paid Mr. Gilman, Contractor for furniſhing and ſupplying the Forces in the Iſland of Minorca with Salt Beef, over and above the Six-pence per Man per Week, ſtopp'd from the Pay of the Regiments there, purſuant to Contracts and Warrant, between the 17th of February 1734, and the 16th of February 1735,		866 13 4
To make good the like Sum paid Mr. William Caulfield, for ſurveying and keeping in Repair the New Roads through the Highlands, Anno 1734,		400 0 0

[A]

Navy Office, January 23, 1735

An Eſtimate *of the Debts of the Navy, on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it ſtood* December 31, 1735, viz.

WEAR and Tear, ordinary and extraordinary Repairs, due to pay off and diſcharge all the Bills regiſter'd on the Courſe of the Navy, &c, for the Service thereof	145,876	
To pay off and diſcharge all the Bills regiſter'd on the ſaid Courſe for Premium on Navy Stores,	11,460	
For Freight of Tenders, and for Stores delivered into his Majeſty's Yards, &c. for which no Bills were made out on December 31, 1735. As alſo ſeveral Bills of Exchequer,	25,017	
To his Majeſty's Yards and Rope-Yards for Ordinary and Extraordinary,	169,480	
For Half-Pay to Sea-Officers,	17,926 11 3	369,759 11 3

Seamens Wages.

				l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over				369,759	11	3
Due to pay the Men unpaid on the Books of Ships paid off,		37,406	4 2			
To Ships in Sea Pay on December 31, 1735,		525,461				
To discharge all the Bills enter'd for the Pilotage, Surgeons Necessaries, Bounties to Widows and Orphans of Men slain at Sea, on the Head of Seamens Wages,		16,913				
				579,780	4	2
Victualling-Office Debt, as per *Estimate from that Office.*						
Due for Short-Allowance to the Companies of his Majesty's Ships in Pay, and which have been paid off,		25,583	13 0			
For paying off the Bills enter'd on their Course,		79,504	17 6			
For necessary Money, extra-necessary Money, Bills of Exchequer and Contingencies		2,850	14 4			
To the Officers, Workmen, &c. employ'd at the several Ports,		10,503	4 8			
				118,442	9	7
Sick and Hurt, as per *Estimate from that Office.*						
Due for the Quarters and Cure of sick and hurt Seamen, sent on Shore from his Majesty's Fleet, and Contingencies relating to that Service,				17,519	13	5
The Total amounts to the Sum of				1,085,501	18	5
From whence deducting the Money in the Treasurer's Hands, as follows		88,572	9 2			
And also the Money that has been since received, and what remains to be issued		505,882	19 7			
				594,140	8	9
The next Debt will be				491,361	9	8

In what Treasurer's Hands.	In Money.	On the Heads of Wear and Tear, and Ordinary.	Seamen's Wages.	Victuals.	Total.
Trustees for Mr. Hampden's Estate	In Money,	2444 8 8	25,251 13 2	629 9 6	25,881 2 8
	In Money,		6,179 11 10	16 11 5	
Rt. Hon Pattee L. Visc. Torrington.	Ditto, towards the Debt of sick and hurt Seamen,		73 13 5		8,714 5 5
	In Money,	12,483 3 7	31,148 8 5	7,938 12 1	
Rt. Hon. Arthur Onslow, Esq;	Ditto, towards the Debt of sick and hurt Seamen,		2091 16 11		53,662 1 1
		14,927 12 3	64,745 3 10	8584 13 1	88,257 9 2

[14]

N. B. There remained on the 31st of December last, to come in of the Supplies of the Year, ——— 505,882 19 7

Of which there has been since received, viz. For half a Year's Pay to the Navy and Victualling Yards due at Michaelmas last, ——— 122,426 19 1

For making Payments on the Head of Seamens Wages, ——— 60,000 0 0 — 182,426 19 1

So that at this Time there remains to be issued the Sum of ——— 323,456 0 6

count, ſhewing how the Monies given for the Service of the Year 1735, *have been diſpoſed of, diſtinguiſhed under the ſeveral Heads, until the* 3*d of* February 1735, *and the Parts thereof remaining unſatisfy'd, with the Deficiency thereupon.*

GRANTS.

			Sums paid.	*Remains unpaid.*
	l. s. d.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*	*l. s. d.*
Navy.				
For the Victuals, Wages, Wear and Tear of the Navy, and the Victualling thereof for 30,000 Men for 13 Months,	1,482,000 0 0			
Ordinary of the Navy and Half Pay,	198,914 9 7			
		1,680,914 9 7	1,453,303 0 9	227,611 8 10
Towards the Support of Greenwich Hoſpital,		10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	
Ordnance.				
For Ordnance Sea-Services,	78,000 0 0			
Ditto Land,	79,760 3 9			
Extraordinary Expences, not provided for by Parliament,	24,693 1 6			
		182,453 5 3	150,000 0 0	32,453 5 3
Forces,				
In defraying the Charges of 25,744 Men for Guards, Garriſons, &c. Anno 1735,	794,529 4 7			
For maintaining Forces and Garriſons in the Plantations, Minorca and Gibraltar, 1735,	215,710 6 5			
Out-Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital,	18,850 9 2			
Several extraordinary Expences and Services incurred, not provided for by Parliament,	10,273 1 7			
Half Pay to the reduced Officers of the Land Forces and Marines, 1735,	49,834 13 4			
Penſions to Officers Widows, marry'd before Chriſtmas 1716, for the Year 1735,	3780 0 0			
To compleat 81,568*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* for Services incurr'd by augmenting the Forces, and concerting ſuch Meaſures as Affairs requir'd	10,393 5 11			
For a Subſidy to the King of Denmark,	56,250 0 0			
		1,160,621 1 1	1,150,297 5 8	[illegible]

Duty, Anno 1733, at Lady-day 1735.				
Land-Tax 1733, at Michaelmas 1735.	22,300 0 0			
General Fund at Michaelmas 1734.	37,557 13 4			
Grants, Anno 1734. viz.				
To the Navy,	26,247 12 10½			
To the Ordnance,	10,158 2 5¼			
	36,405 15 4	203,773 6 8	203,773 6 8	
Maintenance of the Britiſh Forts and Settlements on the Coaſt of Africa,		10,000 0 0	10,000 0 0	
Settling the Colony of Georgia in America,		26,000 0 0	26,000 0 0	
Repairs of St. Peter's Weſtminſter,		4,000 0 0	4,000 0 0	
Repairs of St. Margaret Weſtminſter,		3,500 0 0	3,500 0 0	
		3,280,262 2 8	3,010,873 13 2	269,388 9 6

Towards ſupplying the ſaid Services.

750,000	0 0	By the Malt Duty, 1734
1,000,000	0 0	Sinking Fund.
500,000	0 0	Salt Duty.
1,000,000	0 0	Land Tax, 1735.
9,165	13 0	Arrears of Malt Duty 1733.
3,259,165	13 0	
21,096	9 8	Deficiencies of Ways and Means, 1735.
3,280,262	2 8	

Reſidue of Ways and Means, Anno 1735.

Undiſpoſed of on the Salt Duty	248,291 19 10.
Deficiencies of Ways and Means, Anno 1735	21,096 9 8

On Friday the 23d of January, it was ordered that the proper Officer ſhould lay before that Houſe an Account of the Number of Seamen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 31ſt of December, 1734, to the 31ſt of December, 1735, upon a Medium of each Month, diſtinguiſhing what Number were borne, and what muſtered in the ſaid Service.

Accordingly, the ſaid Account was laid before the Houſe on the Thurſday after, and was as follows, viz.

Navy-Office, 27th Jan. 1735.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of Seamen employed in the Service of the Royal Navy, from the 31ſt of Dec. 1734, to the 31ſt of Dec. 1735, upon a Medium of each Month, diſtinguiſhing what Number were borne, and when muſter'd in the ſaid Service, prepared purſuant to an Order of the Hon. Houſe of Commons, dated the 23d Inſtant.

Months.		Number of Men.	
		Borne.	Muſter'd
January	1734	27,497	22,277
February		27,414	22,987
March	1735	27,594	23,581
April		27,748	24,541
May		27,144	24,846
June		28,967	26,840
July		29,629	27,491
Auguſt		30,161	27,362
September		30,194	28,017
October		30,089	28,294
November		29,814	26,426
December		29,582	23,852
		345,833	306,514
Upon a Medium		28,819	25,542

Richard Haddock, J. Ackworth,
Tho. Pearſe, G. Purvis,
J. Fowler, Rob. Byng.

The 28th. (See page 121.) The Houſe (according to Order) reſolved itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, and came to the following Reſolutions, without any Debate or

or Diviſions, only W——m Sh——n, Eſq; made a ſhort Speech againſt keeping up ſuch a numerous Standing Army in Time of Peace.

The Reſolutions were as follow, viz.

1. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garriſons in Great-Britain, and for Gurenſey and Jerſey, for the Year 1736, ſhould be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the ſix Independant Companies conſiſt of, for Service of the Highlands) 17,704 Men, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included.

2. That a Sum not exceeding 649,270l. 2s. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of the ſaid 17,704 Men, for Guards and Garriſons, and other his Majeſty's Land Forces in Great Britain, Guernſey and Jerſey, for the Year 1736.

3. That a Sum not exceeding 216,228l. 10s. and 11d. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar, for the Year 1736.

4. That a Sum not exceeding 7144l. 1s. 11d. Farthing, ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for defraying ſeveral extraordinary Expences and Services, incurred Anno 1735, and not provided for by Parliament.

The 29th. Agreed to the Reſolution of Yeſterday, after which was preſented to the Houſe the following Report of the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners of the Royal Hoſpital for Seamen at Greenwich, purſuant to an Act of Parliament of the 8th Year of his preſent Majeſty, entitled, An Act for the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Eſtates forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Radcliffe, Eſq; viz.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled.

In Obedience to the Directions of an Act paſſed in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, intitled, An Act for the Aplication of the Rents and Profits of the Eſtates forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Radcliffe, Eſq; requiring the Commiſſioners or Governors of the Royal Hoſpital for Seamen at Greenwich, to contract and agree with able and ſufficient Tradeſmen, Artificers, or other Perſons, for finiſhing and compleating the ſaid Royal Hoſpital, in a Workman-like and ſubſtantial Manner, on the eaſieſt and moſt reaſonable Terms, according to the Plan laid before the Houſe of Commons in the ſaid Seſſion of Parliament, and to lay their Proceedings therein, with their an-

nual Accounts, before his Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament reſpectively.

The Commiſſioners and Governors of the ſaid Hoſpital do humbly report as follows:

There has been received from the Exchequer the Sum of 5282 l. 13 s. being the Arrears remaining there of the Rents of the Eſtate, which Sum has been invested in Bank-Annuities at 3 l. per Cent. until there ſhall be Occaſion to diſpoſe of the ſame, purſuant to the Purpoſes of the Act of Parliament.

There has been likewiſe received out of the Rents of the Eſtate, the Sum of 2178 l. 13 s. 1 d.

As to their Proceedings in carrying on the Buildings, the Foundations of Queen Mary's Court are in a great meaſure laid, and the Walls of the Chappel and Kitchen are carried up to the Top of the Plinth, which is, to the Cills of the Windows of the Baſe Story, the Expence of which has amounted to 1089 l. 15 s. 4 d.

By Order of the Commiſſioners.

Admiralty-Office,
Jan. 29, 1735. Tho. Corbett.

The 31ſt, received the following Accounts.

The Exceſs or Surplus of the ſeveral Duties, Revenues, and Incomes commonly called the Aggregate Fund, eſtabliſhed by ſeveral Acts of Parliament of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majeſty's Reign, for anſwering the Payments therein expreſſed, viz. Aggregate Fund Accounts.

The Money ariſen at the Exchequer within the Half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, on the particular Branches herein enumerated, viz.

DEBTOR.	l.	s.	d.
Houſe Money, firſt granted 7th of Will. III.	52,386	13	4
¾d. Tonnage and Poundage	42,140	5	0
Arrears of the Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, before the 24th of June, 1724; and the Duties on Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, Pictures and Muſlins	505	11	3
Arrears of the Increaſed Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, before the 24th of June, 1724, and the Duties on Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, and Pictures	2,317	14	6
A Moiety of the Inland Duty of 2 s. per lb. on Coffee, ſince the 24th of June, 1724.	11,820	16	10
	119,171	0	11

Ditto

DEBTOR	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	119,171	0	11
— of 4 s. per lb. on Tea, ſince ditto	25,565	9	0
land Duty of 1 s. 6d. per lb. on Chocolate,	5,776	19	5
Rates on White Calicoes, China Wares and	2,682	19	1
ıbſidy of Tonnage and Poundage	15,655	16	9
of the other Moiety above 80,000 l. per Annum			
ities			
ıal Duties on French Wines and Merchandizes—	5,266	4	8
ion Duties	693	13	10
on Hops	1,917	13	9
on Brandy	8,721	13	8
ı of 9d. Exciſe, granted for 99 Years	22,442	0	9
of the two 7ths of 9d. Exciſe	8,228	14	2
of the 37000 l. per Week Exciſe	13,307	17	4
of the Revenues in Annuity, Acts 4th, 5th, and			
æ	67,700	8	8
of the Fund for the Lottery, 1710	21,677	2	1
Monies brought into the Exchequer after Mi-			
1715, appropriated by an Act of Geo. I. page			
on foreign Sail-Cloth	1,325	6	1
Duty of 3d. per Barrel Exciſe, and the additio-			
on Pepper and Al. ariſen Michaelmas, 1734, and			
Lady-Day, 1735, over and above ſufficient to			
Annuities of 81,000l. per Annum, granted			
10, computed to that Time	26,399	7	1
	254,532	5	7

ſs or Surplus of the ſeveral Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, nly called the Aggregate Fund, eſtabliſhed by ſeveral Acts of ıent of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majeſty's Reign, vering the Payments therein expreſſed, viz.

CREDITOR.	l.	s.	d.
ınts charged on the Aggregate Fund, by Acts of Parliament, viz.			
Bank of England, on their Annuity of 60,000l.			
Remainder of 80,000 l. per Ann. for cancelling			
ons of Exchequer Bills ſ for the half Year ended			
ay, 1735, purſuant to the Act of 11 Geo. I.			
and 2 Geo. II. pag. 81.	30,000	0	0
South-Sea Company to diſcharge Annuities at			

4 per

CREDITOR. £

4 per Cent. on the Principal Sum of 393,645 l. 8 s. to which the Sum of 481,700l. ſubſcribed into their Capital, is reduced by abating from the ſame 48,054l. 12s. for a proportionable Part of 4,500,000l. repaid to the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo much of their Capital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, being the Remainder of 500,000l. contributed on the firſt Lottery, 1719, for the half Year ended at Lady-day, 1735. ——— 7,87

Towards the Expence of his Majeſty's Civil Government for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, by the Act of 1 Geo. II. pag. 8. ——— ——— ——— 60,00

By the South Sea Company to diſcharge Annuities at 4 per Cent, on the Principal Sum of 751,911l. 16s. 1d. to which the Sum of 843,702l. 1s. 8d. ſubſcribed into their Capital, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 91,790l. 5s. 7d. for a proportional Part of 4,500,000 l. repaid to the ſaid Company, for redeeming ſo much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, being the Remainder of 1,079,000l. contributed for Annuities Anno 1715, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735. —— 15,03

By the Officers of the Exchequer-Bill-Office, on their Salaries, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.—— 32

By the Uſher of the Exchequer for Neceſſaries. ——— 5

By the South Sea Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, on 527l. 11s. 9d. per Ann. being ſuch Part of 10,516l. 1s. 7d. per Ann. Reſidue of 12,000l. per Ann. allowed them for Charges of Management on Subſcriptions by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund. ——— ——— ——— 26

By the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt-Indies, on their reduced Annuity of 128,000l. payable to them from Michaelmas, 1730, being after the Rate of 4l. per Cent. per Ann. on the ſaid Company's Capital of 3,200,000l. for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, purſuant to the Act of 3 Geo. II. pag. 452. ——— ——— ——— ——— ——— 64,00

177,55

By the Exceſs or Surplus which at or before Lady Day, 1735, did ariſe by the Duties compoſing the Aggregate Fund. *per contra* (over and above all the Monies then due, or payable to diſcharge the ſeveral Annuities and other Allowances and Payments directed by Acts of Parliament to be ſatisfied out of the ſame) which Exceſs or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. ——— ——— ——— 158,9

336,5

s or Surplus of ſuch Duties or Revenues (Part of the South Sea were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Years ute Majeſty's Reign, for anſwering Payments to the South Sea y and others, which Exceſs or Surplus is here ſtated at Lady 35.

ariſen at the Exchequer *in the half Year ended at Lady Day*, 1735.

DEBTOR.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
poſt on Wines and Vinegar	60,164	1	2
on Tobacco	36,008	13	1
on Eaſt-India Goods	47,594	1	3
nal Impoſitions	15,798	0	10
nal Whale-Fins	2,152	15	0
Candles ſince the 1ſt of May, 1715	38,913	14	5
tices Duty ſince ditto	2,054	0	5
	202,685	6	4

ſs or Surplus of ſuch Duties or Revenues, (Part of the South Sea s were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Years ute Majeſty's Reign, for anſwering Payments to the South Sea ty and others, which Exceſs or Surplus is here ſtated at Lady 735, viz.

CREDITOR.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
South Sea Company to diſcharge Annuities at nt. on the principal Sum of 8,912,053l. 8s. 8d. , to which their original Capital of 10,000,000l. , by abating from the ſame 1,387,946l. 11s. 3d. y, for a proportional Part of 4,500,000l. re- e ſaid Company, for redeeming ſo much of their pital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, and e half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.	178,24	11	4
o Company on 7,129l. 12s. 11d. per Ann. for f Management, to which their Allowance of r Ann. was reduced, on Re-payment to the ſaid of 4,500,000l. as aforeſaid, and is for the half d at Lady Day, 1735.	3,564	16	5
	181,805	17	10
Exceſs or Surplus, which at or before Lady Day, arife by the Rates, Duties, Impoſitions and *ver contra*, over and above ſufficient to ſatisfy all hargeable thereupon, which Exceſs or Surplus o the Sinking Fund.	20,879	8	6
	202,685	6	4

The

The Produce at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, whic
Act of 3 Geo. I. page 303, were charged towards making
general yearly Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency
and the Overplus of the ſame General Fund ſtated at Lady Da
which Overplus ariſeth over and above all the Monies which
before became due or payable according to ſubſequent Acts, ou
ſaid Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

To Money ariſen at the Exchequer *within the half Year ended at L*
1735, *in Part of* 362,424 l. 13 s. 5 d. viz.

DEBTOR.

10 *l.* Lottery, 1711	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*
Subſidy on Goods exported	16,862	10	2	
Two Shillings per Chaldron on Coals	27,912	15	3	83,691
Additional Duty on Candles	38,915	14	6	
Claſs ditto, 1711.				
Hackney Coaches and Chairs	3,589	3	11	
New Stamp Duties	6,001	4	6	
700 l. per Week Lottery Money	17,500	0	0	79,758
Duty on Hides and Skins	52,668	8	4	
10 l. Lottery, 1712.				
Duty on Soap	59,170	9	4	67,015
Stamp-Duties on Paper	7,849	0	8	
Claſs ditto, 1712.				
Additional Duty on Hides	30,182	4	2	
Duty on Wire and Starch	5,450	18	7	
Policies of Inſurance	1,680	10	5	74,708
A Moiety of the Duty of 2 s. per lb. on Coffee	11,820	16	10	
Ditto 4 s. per lb. on Tea	25,565	9	0	
Hereditary Exciſe, payable out of Bankers Annuities	3700l. per Week			19,927
				325,106
To the Complement for compleating the general Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. per Ann. for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, to be made good by Parliament.				37,318
				362,424

at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which by an Geo. I. pag. 303. were charged towards making good a gene- Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency thereof, and lus of the ſame General Fund, ſtated at Lady Day, 1735, erplus ariſeth over and above all the Moneys, which then, or ame due and payable, according to ſubſequent Acts, out of Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

CREDITOR.	l.	s.	d.
ts charged on the General Funds by Acts of Parliament, viz.			
outh Sea Company, to diſcharge Annuities at 4l. on the principal Sum of 7,423,108l. 4s. 10d. he Sum of 8,329,291l. 2s. 1d. ſubſcribed in- apital, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 7s. 2d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of l. repaid to the ſaid Company, for redeeming their whole Capital, and the Annuities attend- me, being the Remainder of 9,534,357l. 13s. hich the Proprietors of certain Orders in the ies, 1711 and 1712, and the Debt due to certain d others, were entitled for the half Year ended 1735.	148,462	3	6
Company, to diſcharge Annuities at 4l. per the principal Sum of 667,117l. 1s. 7d. to Sum of 748,555l. 19s. 5d. ſubſcribed into tal, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 81,430l. for a proportionable Part of the Sum of l. repaid to the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo heir whole Capital, and the Annuities attending eing the Remainder of 947,514l. 7s. 8d. to Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were in- t were ſtruck at the Exchequer to make good ficiencies, Anno 1716, for the half Year ended 1735.	13,342	6	10
o Company, to diſcharge Annuities at 4l. per the principal Sum of 1,079,064l. 18s. 3d. to Sum of 1,210,792l. 13s. 8d. ſubſcribed into tal, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 137,727l. or a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo much of le Capital, and the Annuities attending the ng the Remainder of 1,603,987*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* to he Proprietors of certain Army Debentures h to the 21ſt of March, 1719, were intitled for Year ended Lady Day, 1735.	21,581	5	11
o Company, to diſcharge Annuities of 4*l* per the principal Sum of 96,074 *l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* to			

CREDITOR.

	£.
which the Sum of 107,802 *l.* 17 s. 4d. ſubſcribed into their Capital is reduced, by abating from the ſame 11,728l. 7s. 6d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l repaid to the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, being the Remainder of 110,312l. 7s. 4d. to which the Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were entitled, that were ſtruck for the Service of the Navy, and the victualing thereof, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.	1,921
By ditto Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England claiming under them, for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, on 42671. 4s. 8d. per Ann. being ſuch Part of 10,516l. 1s. 7d. per Ann. Reſidue of 12,000l. per Ann, allowed them for Charge of Management on Subſcription by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund.	2,133
By the Sufferers of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers for Annuities at the Rate of 3l. per Cent. and upon the principal Sum of 37,821l. 5s 1d. Reſidue of 141,093l. 15s. 1d. contained in Orders of Debentures made forth by the Commiſſioners for Affairs of Trade and Plantations for the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.	567
	188,008
Ballance is the Overplus, which at or before Lady Day, 1735, did ariſe by the ſaid General Fund in this half Year, (when the Sum of 37,318l. 9s. 8d. *per contra* ſhall be made good by Parliament) over and above ſufficient to ſatisfy all Annuities and other Sums due or payable out of the ſame, which Exceſs or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund.	174,416
	362,424 1

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund,

DEBTOR.

			l.	*s.* *d.*
) Surp'us Money unapplied at Michaelmas, 1734, as ıccount for the half Year then ended —— ——			37,557	13 4
urplus Money ariſen in the half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735, viz.				
	l.	*s.* *d.*		
ırp'us of the Aggregate Fund, as per ount —— —— —— —— ——	158,980	12 7		
ırplus of the South-Sea Company's l. as per Account —— ——	20,879	8 6		
arplus of the General Fund, when Sum of 37,318l. 9s. 8d. being the ıplement to 362,424l. 13s. 5d. l be made good, as per Account ——	174,416	8 7		
			354,276	9 9
			391,834	3 1

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund, *per Contra*.

CREDITOR.

			l.	*s.*
y Caſh taken in full of the Sum of 1,200,000 l. for owards the Supply granted to his Majeſty for the Ser- of the Year 1734, purſuant to the Act of 7 Geo. II. c. 264. —— —— —— —— —— ——			118,799	12 11
By Remains at Lady Day, viz.				
	l.	*s.* *d.*		
urplus of the Aggregate Fund ——	134,716	11 11		
urp us of the South Sea Company's d —— —— —— ——	4,673	18 10		
urplus of the General Fund, when the n of 37,318l. 9s. 8d. three Farthings, Deficiency thereof in this half Year, be made good by Parliament. ——	133,643	19 3		
			273 934	10 2
			391,834	3 1

This being the Five and Twentieth half yearly Account made up, purnt to the Act of 9 Geo. I. page 367, is humbly preſented the 31ſt y of January, 1734, by me *J. S.*

The

The Exceſs or Surplus of the ſeveral Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, eſtabliſhed by ſeveral Acts of Parliament of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majeſty's Reign, for anſwering the Payments therein expreſſed, viz.

The Money ariſen at the Exchequer within the Half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, on the particular Branches herein enumerated, viz.

DEBTOR.

	£	s.	d.
Houſe Money, firſt granted 7 Will. III.	49,276	10	
Two 3ds Tonnage and Pondage	60,250	17	
Arrears of the Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, **before the 24th of** June, 1724; and the Duties on **Nutmegs, Cinnamon,** Cloves, Mace, Pictures and Muſlins	815	7	
Arrears of the Increaſed Duties on Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate, **before the** 24th of June, 1724, and the Duties on **Nutmegs,** Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace, and Pictures	10,454	18	
A Moiety of the Inland Duty of 2s. per lb. on Coffee, ſince 24th June, 1724.	13,629	1	
Ditto——of 4s. per lb. on Tea, ſince ditto	35,471	18	
The Inland Duty of 1s. 6d. per lb. on Chocolate, ſince ditto.	4,519	5	
Further Rates on White Calicoes, China Wares and Drugs	1,582	0	
Half Subſidy of Tonnage and Poundage	58,018	10	
Surplus of the other Moiety above 80,000l. per Ann. for Annuities	12,716	19	
Additional Duties on French Wines and Merchandizes	11,328	7	
Plantation Duties	240	19	
Duties on Hops	35,412	10	
Duties on Brandy	11,870	2	
Surplus of the 9d. Exciſe, granted for 99 Years	33,261	16	
Ditto of the two 7ths 9d. Exciſe	11,408	14	
Ditto of the five 7ths 9d. Exciſe	18,091	10	
Ditto of the 37001 per Week Exciſe	20,707	17	
Ditto of the Revenues in Annuity Act, 4th, 5th, and 6th Annæ	127,386	15	
Ditto of the Fund for the Lottery, 1710	32,296	17	

Public Monies brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas, 1715, appropriated by an Act of 1 Geo. I. page 301, viz

Duty on foreign Sail-Cloth	262	12	10	
Arrears of the 10th 2s. Aid, Anno 1726,	1854	18	10	
Ditto of the 10th 2s. Aid, Anno 1728,	141	4	0	
Ditto of the 11th 2s. Aid, Anno 1729,	1058	18	1	
Ditto of the 12th 2s. Aid, Anno 1731,	6544	1	8	
Ditto of the 1st 1s. Aid, Anno 1732,	9509	5	7	
				19,461 2

Exceſs or Surplus of the ſeveral Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, com-
only called the Aggregate Fund, eſtabliſhed by ſeveral Acts of Parlia-
nt of the 3d, 5th, and 6th Years of his late Majeſty's Reign, for an-
ering the Payments therein expreſſed, viz.

CREDITOR.	l.	s.	d.
'ayment charged on the Aggregate Fund, by Acts of Parliament, viz.			
the Bank of England, on their Annuity of 60,000l. g the Remainder of 80,000 l. per Ann. for cancelling Millions of Exchequer Bills) for the half Year ended ichaelmas 1735, purſuant to the Act of 11 Geo. I. 213. and 2. Geo. II. page 81.	30,000	0	0
y the South-Sea Company, to diſcharge Annuities at r Cent. on the Principal Sum of 393,645 l. 8 s. to ch the Sum of 441,700l. ſubſcribed into their Capital educed, by abating from the ſame 48,054l. 12s. for a portional Part of 4,500,000 l. repaid to the ſaid np ny for redeeming ſo much of their Capital, and the uities attending the ſame, being the Remainder of ,000l. contributed on the firſt Lottery, 1719, for the Year ended at Michaelmas 1735.	7,872	18	1
owards the Expence of his Majeſty's Civil Governt for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, by the of 1 Geo. II. page 8.	60,000	0	0
By the South-Sea Company, to diſcharge Annuities at er Cent. on the principal Sum of 751,911l. 16s. 1d. vhich the Sum of 843,702l. 1s. 8d. ſubſcribed into ir Capital, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 91,790l. 7d. for a proportional Part of 4,500,000l. repaid to ſaid Company, for redeeming ſo much of their whole pital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, being the mainder of 1,079,000l. contributed for Annuities no 715, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735.	15,038	4	1
By the Officers of the Exchequer Bill Office, on their aries, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735 —	325	0	0
By the Uſher of the Exchequer for Neceſſaries —	30	15	0
By the Sheriffs of England and Wales, on 4000 l. per num, by the Act 3 Geo. I. for the Year ended Michaelmas 1735.	4000	0	0
y the South-Sea Company, and the Governor and Comy of the Bank of England, claiming under them for half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, on 527l. 11s. 9d. Ann. being ſuch Part of 10,516l. 15. 7d per Ann. ſidue of 12.000l. per Ann. allowed them for Charges Management on Subſcriptions by the Act of 6 Geo. I. is chargeable on this Fund.	263	15	1
	117,530	14	

Brought

DEBTOR. £

Brought over 568,072

...e Duty of 3d. per Barrel Exciſe, and the additio-
...ty on Pepper and Al. ariſen Lady Day, 1734, and
Michaelmas 1735, over and above ſufficient to
...e Annuities of 81,000l. per Annum, granted
1710, computed to that Time. —— —— — 27,263

595,335

The Exceſs or Surplus of ſuch Duties or Revenues (Part of the S...
Fund) as were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament of the 3d and ...
of his late Majeſty's Reign, for anſwering Payments to the S...
Company and others, which Exceſs or Surplus is here ſtated
chaelmas, 1735, viz.

DEBTOR. £.

For Impoſt on Wines and Vinegar —— —— —— 112,95...
Impoſt on Tobacco —— —— —— —— 27,93...
Impoſt on Eaſt-India Goods —— —— —— 41,32...
Additional Impoſitions —— —— —— 24,16...
Additional Whale Fins —— —— —— 2,67...
Duty on Candles ſince 1ſt of May, 1715 —— —— 32,85...
Apprentices Duty ſince ditto —— —— —— 3,55...

245,45...

To ſo much of the Sum of 7237l. 18s. 3d. Halfpenny, being a Medium of the Annual Income of the Duty on rough and undreſſed Flax, taken off by the Act of the 4 Geo. II. as would have been applied to this Fund, had not theſe Duties been repealed, and is therefore made good to the ſame, out of the Sum of 42231. 10s. 11d. charged on the Aggregate Fund, as per preceding Account. —— 209...

247,55...

CREDITOR.	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	117,530	14	4
e United Company of Merchants of England, o the Eaſt-Indies, on their reduced Annuity of . payable to them from Michaelmas, 1730, be- the Rate of 4l. per Cent. per Ann. on the ſaid r's Capital of 3,200,000l. for the half Year ended aelmas 1735, purſuant to the Act of 3 Geo. II. 2.	64,000	0	0
much of the Sum of 72371. 18s. 3d. being a of the Annual Income of the Duty on rough and l Flax, taken off by the Act 4 Geo. II. as was od to the ſeveral public Creditors at Midſummer he remaining Sum of 30141. 7s. 4d. being appli- the Funds compoſing this Aggregate Fund, before ies on rough and undreſs'd Flax were repealed, is : not charged thereupon.)	4223	10	11
: Exceſs or Surplus, which at or before Michaelmas d ariſe by the Duties, compoſing the Aggregate *contra*, (over and above all the Moneys then due, le to diſcharge the ſeveral Annuities and other Al- and Payments directed by Acts of Parliament to ied out of the ſame) which Exceſs or Surplus is to the Sinking Fund.	409,581	11	4
	595,335	16	8

ceſs or Surplus of ſuch Duties or Revenues, (Part of the South Sea as were eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament of the 3d and 5th Years late Majeſty's Reign, for anſwering Payments to the South Sea pany and others, which Exceſs or Surplus is here ſtated at Mi- mas 1735, viz.

CREDITOR.	l.	s.	d.
e South Sea Company to diſcharge Annuities at Cent. on the principal Sum of 8,912,053l. 8s. 8d. my, to which their original Capital of 10,000,000l. ed, by abating from the ſame 1,087,946l. 11s. 3d. nny, for a proportional Part of 4,500,000l. re- the ſaid Company, for redeeming ſo much of their Capital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, and the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735.	178,241	1	4
itto Company on 7,129l. 12s. 11d. per Ann. for s of Management, to which their Allowance of per Ann. was reduced, on Re-payment to the ſaid ny of 4,500,000l. as aforeſaid, and is for the half ded at Michaelmas 1735.	3,564	16	5
e Exceſs or Surplus, which at or before Michaelmas did ariſe by the Rates, Duties, Impoſitions and es *per contra*, over and above ſufficient to ſatisfy all its chargeable thereupon, which Exceſs or Surplus d to the Sinking Fund.	65,741	1	9
	247,553	19	7

The Produce at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which Act of 3 Geo. I. page 303, were charged towards making g general yearly Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency tl and the Overplus of the ſame General Fund ſtated at Michaelmas which Overplus ariſeth over and above all the Monies which t before became due or payable according to ſubſequent Acts, out ſaid Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

To Money ariſen at the Exchequer *within the half Year ended at Mich* 1735, viz.

DEBTOR.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*l.*
10*l.* Lottery, 1711				
Subſidy on Goods exported	15,490	12	3	
Two Shillings per Chaldron on Coals	45,102	4	2	93,469
Additional Duty on Candles	32,867	8	5	
Claſs ditto, 1711.				
Hackney Coaches and Chairs	4,127	10	9	
New Stamp Duties	9,367	0	5	
700 l. per Week Lottery Money	18,900	0	0	91,097
Duty on Hides and Skins	58,703	3	0	
10 l. Lottery, 1712.				
Duty on Soap	72,715	10	1	
Stamp-Duties on Paper	8,790	17	11	81,506
Claſs ditto, 1712.				
Additional Duty on Hides	33,979	16	6	
Duty on Wire and Starch	6,156	8	3	
Policies of Inſurance	1,559	19	7	90,797
A Moiety of the Duty of 2 s. per lb. on Coffee	13,629	1	10	
Ditto 4 s per lb. on Tea	35,471	18	8	
Hereditary Excile, payable out of 3700l. per Week Bankers Annuities				19,927
				376,798
Deduct to make good the Deficiency of this Fund in the Half Year ended at Lady Day, 1735.				37,318
				339,479
To the Compliment for compleating the general Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. per Ann. for the half Year ended at July Day, 1735, to be made good by Parliament.				22,944
				362,424

ſe at the Exchequer of the Duties and Revenues, which by an Geo. I. pag. 303. were charged towards making good a gene- y Fund of 724,849l. 6s. 10d. with the Deficiency thereof, and plus of the ſame General Fund, ſtated at Michaelmas, 1735, verplus ariſeth over and above all the Moneys, which then, or ecame due and payable, according to ſubſequent Acts, out of Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

CREDITOR.	l.	s.	d.
its charged on the General Funds by Acts of Parliament, viz.			
uth Sea Company, to diſcharge Annuities at 4l. n the principal Sum of 7,423,108l. 4s. 10d. he Sum of 8,329,291l. 2s. 1d. ſubſcribed in- ipital, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 7s. 2d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of l. repaid to the ſaid Company, for redeeming their whole Capital, and the Annuities attend- ne, being the Remainder of 9,534,357l. 13s. hich the Proprietors of certain Orders in the ies, 1711 and 1712, and the Debt due to certain d others, were entitled for the half Year ended s 1735.	148,462	3	6
Company, to diſcharge Annuities at 4l. per the principal Sum of 667,117l. 1s. 7d. to Sum of 748,555 l. 19s. 5d. ſubſcribed into al, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 81,430l. for a proportionable Part of the Sum of l. repaid to the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo ieir whole Capital, and the Annuities attending being the Remainder of 947,514l. 7s. 8d. to Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were in- were ſtruck at the Exchequer to make good ficiencies, Anno 1716, for the half Year ended as 1735.	13,342	6	10
Company, to diſcharge Annuities at 4l. per the principal Sum of 1,079,064l. 18s. 3d. to Sum of 1,210,792l. 13s. 8d. ſubſcribed into al, is reduced, by abating from the ſame 137,727l. or a proportional Part of the Sum of 4,500,000l. the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo much of e Capital, and the Annuities attending the g the Remainder of 1,603,987l. 8s. 1d. to ie Proprietors of certain Army Debentures n to the 21ſt of March, 1719, were entitled for Year ended Michaelmas 1735.	21,581	5	11
Company, to diſcharge Annuities of 4l per the principal Sum of 96,074 l. 9s. 9d. to Sum of 107,802 l. 17 s. 4d. ſubſcribed into ital is reduced, by abating from the ſame 7s. 6d. for a proportional Part of the Sum of			

4,500,000l. repaid to the ſaid Company for redeeming ſo much of their whole Capital, and the Annuities attending the ſame, being the Remainder of 110,312l. 7s. 4d. to which the Proprietors of certain Tallies of Sol. were entitled, that were ſtruck for the Service of the Navy, and the victualling thereof, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas, 1735. —— 1,921

By ditto Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England claiming under them, for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, on 4267l. 4s. 8d. per Ann. being ſuch Part of 10,516l. 1s. 7d. per Ann. Reſidue of 12,000l. per Ann, allowed them for Charge of Management on Subſcription by the Act of 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this Fund. —— 2,133

By the Sufferers of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, for Annuities at the Rate of 3l. per Cent. and upon the principal Sum of 37,821l. 5s. 1d. Reſidue of 141,093l. 15s. 1d. contained in Orders of Debentures made forth by the Commiſſioners for Affairs of Trade and Plantations for the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735. —— 567

188,008

Ballance is the Overplus, which at or before Michaelmas 1735, did ariſe by the ſaid General Fund in this half Year, (when the Sum of 22,944l. 14s. *per contra* ſhall be made good by Parliament) over and above ſufficient to ſatisfy all Annuities and other Sums due or payable out of the ſame, which Exceſs or Surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund. —— 174,416

362,424

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund,

DEBTOR.

	l.	s.	d.	l.
To Surplus Money unapplied at Lady Day, 1734, as per Account for the half Year then ended ——				273,034
To Surplus Money ariſen in the half Year ended at Michaelmas 1735, viz.				
Surplus of the Aggregate Fund, as per Account ——	409,581	11	4	
Surplus of the South-Sea Company's Fund, as per Account ——	65,748	1	9	
Surplus of the General Fund, when the Sum of 22,944l. 14s. being the Complement to 724,849l. 6s. 10d. ſhall be made good, as per Account ——	174,416	8	7	
				649,746
				922,780

The Exchequer to the Sinking Fund, *per Contra.*

CREDITOR.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Caſh, paid for Intereſt on the Milion lent on the of the Salt Duties, for the Supplies of the Year 1734, at to the Act 7 Geo. II. page 104 and 105, which to be replaced to the Sinking Fund, out of the firſt be granted in Parliament, as per Clauſe in the ſaid Geo. II. page 105, in that Behalf	24,570	2	7
Caſh, taken in Part of the Sum of 1,000,000l. for ards the Supply granted to his Majeſty for the Service Year 1735, purſuant to the Act 8 Geo. II. page nd 192, in that Behalf	875,265	15	4
	899,835	17	11
Remains at Michaelmas 1735, being the Deficiency General Fund, Anno 1735, to be made good by nent,	22,944	14	0
	922,780	11	11

s being the 26th Half-yearly Account made up, purſuant to the Act Geo. I. page 367, is humbly preſented the 31ſt Day of January, by me,

J. S.

On

On Monday the 2d of February, (See page 131) it was ordered that the proper Officer ſhould lay before the Houſe, an Account of all the public Debts, at the Receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer, due or ſtanding out at Chriſtmas, 1735, with the annual Intereſt or Sums paid for the ſame; the ſaid Account was accordingly preſented on the 16th of the ſame Month, and ordered to lie on the Table, to be peruſed by the Members of the Houſe, and was as follows:

An Account of all the public Debts at the Receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer, due or ſtanding out at Chriſtmas, 1735, with the annual Intereſt or Sums paid for the ſame.

Exchequer,	Principal, l.	s.	d.	Annual Intereſt, or Sums paid. l.	s.	d.
Annuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the original Sum contributed and unſubſcribed to the South-Sea Company, after deducting what has fallen in by Deaths,	1,836,275	17	10	131,255	10	11
Annuities for Lives with Benefit of Survivorſhip, being the original Sum contributed.	108,100	0	0	7,567	0	0
Annuities payable upon two and three Lives, being the Sum remaining after deducting what has fallen by Deaths.	127,899	8	0	14,997	18	5
Annuities at 9 per Cent. per Ann. being the Remainder of the original Sum unſubſcribed to the South-Sea Company,	161,108	6	8	14,492	15	0
Ditto on Lottery 1710, being the Remainder, &c.	109,290	0	0	9,836	2	0
Annuities on the Plate Act, 6 Geo. prim. Reg.	312,000	0	0	12,480	0	0
Annuities on the Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's Debentures, at 3 per Cent. per Ann.	37,821	5	1	1,134	12	9
Exchequer Bills on the Victualing Act, Anno 1726, at 3 per Cent. per Ann.	481,4000	0	0	14,442	3	0
Ditto made out for the Intereſt on o'd Bills exchanged,	2,200	0	0			
Annuities at 3l. 10s. per Cent. per Ann. for the Year 1731	4,000,000	0	0	14,000	0	0
Duties on Salt continued An. 1734, at 4l. per Cent. per Ann.	960,000	0	0	38,400	0	0

Ditto

o Anno 1735, for 500,000l. 4l. per Cent. per Ann. but Part of this Sum has been orrowed during the Time of his Account.			
Note, The Land Taxes and ties on Malt being annual unts, are not charged in this count.			
Vor the 1,000,000 l. charged the Deductions of 6d. per and.			
East-India Company.			
two Acts of Parliament 9 W. III. and two other Acts 6 and 10 Annæ, but the Annuity granted by the said Acts was by an Act 3 G. II, reduced from 5l. to 4l. per Cent. per Ann.	3,200,000 o o	128,000 o	
Bank of England.			
n their original Fund at 6l. per Cent. per Ann. ———	1,600,000 o o	96,000 o	
or cancelling Exchequer Bills, 3 Geo. I. at 4 per Cent. per Ann. ———	1,500,000 o o	60,000 o	
urchased of the South-Sea Company at ditto ———	4,000,000 o o	160,000 o	
nnuities charged on the Duties on Coals since Lady Day 1719, at 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ——	1,750,000 o o	70,000 o	
Ditto charged on the Surplus of the Fund for Lottery 1714, at 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ——	1,250,000 o o	50,000 o	
Ditto for the Lottery 1731, at 3l. per Cent. per Ann. transferrable at the Bank. ———	800,000 o o	24,000 o	
	l. s. d.		
To them more for Charges of Management of their original Debt ——— ——— ——— ———	4000 0 0 per A		
For a proportionable Charge of Management of 4,000,000l. purchased of the South-Sea Company.	1898 3 5 per A		
	5898 3 5		
South-Sea Company.			
On their Capital Stock and Annuities, by Act 9 Geo. 1. 4l. per Cent. per Ann. ——	29,302,203 5 6	1,172,088	
	51,538,298 3 2	2,018,694	
To them more for Charges of Ma[illegible]ement —	16,992 19 10 per		

The ſame Day the Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf into a Committee, to conſider of Ways and Means to raiſe the Supply granted to his Majeſty, and reſolved, That towards raiſing the ſaid Supply, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, which by an Act of Parliament of the 8th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, had Continuance to the 24th Day of June, 1736, ſhould be further continued and charged upon all Malt, which ſhould be made, and all Mum which ſhould be made or imported, and all Cyder and Perry which ſhould be made for Sale, within the Kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d of June, 1736, to the 24th of June, 1737; which Reſolution was next Day agreed to by the Houſe, and a Bill ordered to be brought in, which was accordingly afterwards brought in and paſſed as uſual.

The 4th of Feb. the Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf again into a Committee, to conſider of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, and reſolved, That a Sum not exceeding 79.760l. 3s. and 9d. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service for the Year 1736, and that a Sum not exceeding 4590l. 13s. and 8d. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, not provided for by Parliament.

On the 6th, the Houſe reſolved, That an humble Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions to the proper Officer or Officers to lay before the Houſe the following Account, which was accordingly laid before the Houſe on the 25th of the ſame Month, and was as follows:

An Account of what Duties or Impoſitions are now payable by any Act or Acts of Aſſembly, in any of the Britiſh Plantations in America, on the Importation and Exportation of Negroes, Wines, and other kind of Liquors, or on any Goods, Wares, or Merchandize, and Shipping, diſtinguiſhing each Duty or Impoſition, and each Colony and Plantation.

BARBADOES.

By an Act paſſed in 1663, an Impoſt of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. is laid on all dead Commodities of the Growth of this Iſland, ſhipped off the ſame, payable in Specie for ever.

By an Act paſſed in 1697, a Duty of one Pound of Gunpowder per Ton, is laid on all Ships entering there. Perpetual.

By an Act paſſed in 1705, a Duty of 5s. a Head is laid upon every Negro or other Slave imported.

An

An Act paſſed in 1715, lays a Tax of 20l. upon every Horſe or Aſs exported.

By an Act paſſed 1715, the following Duties are impoſed on Goods imported, that are not of the Growth of the Britiſh Colonies. On every Cwt. of Muſcovado Sugar, 12s. 6d. Cwt. of imported Sugar, 1l. 5s. Gallon of Molaſſes, 1s. 6d. Gallon of Rum, 2s. Pound of Cotton, 6d. Pound of Alloes, 1s. 6d. Cwt. of ſcraped Ginger, 1l. Cwt. of ſcalded ditto, 12s.

It appears by an Account received from Mr. Dottin, Preſident of the Council, and Commander in Chief of this Iſland, that in 1735, there was, by vertue of an Act of the Iſland, the following Duties paid upon the Importation of Liquors not of the Growth of Europe, imported in Britiſh Shipping. On every Pipe of Wine 4l. 10s. Ton of Mum 2l. 15s. Ton of Beer, Ale, Cyder, or Perry, 1l. 5s. Gallon of Brandy or other Spirits 1s. Twelve Quart Bottles of any Wine 2s. Of Beer, Ale, Cyder or perry 1s. Of Mum 1s. 9d.

But the Act for this Purpoſe has not been tranſmitted to the Plantation Office.

St. CHRISTOPHERS.

By an Act paſſed in 1727, an Impoſt of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. is laid upon all Commodities of the Growth of the Iſland, ſhipped off the ſame, and payable in Specie for ever.

By an Act paſſed in 1732, every Ship entering there, ſhall pay half a Pound of Gun-powder, and one Shilling current Money per Ton.

And a Fuzil or 30s. current Money for every 100 Tons, and 4d. current Money for every Ton under or over every hundred Tons, beſides the Powder Duty.

By an Act paſſed in 1722, and by another Act paſſed in 1732, the following Impoſts on Liquors are collected. Current Money.

On every Pipe of Madeira Wine imported, 2l. Every Pipe of the Weſtern Iſlands, or mixt with it, 3l. Every Ton of French, Rheniſh, or Spaniſh, 5l. Every Ton of Beer, 2l. Every Dozen Bottles of Wine, 1s 6d. Every Gallon of Rum, 2s 6d. Of Brandy, 1s. Of Mum, 6d. Beer, Ale and Cyder, every 12 Bottles, 1s. 6d.

ANTIGUA.

By an Act paſſed in 1668, an Impoſt of 4d. halfpenny per Cent. is laid in Specie on Commodities of the Growth of the Iſland exported. Perpetual.

By an Act paſſed in 1676, every Veſſel entering there, is to pay one Pound of Gun-powder per Ton.

By

By an Act paſſed in 1697, an Impoſt is laid on all Liquors imported.

Madeira Wines per Pipe 2l. Of the Weſtern Iſlands, or mixt therewith, per Pipe 4l. French, Rheniſh, or Spaniſh, per Ton 8l. And if bottled, per Dozen 2s. Beer, Ale, and Cyder per Ton 2l. if bottled, per Dozen 1s. Every Gallon of Mum 4d. of Brandy 2s. 6d. of Rum 2s. Half the Duty to be drawn back on Re-exportation.

By an Act paſſed in 1721, Goods of the Produce of the French Iſlands imported to Antigua, pay as follows.:

Every Pound of refined Sugar 9d. Cwt. of ſtrained or Muſcovado Sugar 5s. Pound of Lump or Powder'd Sugar 4d. half-penny. Molaſſes per Gallon 6d. Cotton per Pound 6d. Ginger per Cwt. 5s.

By an Act paſſed in 1726 7, an additional Duty of 20s. per Pipe is laid on all Madeira Wine.

NEVIS.

By an Act paſſed in 1675, an Impoſt of 4d. half-penny per Cent. is laid in Specie on all the Commodities of the Growth of the Iſland exported. Perpetual.

By an Act paſſed in 1699, a Duty of one Pound of Piſtol Powder per Ton is laid on every Veſſel entering and ſtaying 48 Hours. And one Fuzil for every 100 Tons.

By another Act paſſed in 1699, a Duty or Impoſt is laid on every Gallon of Rum imported 2s. Gallon of Molaſſes imported 4d.

By an Act paſſed in 1717, the following Commodities of the Produce of the French Iſlands, imported into Nevis, or re-ſhipped or removed from one Ship to another in the Harbours there, ſhall pay,

Every Cwt. of White Sugar 10s. Cwt. of Brown ditto 6s. Every Gallon of Rum 6s. Gallon of Molaſſes 1s.

By an Act paſſed in 1725, an Impoſt is laid on every Pipe of Madeira Wine imported 2l. Of the Weſtern Iſlands, or mixt therewith 4s. On every Ton of French, Rheniſh, Spaniſh, Italian, and Canary 8l. If bottled, per Dozen 2s. Every Ton of Beer, Ale, and Cyder in Caſk 2s. If bottled, per Dozen Quarts 1s. Ton of Rum 3s.

This Act was to expire in 1728, but is ſuppoſed to have been ſince continued by ſubſequent Acts, becauſe it appears by the Treaſurer's Account in 1735, that ſuch Duties were then collected; but the Act for continuing the ſame has not been tranſmitted to the Board of Trade.

MONTSERRAT.

By an Act paſſed in 1668, an Impoſt of 4d. half-penny per

Cent. is laid in Specie on the Commodities of the Growth his Iſland exported. Perpetual.

y an Act paſſed in 1734, upon every Pipe of Wine im- ed, 2s. Every Ton of Beer, 2s. Every twelve Bottles of r, 1s. Barrel of Cyder, 2s. 6d.

JAMAICA.

y an Act paſſed in 1728. Perpetual.

The following Duties or Impoſts are laid on every Ton Spaniſh, or Madeira Wine, 6l. Ton of the Weſtern Iſlands Azores, or mixt therewith, 12l. Ton of French, Rheniſh, Portugal, 5l. Every Gallon of Brandy, Arrack or other rits, 1s. 6d. Every Ton of Beer, Ale, or Cyder, 2l. Ton Mum or Metheglin, 3l. Cwt. of Ginger, 15s. Cwt. of iſcovado, or Panneel Sugar, 3s. Pound of refined Sugar, Of Tobacco, 4d. Of Indico, 3d. Cotton 3d. Cwt. Of Co- in Veſſels belonging to the Iſland, 15s. In any other Veſ- , 1l.

All Veſſels entering inwards from any Place to the North- rd of the Tropic of Cancer, one Pound of Gun-powder r Ton each Voyage.

All Veſſels trading only to the Southward of the Tropic Cancer, one Pound of Gun-powder per Ton per Annum.

By temporary Acts paſſed in 1734, and 1735, an Impoſt laid on every Slave imported, of 1l. payable to the Pur- raſer.

BAHAMAS.

By an Act paſſed in 1734, the following Duties are col- ected.

Every Negro imported directly from Africa, 6s. If im- orted from any Colony in America, having reſided there ſix Months and upwards, 3l. If not reſided there ſix Months, hen but 6s. Every Pipe of Wine of the Madeira or Weſtern Iſlands, 1l. 4d. Beer, and Cyder, per Barrel, 1s. 6d.

All Ships and Veſſels not built in thoſe Iſlands, that ſhall rrive there, or depart from thence, and ſhall put on Shore, or ake on board Goods which ſhall pay per Ton each Voyage s. 6d.

Duties on Goods exported.

On every Buſhel of Salt, 1d. Every Foot of one Inch Plank, 1s. 6d. All Plank thicker or thinner to pay in Proper- ion. Every 100 Feet of Timber, 6s. Tortoiſe, 9d.

BERMUDA.

By an Act paſſed in 1690 or 1691, and two additional Acts to it, paſſed in 1703 and 1723, every Veſſel belonging to the Iſland under 40 Tons, ſhall pay each Voyage 2s. if above

40 Tons, 4s. Veſſels belonging to Strangers to pay each Voyage per Ton, 2s.

By an Act paſſed in 1698, an Impoſt is laid on all Liquors imported by Strangers not Inhabitants there, viz. For a Hogſhead of Rum or Spirits, not exceeding 80 Gallons, 1*l.* 10*s.* And all other Caſks in Proportion. For every Sort of Wine, Cyder, Beer, Ale or Mum, imported by a Stranger, viz. every Pipe of Wine, 3l. other Caſks or Bottles in Proportion. Beer, Ale, Cyder and Mum, per Hogſhead, 6*s.* other Caſks or Bottles in Proportion.

N. B. The following Liſt of Duties is computed in Carolina Money, which is about 700 per Cent. worſe than Sterling.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By an Act paſſed in 1722-3, and continued by another paſſed in 1731, the following Duties of Impoſt are raiſed: On every Pipe of Madeira Wine, 6*l.* Fyal Wine, 10*l.* On every Gallon of Vinegar, 2*d.* Rum, 4*d.* Barrel of Beef, 10*s.* of Cyder from Northern Colonies, 10*s.* Gallon of Molaſſes, 3*d.* of Lime Juice, 6*d.* Quart Bottle of Brandy or Roſa Solis, 6*d.* Gallon ditto, in Caſk, 2*s.* Cwt. of Brown Sugar, 2*s.* 6*d.* White Sugar, 5*s.* Pound of refined Sugar 3*d* Cwt. of Cocoa, 15*s.* Pound of Chocolate, 1*s.* every Cwt. of Tobacco, 15*s.* of Butter, 10*s.* Cheeſe, 5*s.* Candles, 10*s.* Tallow, 7*s.* 6*d.* Salt Fiſh, 5*s.* Barrel of Herrings, Mackrel, or other pickled Fiſh, 10*s.* Train Oil, 7*s.* 6*d.* Blubber, 5*s.* Pork, 1*l.* 10*s.* Cranberries, 10*s.* Cwt. of Beef, 10*s.* of brown Biſcuit, 1*s.* 3*d.* of white ditto, 2*s.* 6*d.* middling Biſcuit, 2*s.* half Barrel of Flour, 2*s.* 6*d.* Cwt. of Hams and Bacon, 1*l.* Soap, 1*l.*

On Timber, Plank, Boards, Staves, Shingles, or any other Lumber from other Plantations, 20*l.* per Cent.

All other Wooden Ware, 5*l.* per Cent.

On every 1000 of Bricks from other Plantations, 2*s.* 6*d.* Horſe and Mare under 15 Hands high, 10*l.* On all Negroe Slaves directly from Africa or any other Place, except Spaniſh Negroes, if above 10 Years of Age, 10*l.* All Negroes under 10 Years of Age, (Sucklings excepted) 5*l.* On all Indians imported 50*l* Deer Skins, per Skin 6*d* On every Barrel of Pitch and Tar, 1*l* Cwt. of ſcraped Ginger, 10*s.* of ſcalded Ginger, 2*s.* 6*d.* Kegg of pickled Sturgeon. 2*s.* 6*d.* of ditto Salmon, 2*s.* 6*d* Pound of Preſerves, Sweetmeats and Succads, 3*d* of Sperma-ceti, 2*s* 6*d.* Gallon of ditto Oil, 2*s* 6*d.* Cwt. of Bees Wax. 7*s* 6*d.* Buſhel of Peas and Indian Corn of Michaelmas 1733, 1*s* Pound of Indico, 1*s.* Barrel of Onions, 10*s.* of Apples or Pears, 2*s.* 6*d* Pound wt. of Whalebone, 1*s.* of Beaver, 6*d.* Dozen of Otter, Fox, Cat,

or

Racoon Skins, 1s. Cwt. of Piemento 5s. Ton of Log-d, 10s.

All European Goods one per Cent. on their prime Coſt n Europe, rating the Difference of Exchange at 400 per t. in the Current Money of Carolina.

Goods ſold or moved from one Ship to another in the Pro-ce, to pay the ſame Duties as if landed, and be entitled he ſame Drawbacks.

Duties to be paid on Goods exported.

On every Pound of tann'd Leather, 2d. Tann'd Calf or er Skin, 1s. Raw Hide, 5s. On every Indian-dreſt Deer-in, a Pound and upwards, 6d. under a Pound, 3d. Raw er Skin, 6d.

Goods imported.

On every Negro above 10 Years old from America, 50l. der 10 Years old, 5l. except new Negroes who had not en ſix Months on Shore in America. On every Spaniſh legro, Indian, Muſtee or Mullatto, per Head, 150l.

All Goods re-exported in 6 Months imported, ſhall be al-wed a Drawback of three fourth Parts of the Duty paid on nportation.

By an Act paſſed in 1734, the further additional Duties re raiſed in the Nature of Port Duties for fortifying Charles Town. £.

On every Pipe of Madeira Wine, 4l. Gallon of Rum, 5d. of Molaſſes, 2d. Barrel of Flour, 2s. 6d. Cwt. of Muſcova-do Sugar, 2s. 6d. Clayed Sugar, 5s.

GEORGIA.

There has hitherto been no Act paſſed for laying Duties of Importation or Exportation in this Province.

NORTH-CAROLINA.

There are no Laws of this Province in the Plantation-Office, laying Duties of Importation or Exportation.

VIRGINIA.

By an Act paſſed in 1680, lays an Impoſt on all Tobacco exported. Perpetual.

On every Hogſhead, 2s. Sterling.

The ſame for every 500 lb. wt. exported, in Bulk, and pro-portionable for a greater or leſſer Quantity.

Lays alſo a Tonage Duty,

Of 1 half lb. of Gunpowder, and 3 lb. of Shot per Ton, or 1s. 3d. And 6d. per Poll for every Perſon imported, ex-cept Mariners.

By an Act paſſed in 1705, an Impoſt is laid on the following Goods exported for the Uſe of the College erected in that Colony, viz.

On every raw Hide exported, 3*d.* tanned ditto, 6*d.* dreſt Buck Skin, 1*d.* halfpenny, undreſt ditto, 1*d.* dreſt Doe Skin, 1*d.* halfpenny. Undreſt ditto ¼ qrs. Pound of Bever, 3*d.* Otter Skin, 2*d.* Wild Cat Skin, 1*d.* halfpenny, Mink Skin, 1*d.* Fox, 1*d.* halfpenny, 12 Racoon Skins, 3*d.* 12 Muſk Rat, 2*d.* every Elk Skin, 4*d.* halfpenny.

An Act paſſed in 1726, lays a Duty on Liquors imported, Part expired; but by that Part of it ſtill in Force,

Every Gallon of Rum, Brandy, and other diſtilled Spirits imported, and every Gallon of Wine, pays until the Year 1737, 1*d.* Sterling.

By an Act paſſed in 1732, every Gallon of Rum, Brandy, and other diſtilled Spirits, and every Gallon of Wine, ſhall pay 3*d.* Sterling, except ſuch Liquors as are imported directly from Great Britain.

MARYLAND.

By an Act paſſed in 1704, a Duty of 2*s.* per Hogſhead is laid on all Tobacco exported, half to the Proprietor, and half to the Governor.

By an Act paſſed in 1704, all Perſons not being Inhabitants in the Province, and exporting Beef, Pork, or Bacon, ſhall pay, for dried Beef and Bacon, per Cwt. 1*s.* undried Pork and Beef, per Barrel, 1*s.*

By an Act paſſed in 1704, a Duty of 3*d.* per Ton is laid upon the Tonage of all Ships entering that Province, except ſuch as, *bona fide*, were built in, or belong to the People of that Province.

By an Act paſſed in 1715, a Duty is laid on the following Goods imported, viz.

On every Gallon of Rum, Spirits, Wine and Brandy imported by Land, 9*d.* by Water, 3*d.* every Iriſh Servant imported, 1*s.* Negro, 1*s.* Sterling.

The Government of this Province is in a Proprietor, who is not obliged by his Charter to tranſmit to the Crown ſuch Laws as are paſſed there, for Approbation or Diſallowance, but the Proprietor being a Roman Catholic in 1689, King William and Queen Mary took the Province under their Protection, and appointed a Governor, and Queen Anne did the ſame; and during that Time the Laws of the Province were tranſmitted for Approbation, amongſt which the foregoing are found.

PENSILVANIA.

Is a Proprietary Government, and there are no Acts of thi

ovince tranſmitted to the Plantation-Office, laying of Importation or Exportation.

NEW JERSEY.

n Act paſſed in 1725, a Duty is laid on the follow-ods exported.

very Buſhel of Wheat or Wheat-Meal unbolted, 1*s.* 1000 Staves of 35 Inches long, or under, 15*s.* it above d under 46 Inches long, 1*l.* above 45 and under 56, r. 56 Inches long and upwards, 2*l.* 1000 of heading Sort, 1*l.* 10*s.* Bolt that Staves or Heading can be of, 9*d.*

an Act paſſed in 1730, lays a Duty on the Importation ry Perſon convicted of Murder, Felony, &c. 5*l.*

an Act paſſed in 1733, a Duty of 40 Shillings per is laid on all Copper exported to any other Plantation.

NEW-YORK.

Duty is laid on the Importation, on every Slave four old and upwards, directly from Africa, 2*l.* from all o-Places, 4*l.* Pipe of Wine, 2*l.* 5*s.* Gallon of Rum, Bran-other diſtill'd Liquors or Shrub, 2*d.* halfpenny. Gallon m or Spirits diſtilled in the Province, wholly or in Part Molaſſes, 2*d.* halfpenny, 100*l.* Value of European or Goods imported from the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt-, 5*l.* Cwt. of Cocoa, 4*s.*

an Act paſſed in 1732, a Duty is laid on every Piece ouds ſold at Oſwego, 10*s.* on every Gallon of Rum, 1*s.*

an Act paſſed in 1734, a Duty of 3*s.* current Money on, is laid on all Veſſels entering in, or clearing out, ex-Veſſels built in the Colony, or wholly owned by the In-ants thereof, or the Inhabitants of Great Britain; and ing Veſſels between Cape Henlopen and New Hamp-inclusive, and Whaling Veſſels.

another Act paſſed in 1734, a Duty is laid on empty s imported. On every empty Hogſhead, 1*s.* 6*d.* Light ice, 1*s.* Barrel or ſmaller Caſk, 9*d.* Flour or Bread Bar-1*s* Flour or Bread half-Barrel, 7*d.* halfpenny.

y an Act paſſed in 1734, a Duty is laid on every Barrel Cyder imported, 1*s.* on every Barrel of Pork, 3*s.* on eve-Barrel of Beef, 2*s.* with an Exemption in Favour of Cyder, k, and Beef, from New York.

MASSACHUSETS.

By an Act paſſed in 1734, the following Duties were laid Goods and Merchandizes imported, and on the Tonnage Shipping, viz. On every Pipe of Wine from the Weſtern Iſlands,

Iſlands, 1*l.* 10*s.* the Canaries, 2*l.* 5*s.* Madeira, 1*l.* 15*s.* and all other Sorts, 1*l.* 15*s.* Hogſhead of Rum, 1*l.* 10*s.* Sugar, 2*s.* Molaſſes, 1*s.* Tobacco, 1*l.* 15*s.* Ton of Logwood, 3*s.* on all other Goods, 3*d.* on every 20*s.* Value; all Goods imported from Great Britain expected.

All Molaſſes and Rum belonging to Foreigners ſhall pay, for every Hogſhead of Molaſſes, 5*s.* of Rum, 6*l.* All ſuch Liquors or Goods imported from any other Place than of their Growth, ſhall pay double.

Every Veſſel coming to Trade in this Province, (except Ships allowed in the Province, or belonging to Great Britain, or to Penſylvania, New Jerſey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, or New Hampſhire,) ſhall pay each Voyage 5*s.* per Ton, or one Pound of good new Piſtol Powder for every Ton Burthen, (ſaving for that Part owned in Great Britain or this Province, or the aforeſaid Governments) which are exempted.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By an Act paſſed in 1702, a Duty is laid on the Tonage of all Shipping, viz. one Pound of good new Gun-powder in Specie, for each Ton ſuch Veſſel contains.

NOVA SCOTIA.

A new Government not ſufficiently ſettled to eſtabliſh an Aſſembly, and therefore cannot make Laws or raiſe Taxes.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Not allowed to make Laws, nor ſeveral other Privileges enjoy'd by other Plantations.

Votes on the Supply.

On the 11th, the Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf again into a Committee, to conſider of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, and came to the following Reſolutions:

1. That a Sum not exceeding 217,269*l.* 4*s.* 10*d* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for the Ordinary of the Navy, (including Half-pay to Sea Officers) for the Year 1736.

2. That a Sum not exceeding 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hoſpital of Greenwich, for the better Maintenance of the Seamen of the ſaid Hoſpital, worn out and become decrepid in the Service of their Country

3 That a Sum not exceeding 24,518*l.* 10*s.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty upon Account, for Out-Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, for the Year 1736, which Reſolutions were next Day agreed to by the Houſe.

Southwark Election.

The Houſe, having on the 10th, begun to hear the Matter of the Petition of Richard Sheppard, Eſq; complaining of an undue

Election and Return for the Borough of Southwark, County of Surry, in purſuance of the Order of Houſe, and having proceeded in the ſaid Hearing on Thurſday following, the Petitioner, after he had examined his Witneſſes in Support of his Petition, was adviſed to drop the Affair; whereupon Mr. Heathcote, the then ſitting Member, was prevailed on not to give the Houſe the trouble of examining any Witneſſes in Support of his Right, but puſh the Affair any further; ſo that on the Tueſday after being the 17th, the Houſe reſolved, *nem. con.* that George Heathcote, Eſq; was duly elected a Burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent Parliament for the Borough of Southwark, in the County of Surry.

On the 19th, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Act for continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, in that Part of Great Britain called England; and for granting to his Majeſty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland, for the Service of the Year 1736. Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Acts.

The 20th, Sir John Ruſhout preſented to that Houſe (according to Order) a Bill for the farther regulating Elections of Members to ſerve for the Commons in Parliament, in that Part of Great Britain called England, containing ſome Regulations for preventing Diſputes about Elections, eſpecially with reſpect to Counties. This Bill was then received, read the firſt time, and ordered to be printed: On the Thurſday following it was read a ſecond time, and ordered to be committed: On Wedneſday the 24th of March, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee on the ſaid Bill, and made ſome Progreſs; but as it is very difficult to frame a Bill of that Nature, ſo as to prevent any danger of Grievances ariſing from it, ſome Difficulties were ſtarted in the Committee, which occaſioned the poſtponing of the Bill to another Seſſion. Bill for regulating Elections.

On the 25th of February, (See page 148) the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee, to conſider further of the Supply granted to his Majeſty; and came to the following Reſolutions, viz. Votes on the Supply.

1. That the Sum of 56,250*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty on Account of the Subſidy payable to the King of Denmark, purſuant to the Treaty bearing Date the 29th Day of September, 1734, for the Service of the Year 1736.

2. That a Sum not exceeding 46,780*l.* 18*s.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account for reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1736.

3. That a Sum not exceeding 3828 ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for paying of Penſions to the Widows of ſuch reduced

to by the House.

The ſame Day it was ordered that the proper Office lay before the Houſe an Account of the ſeveral S Quantities of Corn, which had been exported from Ch 1734, to Chriſtmas, 1736; as alſo from what Pl Ports, and in what Quantities they had been exporte ther with an Account of the Bounty that had be thereon.

This Account was preſented on Monday the 8th of and was as follows, viz.

alſo from what Places and Ports, and in what Quantities they have been exported, and that has been paid thereon.

Ports.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	Bounty.			
	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	l.	s.	d.
Arundel	200		466						15,090		447	18	8
Barnſtaple	182								12	1	25	15	7
Beaumaris									41		10	5	
Berwick	2396		425						10,944		3094	1	5
Biddeford	600	7							292	5	148	5	3
Blackney and Clay	81		9369				18		254		1066	19	6
Bridlington			50	4							8	6	5
Briſtol	1127	6	185	3					554	5	308	17	6
Bridgewater	628	3									78	10	11
Cheſter									391	3	97	16	10
Chicheſter	603	4	11,339	2					8748		3941	4	4
Colcheſter	685	5							1510	4	463	6	6
Cowes	689	4							2241	4½	646	11	6
Dartmouth	2537	1							313	2	395	9	
Dover	429	4							4015		1057	8	9
Exeter	7693	4			1279	4			1134	2¾	1405	4	2
Falmouth	335	4							728		223	18	9
Harwich	622								1200		377	15	
Hull			8063						3732	4	2231		
Ipſwich	864	7	394						2282	5	728	6	3
Liverpoole	9	4			7	4			991	2	249	8	9
Lynn Regis	5747	6	17,411	2			549	4	6778	3	4534	4	6
Maldon,									600		150		
Milford	51				583	5			2796	4	778	9	

Ports.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.		Bounty.		
	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	Qrtrs.	Buſh.	l.	s.	d.
Minehead	285	2							702	7	211	7	6
Newhaven	898	1							1088	7	384	9	8
Padſtow	118								770		207	5	
Penzance									150		37	10	
Plymouth									100		25		
Poole	690		87	3	10	13			1159	3	389	18	7
Portſmouth	2190	2	8245	1					16,876	4	5523	11	3
Sandwich	349		3595	3					2485	7	1085	18	7
Shoreham	4890		2842	7					3007	4	1821	6	1
Southampton	3013	2	2358						9443	3	3098	4	9
Stockton	333										41	12	6
Wells	292		60,247				217		210	2	6849	15	7
Weymouth			226	1							28	5	3
Wiſbech	216	4							659		191	16	3
Whitehaven	42	6									5	6	10
Whitby									15	4	3	17	11
Yarmouth	9802	1	92,374	7			494		5938	3	13,629	17	10
London	8914	6	2101	6	39	6	51		59,784	2	16,429	5	2
	57,520	3	219,781	7	1920	6	1329	4	153,343	5	72,433	12	7

By Barley	7190		11
By Malt	26,434	18	
By Oatmeal	240	1	10
By Rye	232	13	3
By Wheat	38,336	18	6

Cuſtom-houſe, London, 8 Mar. 1735.

Exam. J———n O———d, Aj. Gent.

page 149) That towards raiſing the his Majeſty, the Sum of two Shillings in more, ſhould be raiſed in the Year 1736, tenements, Hereditaments, Penſions, Offices, Eſtates, in that Part of Great Britain called Wales, and in the Town of Berwick upon that a proportional Claſs (according to the of the Treaty of Union) ſhould be laid upon Great Britain called Scotland. Two Shillings in the Pound Land-Tax voted.

a Bill or Bills were ordered to be brought in purſaid Reſolutions.

th of March, his Honour the Maſter of the Rolls, Leave to bring in a Bill to reſtrain the Diſpoſition whereby the ſame become unalienable; which ngly granted, and the Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. lanville, and Mr. Plumer, were ordered to preing in the ſame. This Bill was preſented to the he Maſter of the Rolls, on the 10th of the ſame being received, was then read a firſt Time, and be read a ſecond Time. Next Day the Houſe ſaid Bill to be printed, and it was read a ſecond e 18th, and committed to a Committee of the e. Mortmain Bill brought in by Sir Joſeph Jekyll.

17th of this Month to the 6th of the next, Peti- the Quakers Tythe Bill (See page 152 and 174) d from half the Clergy of the Kingdom.

d reading of the ſaid Bill having been put off the 12th of April, after reading the Order of the Purpoſe, the Counſel for and againſt the Bill in, and the Bill being then read a ſecond Time, eral Petitions above-mentioned being alſo read, for the Petitioners of the Province of Canterard, in Anſwer to whom the Counſel for the Bill ; and then the Counſel for the Petitioners of the York were heard by way of Reply: After Counſel being withdrawn, Mr. Speaker opened he Houſe; and then a Motion being made, that tion of an Act made in the 22d and 23d Years of King Charles II. intitled, An act for the better the Maintenance of Parſons, Vicars and Cu- Pariſhes of the City of London, burnt by the e there, might be read; the ſame was read ac- Proceedings on the Quakers Tythe-Bill.

e, as may be ſuppoſed, for reading this Section by a Clauſe in the Bill, even as it then ſed to be enacted thus, That if the An- ues, Oblations, and other eccleſiaſtical

Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates before-mentioned, doth not, nor ſhall not exceed the Sum of in ſuch Caſe, no Quaker or Quakers ſhall be ſued or proſecuted, for, or on Account of the ſame, in any other Manner, than as before directed, or in any other Court; neither ſhall any ſuch Tyths, Oblations, or other eccleſiaſtical Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates, not exceeding the ſaid yearly Value of be recoverable againſt Quakers in any other Court whatſoever, nor in any other Manner, than as by this Act is directed, unleſs the Title of ſuch Tythes be in Queſtion.

This Clauſe, in all the Petitions preſented by the Clergy againſt the Bill, was called, An excluding them from the Benefit of the Laws then in being for the recovery of Tythes and other Dues, and thereby putting the Clergy of the eſtabliſhed Church upon a worſe Foot than the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects; therefore the ſaid Section was read, in order to ſhew that the aſſigning of a proper Method for the recovery of any Right, and excluding the Perſons intitled, from any other Remedy, was not a putting of ſuch Perſons upon a worſe Foot than the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects, nor was it without Precedent; for by the aforeſaid Act of King Charles II. all Suits for the recovering of Church Rates or Aſſeſſments, within the City of London, are to be brought before the Lord Mayor, or, upon his Neglect to execute the Powers thereby granted, before the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of of the Great Seal, or two Barons of the Exchequer; and, by the ſaid Section, it is enacted, That no Court or Judge ſhall hold Plea of Money due by virtue of that Act, other than the Perſons thereby authorized; and yet the Clergy of London never had complained, nor could complain, that they were excluded from the Benefit of the Laws of their Country, or that they were put upon a worſe Foot than the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects.

After reading the aforeſaid Section, a Motion was made for committing the Bill, upon which there enſued a long Debate, and upon putting the Queſtion, for committing the Bill, it was, upon a Diviſion, carried in the Affirmative by 221 to 84. and ordered accordingly; after which it was reſolved, that the Bill ſhould be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Bills.

On the 24th Day of March, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the five following public Bills, viz.

An Act for granting an Aid to his Majeſty by a Land-Tax to be raiſed in Great Britain, for the Service of the Year 1736.

An

an Act for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, and for the ter Payment of the Army and their Quarters.

An Act to repeal the Statute made in the firſt Year of the gn of King James I. intitled, An Act againſt Conjuration, tchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits, except much thereof as repeals an Act of the fifth Year of the gn of Queen Elizabeth, againſt Conjurations, Enchantnts, and Witchcrafts; and to repeal an Act paſſed in the liament of Scotland, in the ninth Parliament of Queen ary, intitled, Anentis Witchcrafts; and for puniſhing ſuch rſons as pretend to exerciſe or uſe any kind of Witchcraft, rcery, Enchantment, or Conjuration.

An Act to indemnify Perſons, who have omitted to ad the Prayers, and make and ſubſcribe the Declarations, reſted to be read, made, and ſubſcribed, by the Act of Uniformity of the thirteenth and fourteenth Year of the Reign King Charles II. within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing further Time for doing thereof.

An Act to amend an Act paſſed in the ſeventh Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King George I. entitled, An Act to preſerve and encourage the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, and for more effectual employing the Poor, by prohibiting the Uſe and Wear of all printed, painted, ſtained, or dy'd Callicoes in Apparel, Houſhold-Stuff, Furniture, or otherwiſe, after the 25th Day of December, 1732, (Exemptas is therein excepted) ſo far as relates to Goods made of Linnen, Yarn, and Cotton-Wooll, manufactur'd in Great Britain.

And to ſeven Private Bills.

On the 25th of March, a Petition of the Chancellor, Maſters and Scholars of the Univerſity of Cambridge, was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth, That the Univerſity, and the ſeveral Colleges therein, were founded and endowed for the maintaining fit Perſons in the Study of uſeful Knowledge, and the bringing up Youth in Learning, Virtue and Religion; and that they had hitherto purſued thoſe Ends with great Induſtry and Succeſs; and that many excellent Books had been written by the Members thereof for the Service of Religion, and many uſeful Diſcoveries and great Improvements made in Arts and Sciences; and that many of the Nobility and Gentry, had by their Academical Education, been ſo well fitted for the Service of the Church and State, as to have proved the Ornaments and Supports of both; and that the Univerſity had at all Times before been thought worthy of the Countenance of the Legiſlature, and continued favoured by Perſons of all Orders and Degrees, eminent for Wiſdom and public Spirit; and that, if the Bill to reſtrain

Cambridge and Oxford Petition againſt the Mortmain Bill.

ſtrain Alienations of Lands ſhould paſs into a Law without Amendment, it would, as the Petitioners apprehend, be attended with Conſequences greatly prejudical to them at that Time, and much more ſo in Time to come, becauſe it would, in a great Meaſure, prevent all Donations to ſupply preſent or future Deficiencies, or for any other wiſe and great Purpoſes, how uſeful and neceſſary ſoever they might be thought; and that a conſiderable Part of their Revenue aroſe from Annuities and other certain Payments iſſuing out of Lands and other Eſtates; and that many of thoſe Payments having been fixed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and ſtill continuing invariably the ſame, were then, by the great Fall of Money ſince that Time, ſunk ſo far below their original Value, as to be inſufficient to anſwer the Purpoſes, for which they are deſigned; and that ſeveral Headſhips were under 120, ſome under 100*l.* per Ann. and that the Salaries of ſome Profeſſorſhips were under 50*l.* per Ann. and others, as thoſe of Botany, Anatomy, and Chriſtianity, had no Endowment at all; and that the Income of much the greateſt Part of their Fellowſhips was under ſixty, of many under forty, of ſome ſo low as thirty, and twenty, and fifteen Pounds per Ann. and that many of their Scholarſhips and Exhibitions amounted not to above ſix, four, and three Pounds per Ann. and that ſome were even under thoſe ſmall Sums; and that many poor Students had neither Scholarſhip nor Exhibition to help towards their Maintenance; and that the Number of Advowſons in moſt Colleges was very ſmall in Proportion to the Number of Fellows; and therefore praying the Houſe to except that Univerſity, and the ſeveral Colleges therein, out of the ſaid Bill. Which Petition was ordered to be referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the ſaid Bill was committed.

Next Day a Petition of the Chancellor, Maſters and Scholars of the Univerſity of Oxford, in behalf of themſelves and the ſeveral Colleges and Halls within the ſaid Univerſity, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, That the Petitioners apprehended, that by the Bill then depending before the Houſe, to reſtrain the Diſpoſitions of Lands, whereby the ſame become unalienable, and their Succeſſors might be deprived of the Aſſiſtance of future Benefactions, and the charitable Donations of ſuch, as might be diſpoſed to promote the pious Intentions, for which that ancient Univerſity was founded; and that the Petitioners were by their Conſtitution entirely founded in Charity, and muſt ever continue to depend upon it; and that notwithſtanding the large Benefactions with which they had been formerly endowed, yet many of the Societies were ſo meanly provided for, that the

pious

s Deſigns of their Founders muſt remain imperfect, with-
future Beneſactions, which had been found by long Ex-
ience to riſe by ſuch ſlow Degrees, that the Petitioners
ed, that, when their Caſe was duly conſidered, they would
be thought to be within any of the general Miſchiefs
might ariſe from Alienations in Mortmain; and that,
heir preſent Poſſeſſions were inconſiderable in reſpect of
great Number of Perſons that were maintained out of
m, and that as the Donations they then enjoyed, as well
hoſe they might afterwards receive, muſt be ſolely appro-
ated to the Advancement of Religion and Learning; for
ſe Reaſons they hoped, that no Difficulties or Diſcourage-
nts would be put in the Way of thoſe, whoſe pious and
aritable Intentions might diſpoſe them to give their Aſſiſt-
ce towards rendering the Univerſity in general, as well as
ſeveral Societies of it, more inſtrumental in promoting
oſe great and neceſſary Ends; and that the Petitioners there-
re hoped, they ſhould be exempted from the Reſtraints
entioned in the Bill; or that they ſhould meet with ſuch
elief from that Houſe, as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem meet.
Which Petition was likewiſe referred to the Committee.

On the 26th, the Houſe of Commons reſolv'd itſelf into a
ommittee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of the
pply granted to his Majeſty, and came to the following
eſolutions, which were reported and agreed to on the 29th,
iz.

To grant to his Majeſty,

1. The Sum of 22,944*l.* 14*s.* for making good the Defi- Votes on the Supply.
iency of the general Fund.

2. The Sum of 24,570*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* to make good the Sink-
ng Fund, the like Sum paid out of the ſame for Intereſt on
he Million lent on Credit of the Salt Duties, for the Supplies
f the Year 1734, purſuant to a Clauſe in an Act of Parlia-
nent, paſs'd in the 7th Year of his Majeſty's Reign.

3. The Sum of 10,000*l.* towards the Maintenance of the
Britiſh Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African
Company of England on the Coaſt of Africa.

4. The Sum of 10,000*l.* towards ſettling and ſecuring the
Colony of Georgia in America.

5. The Sum of 11,485*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* to make Satisfaction to
Humphrey Bell, (the ſurviving Aſſignee of the Eſtate and
Effects of William Ellins and Edmond Farrington, againſt
whom a Commiſſion of Bankruptcy iſſued) Suitor of the
Court of Chancery in 1726, ſo much of his Debt and De-
mand from one of the Maſters of the ſaid Court, as then re-
mained unſatisfy'd.

6. The

Other Petitions againſt the Mortmain Bill.

6. The Sum of 30,167*l.* towards the Buildings, Rebuildings, and Repairs of his Majeſty's Ships for the Year 1736.

On the 31ſt of the ſame Month, a Petition of the Governors of the Charity for Relief of the poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, That by Letters Patent of King Charles II. the Petitioners were conſtituted a Corporation, for Relief of the poor Widows and Children of Clergymen, and made capable in the Law, to take Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, not exceeding the yearly Value of 200*l.* and alſo Goods, Chattels, and Things of what Nature and Quality ſoever, and to alienate and diſpoſe of the ſame; which Capacity was enlarged by his late Majeſty King George I. to 3000*l.* a Year more, and that the Inſtitution of that Charity had been ſo well eſteemed, and ſupported by ſo many pious and well-diſpoſed Perſons, that the Petitioners had, for divers Years paſt, been able to make a Diſtribution of 5*l.* a Year to above 800 Widows of very poor Clergymen, and to put out many of their Children yearly to uſeful Trades, who otherwiſe muſt have been burthenſome to their reſpective Pariſhes, and their Children leſs uſeful to the Commonwealth, an Account whereof had been annually printed and publiſhed; and that the Objects of that Charity were far more numerous, than the Petitioners could provide for, out of their certain annual Revenues, and caſual Benefactions, their certain annual Revenues nor exceeding 3000*l.* a Year; and therefore, as that Charity was ſo well founded, and for ſo good Purpoſes, and that Corporation reſtrained from accepting Lands beyond 5000*l.* a Year, and thoſe alienable in the Diſcretion of the Petitioners, praying, that that Corporation might be wholly excepted out of the Bill then depending in that Houſe, for reſtraining the Diſpoſitions of Lands, whereby the ſame became unalienable, or that ſuch Proviſion might be made thereby, that that Corporation might enjoy the Benefits intended them by the ſaid Royal Grants, and that the ſame might be preſerved to them, to the full Extent thereof. No Motion being made for referring this Petition to the Committee, it was ordered to lie upon the Table.

On the 2d of April, a Petition of the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy, was preſented to the Houſe and read; ſetting forth, That the ſaid Governors were made a Body corporate by her late Majeſty Queen Anne, in the 3d Year of her Reign, in purſuance of an Act of Parliament, impowering her to ſettle upon them the Revenue of the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy, and to make Rules and Orders for the

lar Adminiſtration of the ſame, by which Statute Licence given to all and every Perſon or Perſons, by Deed ened, in ſuch Manner, and within ſuch Time, as was dited by the Statute made in the 27th Year of the Reign of ary VIII. for Enrollment of Bargains and Sales, or by Laſt ll or Teſtament duly executed, to grant to the ſaid Coration and their Succeſſors, Lands, Tenements, Hereditats, Goods and Chattels, for the Purpoſes mentioned in ſaid Act; which Corporation had alſo thereby full Caity to purchaſe, take, and enjoy any Money, Lands, Tenents, Goods and Chattles, without any Licence or Writ *quod damnum*, the Statute of Mortmain, or any other Sta: or Law to the contrary notwithſtanding; and that afterrds, in purſuance of the Powers granted by the ſaid Sta, divers Rules and Orders were ſettled and confirmed by r ſaid late Majeſty, under the Great Seal; by ſome of which ules and Orders, the Augmentations to be made were dited to be by way of Purchaſe, and not by way of Penſion; id the ſtated Sum to be allow'd for the Augmentation of ch Cure, was limited to 200*l.* to be inveſted in a Purchaſe, the Expence of the Corporation; and the ſaid Governors ere empowered to give the ſaid Sum of 200*l.* to Cures not ceeding 35*l.* per Ann. (which Sum was afterwards, by the uthority of King George I. extended to 50*l.* per Ann.) here any Perſons would give the ſame or greater Value in ands or Tithes; and ſuch Governors were directed, every ear, between Chriſtmas and Eaſter, to cauſe the Account f what Money they had to diſtribute that Year, to be audited, nd when they knew the Sum, public Notice was directed o be given, that they had ſuch a Sum to diſtribute in ſo nany Shares, and that they would be ready to apply thoſe Shares to ſuch Cures as wanted the ſame, and were by the Rules of the Corporation qualified to receive them, where any Perſon would add the like or greater Sum to it, or the Value in Lands or Tithes for any particular Cure; and that the Petitioners apprehended, that by the Bill then depending before the Houſe, to reſtrain the Diſpoſitions of Lands, whereby the ſame became unalienable, the Rights and Powers veſted in them by the ſaid Act, and by the Rules and Orders made in purſuance thereof, might be greatly affected, if ſome proper Proviſion ſhould not be made to prevent it; and therefore praying that a Clauſe or Clauſes might be added, whereby the ſaid Rights and Powers might be ſecured.

After reading this Petition, a Motion was made and ſeconded, for ordering it to be referred to the Conſideration of the Committee to whom the ſaid Bill was committed; and the ſame being oppoſed, after a pretty long Debate, the Queſtion

was put, and, upon a Diviſion carry'd in the Negative, by 143 to 95; whereupon the Petition was order'd to lie upon the Table.

The ſame Day the Houſe, according to Order, reſolv'd itſelf into a Committee of the Houſe upon the ſaid Bill, and made ſome Progreſs, Mr. Gibbon being in the Chair; after which, Mr. Speaker reſum'd the Chair, and Mr. Gibbon reported from the Committee, that they had made ſome Progreſs in the Bill, and had directed him to move, that they might have Leave to ſit again; whereupon it was reſolved, that the Houſe would, upon Monday then next, at Twelve o'Clock, reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of the ſaid Bill.

On the ſaid Day, being Monday April 5, it was moved and reſolved, that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give Directions to the proper Officers to lay before that Houſe an Account of what Licences had been granted by the Crown, and for what Values reſpectively, to any Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, their Heirs or Succeſſors, to alienate in Mortmain, and to purchaſe, take, and hold in Mortmain, in Perpetuity, any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments whatſoever, ſince the Act of the 7th Year of the Reign of King William III. entitled, An Act for the Encouragement of charitable Gifts and Diſpoſitions, to that preſent Time.

After which, the Houſe, according to Order, reſolv'd itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of the ſaid Bill, when Mr. Gibbon being their Chairman as before, the Clauſe for excepting out of the ſaid Bill the Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges of Eaton, Wincheſter, and Weſtminſter, with a Proviſion relating to Advowſons, was preſented, and a Motion made for its being receiv'd and made Part of the Bill, which occaſioned ſome Debate; but upon the Queſtion being put, it was, upon a Diviſion, carry'd in the Affirmative, by 227 to 130.

With reſpect to the Proviſo relating to Advowſons, an Amendment was propoſed for leaving it in the Power of the ſeveral Colleges belonging to the two Univerſities, to exchange ſmall Livings for larger, ſo as not to increaſe the Number of Advowſons, to which they were by the Act to be reſtrained, which occaſioned a new Debate, and at laſt, upon putting the Queſtion, it was carried in the Negative.

After which, the Committee having gone through the Bill, they reported the Amendments they had made to it, when the Houſe ſhould pleaſe to receive the ſame; and on the 7th, a Petition of the Grey-Coat Hoſpital in Tothill-Fields, of the Royal Foundation of Queen Anne, was preſented to the Houſe

uſe and read, ſetting forth, That by Letters Patent, da- the 19th Day of April, in the 5th Year of the Reign of late Queen Anne, the Petitioners were conſtituted a Cor- ration, and made capable in Law to take Lands, Tene- nts, and Hereditaments, not exceeding the yearly Value of oo*l.* and alſo Goods, Chattles, and Things of what Na- e or Value ſoever, for the Benefit of ſuch poor Children of Pariſh of St. Margaret, Weſtminſter, as from Time to me ſhould be admitted into the ſaid Hoſpital; and that the titioners had for ſeveral Years paſt, been enabled to main- n, cloath, and teach a conſiderable Number of poor Chil- en of both Sexes; and had, from the Time of the firſt Foun- tion of the ſaid Hoſpital, placed out above 500 Children pprentices, ſome to the Sea-Service, and others to uſeful rades, Huſbandry and Houſewifery; and that the Children en, and many Years paſt, were many more in Number than e Petitioners could provide for by the yearly Subſcriptions d Collection joined to the certain annual Revenues of the id Hoſpital, which together at that Time, did not exceed oo*l.* a Year; ſo that, were it not for the caſual and gene- us Benefactions the Petitioners had received by the Be- nefits of ſeveral pious and well-diſpoſed Perſons, they could ot take ſo many poor Children into their Care and Pro- ection, to be maintained, cloathed, and inſtructed; and herefore, in Conſideration the annual Revenue belonging to hat Hoſpital was of ſo ſmall a Value, praying that that Cor- oration might be excepted out of the Bill then depending n that Houſe, for reſtraining the Diſpoſitions of Lands, whereby the ſame become unalienable, or that ſuch Proviſion might be made thereby, that the Benefits intended them by the Grant of their Royal Foundreſs, might be preſerved to them in their full Extent. Which Petition was ordered to lie on the Table.

Next Day a Petition of the Truſtees of the ſeveral Cha- rity Schools within the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, Borough of Southwark and Bills of Mortality, in Behalf of upwards of 5000 poor Children cloathed and educated in the ſaid Schools, and alſo in Behalf of all other Charity Schools in this Kingdom, for the Education of the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England, as by Law eſtabliſhed, was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſeting forth, That if the Bill then depending in that Houſe, to reſtrain the Diſpoſitions of Lands, whereby the ſame become unalien- able, ſhould paſs into a Law without Amendment, it would prevent many charitable Donations for the Promotion of the ſaid Schools, which were ſo far from having any large En- dowments in Land or Money, that very few had ſo much as

a School-houſe; and that, as the voluntary Contributions did not equally and regularly anſwer the conſtant Expences, the Truſtees in ſeveral Places have been obliged to reduce the Number of their Children, and in others the Schools had been entirely laid down, for want of Means to ſupport them; and repreſenting to the Houſe the great Uſefulneſs of thoſe Schools; and alledging, that, during the Continuance thereof, the Petitioners have placed out upwards of 17,000 Children, within the ſaid Bills of Mortality, to Apprentiſhips in the lower Trades, and to menial Services, whereof about one Half had been put out to ſuch Services, beſides near 400 bound to the Sea-Service; and therefore praying the Houſe to except the ſaid Charity Schools out of the ſaid Bill, or to grant them ſuch other Relief as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem meet. This Petition was likewiſe ordered to lie upon the Table.

The ſame Day, the Report from the Committee upon the ſaid Bill was received, and the Amendments, with Amendments to one of them, all agreed to; after which, the Bill, with Amendments, was ordered to be ingroſſed; and on the 15th, the Bill was read a third Time, and a Motion made for its being paſſed, which occaſioned ſome Debate; but upon the Queſtion being put, it was upon a Diviſion carried in the Affirmative, by 176 to 72; and Mr Gibbon was ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and deſire their Concurrence.

The 30th of April, the Houſe reſolv'd itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider further of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, when they came to the following Reſolution, which was on the 3d of May reported and agreed to by the Houſe, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in upon the ſame, viz.

Vote on Ways and Means.

That the ſeveral Additional Stamp-Duties granted by an Act paſſed in the 12th Year of his late Majeſty's Reign, entitled, An Act for the Relief of the Suitors of the High Court of Chancery, ſhould be continued from the 2d Day of Auguſt 1742, to the 2d Day of Auguſt 1746, in order to raiſe the Sum of 11,485*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* to make Satisfaction to Humphrey Bell, (the ſurviving Aſſignee of the Eſtate and Effects of William Ellens and Edmund Farrington, againſt whom a Commiſſion of Bankruptcy was iſſued) Suitor in the Court of Chancery in 1726, for ſo much of his Debt and Demand in that Year due from John Bennet, Eſq; one of the Maſters of the ſaid Court, and then remaining unſatisfy'd.

With this Reſolution the Committee of Ways and Means concluded; and the Bill order'd in upon this laſt Reſolution, was accordingly brought in, and paſſed into a Law.

On

: 5th of May, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Royal Aſſent
d gave the Royal Aſſent to the ſix following pub- given to ſeve-
ral Bills.

ł for laying a Duty upon the Retailers of Spirituous
and for licenſing the Retailers thereof.
ł for exhibiting a Bill in this preſent Parliament
al:zing her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales.
ł for reviving and continuing the Acts therein men-
d for explaining and amending a Clauſe in an Act
the firſt Year of the Reign of his late Majeſty King
. (entitled, An Act for making the Laws for repair-
Highways more effectual) relating to the appointing
rs in Cities and Market Towns, and the ordering
:ments for the repairing and cleanſing the Streets

ł for indemnifying Perſons, who have omitted to
nemſelves for Offices within the Time limited by
d for allowing further Time for that Purpoſe; and
ding ſo much of an Act paſſed in the ſecond Year of
n of his preſent Majeſty, as requires Perſons to qua-
ſelves for Offices before the End of the next Term
er Seſſions; and alſo for enlarging the Time limit-
aw for making and ſubſcribing the Declaration
ranſubſtantiation; and for allowing further Time
lment of Deeds and Wills made by Papiſts; and for
Proteſtant Purchaſers, Deviſees, and Leſſees.
ł for more equal paying and better collecting cer-
l Sums for Relief of Shipwrecked Mariners and
Perſons, his Majeſty's Subjects in the Ports of Ca-
Port St. Mary's, in the Kingdom of Spain, and for
es uſually contributed to by the Merchants trading
d Ports.
ł for the better enlightning of the Streets of the
London.
) 37 private Bills.
n Thurſday the 20th of May, his Majeſty came to
e of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the ten fol-
ublic Bills, viz.
ł for enabling his Majeſty to borrow any Sum or
Money, not exceeding 600,000*l.* to be charged up-
arpluſſes, Exceſſes, or Overplus Money, commonly
e Sinking Fund, redeemable by Parliament; and
urther Diſpoſition of the ſaid Fund, by paying off
ol. of South-Sea Annuities, and for appropriating
lies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament.
ł for continuing, for the Purpoſes therein mentioned,
ional Duties upon ſtamped Vellum, Parchment, and
Paper,

Paper, laid by an Act paſſed i
of his late Majeſty King Geor
An Act for naturalizing h
of Wales.
An Act for indemnifying P
Offences againſt the Laws m
Cuſtoms and Exciſe; and f
future.
An Act to prevent the L
ſerve as Soldiers without his
An Act to reſtrain the D
ſame become unalienable.
An Act to explain and a
the 2d Year of his preſent
for the more effectual preve
the Elections of Members t
the commencing and carr
upon the ſaid Act.
An Act for further enco
facture of Britiſh Sail-cloth
ring the Duties now pay
into this Kingdom.
An Act to render the
the Importation of freſh
explain ſo much of an A
of the Reign of King C
ing Fiſh to the Mediter
ſervation of the Fry of
An Act for building
from the New Palace
the oppoſite Shore in th
And to ten private Bi
For the King's Speec

v upon the happy
:en, by their Im-
; agreed to preli-
; and upon the
by all the Powers
om the Aſſurances
m, that thoſe Pre-
.e Plan of Pacifica-
eſty and the States
Majeſty's Goodneſs,
iſtant and paternal
through the whole
; and from his Ma-
with the States, his
s proper Conditions
uld make no Doubt,
.ral Satisfaction: To
early Care in eaſing
.cing a conſiderable
Land: To aſſure his
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bury Williams: And Mr Hanbury Williams. Ld Tyrconnell.
thought the Peace was
ham it was poſſible for

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

" of Our reſpective Subjects, We thought fit, in purſuance " of Our conſtant Purpoſe to contribute our utmoſt to- " wards a Pacification, to declare, by a joint Reſolution, " to the Courts of Vienna and France, Our Approbation of " the ſaid Preliminaries, and Our Readineſs to concur in a " Treaty to be made for bringing them to Perfection.

" Theſe Preliminaries have been likewiſe communicated " to the Kings of Spain and of Sardinia; and altho' theſe " Princes have not as yet, in Form, declared their final " Reſolutions upon them, there is great Reaſon to believe " that the Love of Peace, their avowed Diſpoſitions for " putting an End to the Troubles of Europe, and the ami- " cable Interpoſition of common Friends, will prevail upon " them to agree to what has been thus concerted, upon rea- " ſonable Security given them, for the peaceable Poſſeſſion " and Enjoyment of the Countries allotted to them.

" In theſe Circumſtances, My firſt Care was to eaſe the " Burthens of My People, as ſoon and as far as Prudence, " in the preſent Poſture of Affairs, would permit. I have " therefore ordered a conſiderable Reduction to be made of " My Forces, both by Sea and Land: And if the Influence " of the Crown of Great Britain, and the Reſpect due to " this Nation, have had any Share in compoſing the preſent " Troubles in Europe, or preventing new ones, I am per- " ſuaded you will be of Opinion, that it will be neceſſary " to continue ſome extraordinary Expence, until there be " a more perfect Reconciliation among the ſeveral Powers " of Europe."

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered the proper Officers to lay before you " the Eſtimates for the Service of the current Year; and I " make no doubt, but My Deſires to make the Charge of " the Publick as low as poſſible, will find in you the " ſame Readineſs to grant the neceſſary Supplies with Chear- " fulneſs and Unanimity."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am willing to hope, this pleaſing Proſpect of Peace " Abroad will greatly contribute to Peace and good Har- " mony at Home. Let that Example of Temper and Mo- " deration, which has ſo happily calmed the Spirits of con- " tending Princes, baniſh from among you all inteſtine Diſ- " cord and Diſſenſion. Thoſe who truly wiſh the Peace " and Proſperity of their Country, can never have a more " favourable Opportunity than now offers, of diſtinguiſhing " themſelves, by declaring their Satisfaction in the Progreſs " already made towards reſtoring the Publick Tranquility, " and in promoting what is ſtill neceſſary to bring it to " Perfection."

The

The Commons being returned to their Houſe, and Mr Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.
Speaker having reported his Majeſty's Speech, Mr Stephen Fox Mr Stephen Fox's Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks.
moy'd, 'That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the Thanks of that Houſe for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne: To expreſs their grateful Senſe of his Majeſty's continued Endeavours to reſtore the publick Tranquility, and to avoid involving this Nation unneceſſarily in the fatal Conſequences of a general War: To congratulate his Majeſty upon the happy Turn, which the Affairs of Europe had taken, by their Imperial and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties having agreed to preliminary Articles for a general Pacification; and upon the great Probability of their being accepted by all the Powers engaged in the War: And to declare, from the Aſſurances his Majeſty had been pleaſed to give them, that thoſe Preliminaries did not eſſentially vary from the Plan of Pacification concerted and propoſed by his Majeſty and the States General; from a juſt Confidence in his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the Experience they had of his conſtant and paternal Care of the true Intereſt of his People, through the whole Courſe of this great and intricate Work; and from his Majeſty's having declared, in Conjunction with the States, his Approbation of the ſaid Preliminaries, as proper Conditions for a general Pacification; that they could make no Doubt, but they were ſuch as would give a general Satisfaction: To return his Majeſty their Thanks for his early Care in eaſing the Burthens of his People, and reducing a conſiderable Number of his Forces both by Sea and Land: To aſſure his Majeſty that they would, with great Chearfulneſs, raiſe the neceſſary Supplies: And, to teſtify their Gratitude from a true Senſe of the Bleſſings they then enjoyed, and from the proſpect of future Happineſs, That they would ſupport his Majeſty in ſuch Meaſures, as ſhould be found reaſonable and neceſſary to render that great and deſirable Work perfect and laſting.'

Mr Fox was ſeconded by Mr Hanbury Williams: And Mr Hanbury Williams. Sir Tyrconnell. Mr Shippen. Mr Walt. Plumer.
Sir Tyrconnell declar'd, 'That he thought the Peace was a ſafe, honourable and glorious, than it was poſſible for us to expect.' Upon this Occaſion Mr Shippen and Mr Walter Plumer took Notice of that Part of the King's Speech, which related to the Reduction of the Forces, and added, 'That they hoped ſome whole Regiments would be reduced, and not a Number of private Men only, as had been formerly practiſed upon the like Occaſions; for that the reducing of a whole Regiment would be a much greater Saving to the Nation, than the reducing of an equal Number of private Men: That in our preſent melancholy Circumſtances, every Method ought to be practiſed by which the publick Money

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

ney might be ſaved, in order to apply as much as poſſible yearly to the Payment of our publick Debts:

'That the Advantage of reducing whole Regiments, was apparent to every Gentleman who would make the Calculation; for by the Eſtabliſhment of laſt Year, a marching Regiment, which conſiſted of 815 Men, coſt the Publick about 15,217 l. yearly; ſo that if a whole Regiment ſhould be reduced, there would be a Saving of 15,217 l. a Year. Whereas if an equal Number of private Men only be reduced from that and other Regiments, there would be a Saving to the Publick of the Pay of ſo many private Men only, which in a Year amounted to but 7,427 l. from whence it is evident, that by a Reduction of 8000 Men made by reducing whole Regiments, the Publick would ſave 149,369 l. yearly; whereas, a Reduction of 8000 Men made by the reducing of private Men only, ſaves but 73,000 l. yearly; ſo that the Difference to the Publick was a Saving of 76,369 l. yearly; a Saving which ought not to be neglected: That tho', for the firſt Year or two, we ſhould be obliged to iſſue near one half of this Sum yearly for Half-pay to the reduced Officers, yet in a few Years they would either die or be incorporated in the ſtanding Corps; ſo that we ſhould ſoon ſave this whole Sum yearly.

'That it was not poſſible for them to find a military Reaſon why we ought to keep up, and in whoſe Pay too, a greater Proportion of Officers in Time of Peace than we did in Time of War; and as there was no Military Reaſon for ſo doing, People would be apt to ſuppoſe it was done for a Civil Reaſon; which was a Suppoſition injurious to his Majeſty, or at leaſt to his Miniſters; and for that Reaſon they would in a particular Manner recommend it to an honourable Gentleman on the Floor, [*Sir Robert Walpole*] to reduce whole Corps, inſtead of reducing private Men only.'

Then Mr Fox's Motion was agreed to without Debate, and a Committee ordered to draw up an Addreſs accordingly.

A Petition of Sir Rowland Winn, complaining of an undue Election for the County of York.

Jan. 16. A Petition of Sir Rowland Winn, Bart. was preſented to the Houſe and read, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of York, which was ordered to be heard at the Bar of the Houſe on the 24th of February; and it was ordered, that the Liſt of Voters to be objected to by either Party, be delivered to the other by that Day three Weeks.

Jan. 17. The Commons preſented their Addreſs of Thanks to the King as follows:

Mr.

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

The Commons Addreſs of Thanks for his Majeſty's Speech.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, return your Majeſty our unfeigned Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

We are truly ſenſible of your Majeſty's early Endeavours to put an End to the War, and can never enough admire the ſteady Application, with which you purſued that great Work, by the joint Interpoſition of the good Offices of Your Majeſty and the States General.

And it is, with the warmeſt Gratitude, we acknowledge Your Majeſty's particular Care and Circumſpection, in all Your Proceedings not to involve this Nation unneceſſarily in the War; when at the ſame Time, Your Majeſty ſaweſt You were not inſenſible of the imminent Danger that threatened the Liberties of Europe, from a long Continuance of it upon ſo unequal a Foot. A Conduct wherein Your Majeſty plainly proved, You equally conſulted the immediate Intereſts of Your People, and that Balance of Power in Europe, upon which the Safety and Commerce of this Nation ſo much depends: At once ſaving this Nation from all the preſent Calamities of War, and trying to avert the future Neceſſity of its being at laſt obliged to take its Share and Hazard in them.

We can't but be ſenſible of Your Majeſty's Wiſdom and Impartiality, in forming the Plan of Pacification, propoſed by Your Majeſty and the States General, to the Powers engaged in War; which although not immediately accepted by the contending Parties, nor anſwering the deſired Effect by preventing the opening of the Campaign, has been ſo far adopted, that the moſt material and eſſential Parts of it have been agreed to by the Princes originally and principally concerned in this Rupture, and recommended by them to their Allies as Preliminary Articles to a General Pacification.

Upon this happy Turn the Affairs of Europe have taken, we moſt heartily congratulate with Your Majeſty; and when we conſider the Aſſurances Your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give us, that theſe Preliminaries do not eſſentially vary from the Plan of Pacification, concerted by Your Majeſty and the States General, and the ready Approbation Your Majeſty and the States General have given of them; a juſt Confidence in Your Wiſdom, and the Experience we have of Your conſtant and paternal Care of the true Intereſt of Your People, through the whole Courſe of this great and intricate Work, leaves us not the leaſt Room to entertain a Doubt, but that the Preliminary Conditions of this Pacification, are founded, and

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' ſo approved, as will give general Satisfaction; in which Per-
' ſuaſion we are farther confirmed, by the great Probability
' there appears to be of their being accepted and agreed
' to, by all the Powers engaged in the War.

' The early Regard Your Majeſty has been graciouſly
' pleaſed to ſhew to the Welfare of Your People, in taking
' the firſt Opportunity, on this great and fortunate Event,
' to lighten the Burthen of their Expences, by making a
' Reduction of Your Forces, both by Sea and Land, is juſt
' a Mark of Your Care in conſulting their Intereſt, and of
' Your tender Concern for their Eaſe, that we ſhould be
' as unjuſt to our Gratitude, as to Your Majeſty's Good-
' neſs, if we failed to teſtify the one, and acknowledge the
' other, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt dutiful Manner. And as we
' look upon this, added to all the other Meaſures of Your
' glorious and happy Reign, as a Proof that the Eſtimates
' for the preſent Year will be proportioned to the Situation
' of Affairs, and the Purpoſes to which they ſhall be found
' neceſſary; ſo we beg Leave to aſſure Your Majeſty, that
' we will chearfully and effectually raiſe ſuch Supplies, as
' the Poſture of our preſent happy Circumſtances ſhall re-
' quire, and ſufficient to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown,
' and the Honour and Intereſt of Your Majeſty's Subjects
' and Dominions.

' And if ſuch Motives could want any additional Circum-
' ſtance to excite us to fulfil our Duty to Your Majeſty and
' our Country, the Reflection on the good Effect the extra-
' ordinary Supplies, granted the laſt Year to Your Majeſty,
' muſt have had, in contributing to bring this long-laboured
' Work to ſo happy an Iſſue, joined to the Conſciouſneſs of
' the Influence Your Majeſty's Counſels muſt ever have in
' the Affairs of Europe, whilſt a loyal Parliament ſhews it-
' ſelf determined to ſupport the Reſolutions of a wiſe and
' cautious Prince, cannot fail to operate with their due
' Weight, in making us perſevere in our Endeavours to
' give a Luſtre to Your Majeſty's Reign abroad, equal, if
' poſſible, to the Happineſs we enjoy from it at home.'

To this Addreſs his Majeſty gave the following Anſwer.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

" I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Ad-
" dreſs. I am very well pleaſed, that my Endeavours
" to reſtore the publick Tranquility have met with your
" Approbation; and you may be aſſured, my future Care
" ſhall be employed, to the utmoſt of my Power, to render
" the Peace of Europe perfect and laſting, and to make
" you a flouriſhing, and happy People."

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...ar. 19. A Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and o- Freeholders of the County of Norfolk, whoſe Names ... thereunto ſubſcribed, in behalf of themſelves and a ... Number more of the Freeholders of the ſaid County, ...plaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſaid ...nty, was preſented to the Houſe and read; and a Mo- being made for hearing the Matter of the ſaid Peti- at the Bar of the Houſe on the 26th of February, ...ohn Hynde Cotton ſtood up and ſaid,

Debate on a Petition complaining of an undue Election for the County of Norfolk.

Sir,

'I am ſurpriſed to hear ſuch a Motion made, conſider- the Houſe, but three Days ſince, appointed the York- Petition to be heard at the Bar of this Houſe on the ... of next Month, which is but two Days before the ... now moved for hearing the Norfolk Petition. This ...s as if the honourable Gentleman imagined, that we ...d go thro' the Yorkſhire Petition in two Days; whereas, ...y Opinion, if we examine into it as we ought, and as I ...e we will, it will take us up two Years, or at leaſt the ...l Time of two Seſſions. I confeſs, Sir, I have not Honour to be let into the Secrets of any of the York- ...e Petitioners, but I believe the honourable Gentleman, ...o made the Motion, is thoroughly acquainted with their ...and moſt hidden Deſigns; therefore, from his making ...h a Motion as he has been juſt now pleaſed to make ..., I muſt conclude, that the Yorkſhire Petitioners are ...lved to drop their Petition, in caſe they ſhould find ...mſelves unable to carry ſome very remarkable Queſtion ... firſt or ſecond Day. If this be really the Caſe, the ho- ...arable Gentleman was much in the Right to make you ...h a Motion as he has done, with regard to the Norfolk ...ction; but while we are Members of this Houſe, I ...nk, we ought upon no Occaſion to be directed, in our ...y of voting, by the private Opinion or ſecret Knowledge ... other Men; and therefore if the honourable Gentleman ...ows of any ſuch Secret with regard to the Yorkſhire Pe- ...on, he will ſtand up again and acquaint the Houſe ...th it, that we may have the ſame Reaſon for agreeing ... his Motion, which he had for making it.'

Sir J. Hynde Cotton.

Mr Pulteney ſtood up next, and ſaid,

Sir,

'I am very ſorry to find ſo many Petitions complaining ... undue Elections and Returns for Counties; for the Ex- ...nce of controverting ſuch Elections is ſo great, that it is ...poſſible any Gentleman can bear to pay the whole out of ... private Fortune. As the Caſe ſtands at preſent, when- ...er the Election for a County comes to be controverted, ... Expence muſt neceſſarily be raiſed by a general Contri- bution

Mr Pulteney.

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bution among all the Freeholders of the County; and it will not ſignify much to eaſe the Landed Gentlemen of a Shilling in the Pound Land-Tax, if by the Controverting of Elections they ſhall be obliged, once in every Parliament, to tax themſelves, perhaps in ten Times that Sum, for ſupporting the Rights of their Country.

'Injuſtice may, 'tis true, be ſometimes done by the Returning Officers for Counties, as well as by the Returning Officers for Boroughs. But as there are ſuch a great Number of Voters for every County, as almoſt every Freeholder's Right of voting muſt be examined into, before the Injuſtice of the Returning Officer can be detected, and as the naming of that Returning Officer depends entirely upon the Miniſters of the Crown, the Election for all the Counties in England is certainly very precarious. And when any Injuſtice is done, the Diſcovering of it is ſo troubleſome and expenſive, that no private Man can well undertake it: In ſuch Circumſtances, it will always be eaſy for the Miniſters of the Crown to appoint who ſhall be the Knights of any Shire, whenever they have a Mind; for if the Returning Officer makes an undue Return according to their Orders, it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover the Injuſtice done by him, ſo as to ſubject him to the Puniſhment inflicted by Law; and if the Returning Officer ſhould happen to diſobey their Orders, it is but making their Candidates petition, by which the Gentlemen rightfully choſen, and duely returned, will be put to ſuch an Expence in defending their Right, that no Man will thereafter chooſe to ſtand for any County in Oppoſition to the Court-Intereſt. This Injuſtice in the Returning Officers, as well as this Expence to the Gentlemen choſen or petitioning, might, in my Opinion, be eaſily prevented by a few ſmall Amendments to the Laws now in Being for regulating Elections; for if the Oath to be taken by Freeholders, on occaſion of their coming to vote at any Election, were made a little more full and explicit, no Man would dare to take it falſly, becauſe it would be eaſy to convict him of Perjury; and thoſe, againſt whom he voted, would always be ready to be at the Trouble and Expence of the Proſecution; in which Caſe the taking of the Oath might be made final and concluſive as to the Perſon's Right of voting, ſo that the Right of any Freeholder to his Vote at an Election would never come to be controverted at the Bar of this Houſe; and then it would be eaſy to detect the Returning Officers, if they committed any Injuſtice, and the controverting of Elections would not be near ſo tedious, troubleſome, or expenſive as it is at preſent.

'As the Caſe now ſtands, Sir, the Expence of controverting a County Election is moſt grievous and moſt terrible; and

as the County of Norfolk is one of the largeſt and moſt Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.
nlous Counties in England, the Expence of controverting Election for that County muſt be much greater than t others; but if you appoint the Petition from that nty to be heard in ſo few Days, after the Day on which have appointed the Yorkſhire Petition to be heard, you ld greatly enhance even that greater Expence; becauſe the ſitting Member and the Petitioners for Norfolk, t have their Lawyers, Agents, Witneſſes, and all the r Implements of a controverted Election, attending in wn, and living at their Expence, during the whole Time the Controverſy about the Yorkſhire Petition. This, I Sir, muſt be the Caſe, at leaſt of the ſitting Member, r *Edmund Bacon*] becauſe I am pretty well convinc'd he ot in any Concert, nor knows any of the Secrets of the titioners for Yorkſhire; and the laying him under ſuch an raordinary Expence, or indeed under any Expence, is more unneceſſary, becauſe the only Gentleman, whoſe ght ſeems to be controverted, is now dead, [*Mr Wode-ſe*] by which Means the Petitioners and their Friends ght, if they pleaſed, have an Opportunity of trying their tereſt in the County by a new Election, without putting emſelves to the Trouble or Charge of controverting the rmer; but it ſeems the Petitioners know that the Expence f controverting the former Election, great as it muſt be, ill be leſs to them than the Expence of a new Election; hich, by the by, Sir, ſeems to me to be a Demonſtration at their natural Intereſt in the County is not much to be epended on.

But to this, Sir, I muſt add, that I have been informed, nd really believe, that the Petitioners could not make near o good a Show upon a new Election, as they did upon the rmer; for every one knows that on ſuch Occaſions many romiſes are made by thoſe, who do not depend upon their atural Intereſt, but upon the unnatural and acquired In-ereſt they may have by Means of the many Poſts and Pre-erments they have at their Diſpoſal: And I have heard, hat many Promiſes were made upon the laſt Election for the County of Norfolk, which have not been performed; from whence it is to be preſumed, that the Perſons to whom thoſe Promiſes were made, and who were thereby induced to vote contrary to their Inclinations, will upon a new Election vote according to Conſcience. This, Sir, I am afraid, is the true Reaſon for renewing the Petition from that County, notwithſtanding its being certain that the Hearing of theſe Petitions will coſt them more than a new Election can naturally coſt them; notwithſtanding its being certain, that a new *Election would bring their Candidates* ſooner to their having

Seats

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Seats in this Houſe, than they can be by the Hearing of the Petition; and I muſt ſay, that the Motion now made to us ſeems calculated for nothing, but that of laying the ſitting Member and his Friends under a Neceſſity of yielding to the Petitioners, rather than be at the Expence of trying the Merits of the laſt Election at the Bar of this Houſe.

Mr Winnington. Sir W. Yonge.

To this it was anſwered by Mr Winnington, Sir William Yonge and other Members, 'That it was impoſſible to foretel how long the hearing of the Yorkſhire Petition would laſt; but they could not imagine it would laſt near ſo long as the honourable Gentleman ſeemed to intimate: for as the controverted Votes on both Sides would be very much reduced, and fully aſcertained, by the Liſts that were to be mutually delivered, they could not think that Diſpute would take up many Days, much leſs ſeveral Weeks: That they would readily join in any Meaſures for preventing the Injuſtice of Returning Officers, as well as for making the controverting of County Elections ſhort and eaſy; but the controverted Elections then depending could not be regulated by any ſuch Meaſures: And as many of the Freeholders of Norfolk had complained of Injuſtice done them at the laſt Election, it was a Duty incumbent upon them, as Members of that Houſe, to hear their Complaints, and give the Complainants ſuch Redreſs as they ſhould find them intitled to: That this they were obliged to do with all poſſible diſpatch; and if the hearing of the Yorkſhire Petition ſhould laſt two or three Days, which might probably be the Caſe, it would be doing Injuſtice to the People of Norfolk to put off the hearing of their Complaints for two or three Weeks: That they knew no more of the Secret of the Petitioners for Yorkſhire, than any other Gentleman of that Houſe, ſo that their moving for having the Norfolk Petition heard, ſo ſoon after the Day appointed for hearing the Yorkſhire Petition, could proceed from nothing but their great Deſire to do Juſtice to the Norfolk Petitioners, and the ſitting Member, with all poſſible Diſpatch: That if the Petitioners, their Lawyers, Agents, and Witneſſes ſhould be obliged to attend in a few Days before their Affair could be brought on, it was an Inconvenience which could not be avoided; it was an Inconvenience which People had always been, and muſt always be ſubject to, in all Courts, and in all ſorts of Cauſes; for unleſs People were ſubjected to ſuch an Inconvenience, every Court of Judicature in the Kingdom would often be put to a full Stop, which would make it impoſſible to adminiſter Juſtice to all thoſe who might be obliged to ſue to ſuch Courts for Juſtice; but whatever Inconvenience there was in this Reſpect, it lay heavier in the preſent Caſe upon the Petitioners than it could

do

upon the ſitting Member; becauſe the Petitioners would Anno 9 Geo. II. 1735-36.
obliged to attend in Town, from the Day appointed for
aring their Petition, which they were not otherwiſe o-
iged to do; whereas the ſitting Member was otherwiſe
liged to be in Town, in order to attend the Service of the
ouſe: That they knew of no Promiſes made upon the
mer Election, nor any Diſappointments People had ſince
t with; but believed that ſuch Reports were without
undation: That a new Election might perhaps be leſs ex-
nſive than to try the Merits of the laſt Election; and
ewiſe Gentlemen might perhaps come ſooner to their
ats in that Houſe by a new Election, than by having their
ght upon the former Election determined; but if any Gen-
man had a Right to a Seat in that Houſe upon the for-
er Election, it was not reaſonable to expect that he ſhould
ve up that Right, which he muſt do by ſubmitting to
new Election: That beſides, if Injuſtice be done to him
well as the County upon the former Election, it was a
uty he owed both to himſelf and his County, to proſecute
he Authors of that Injuſtice in ſuch Manner as the Laws
his Country direct; and as that could not be done, but
y bringing the Merits of the former Election to be tried at
he Bar of that Houſe, they thought that the Petitioners
were in the Right to inſiſt upon it: That this was certainly
he Duty of the Petitioners, and it was their Duty, as Mem-
ers of that Houſe, to hear and determine the Affair as ſoon
s poſſible, by agreeing to the Motion.'

Hereupon the Motion was agreed to without a Diviſion;
nd the Liſts of controverted Voters were ordered to be mu-
ually delivered by that Day Month.

Debate on a Petition of John Neale, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election for Coventry.

The ſame Day Mr Walter Plumer preſented to the Houſe a Petition of John Neale, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the City of Coventry; and the ſame being read, Mr Plumer ſtood up again and ſaid, 'That tho' by the Forms of proceeding in that Houſe, it was neceſſary for the Petitioner to preſent a Petition that Seſſion, in the very ſame Words with the Petition preſented by him upon the ſame Subject the preceeding Seſſion, yet he had now given him Orders to acquaint the Houſe, That in order to ſave Trouble to the Houſe, and not to take up their Time any longer than was abſolutely neceſſary, he was willing to paſs from every Complaint in his Petition mentioned, except ſo far as related to the Qualification of John Bird, Eſq; one of the ſitting Members for the ſaid City; which was the only Complaint he intended to inſiſt on at the hearing of the Petition: And as the Determining of that Point could not take up above half an Hour of their Time, he

Mr W. Plumer.

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735 36.

would therefore move, that the Petition might be heard at the Bar of the Houſe': But upon the Queſtion's being put, it paſſed in the Negative, and the Petition was referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections.

A Petition of Anthony Chute, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election for Hampſhire.

Jan. 21. A Petition of Anthony Chute, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of Southampton, was preſented to the Houſe and read; and it was ordered, That the Matter of the ſaid Petition be heard at the Bar of the Houſe, on the 9th of March; after which it was moved to order, That the Liſts, with reſpect to the ſaid controverted Election, be delivered by that Day five Weeks: Hereupon Mr Liſle, one of the ſitting Members for that County ſtood up and ſaid, 'That he would willingly ſubmit to any Order the Houſe ſhould make upon that Occaſion, and would be ready to deliver his Liſts by any Day the Houſe ſhould prefix; but as the Deſign of delivering ſuch Liſts was to ſhorten the Diſpute, and to prevent taking up their Time with Inquiries into Objections againſt Voters, which were either falſe or frivolous, the longer the Time was which was to be prefixed for delivering ſuch Liſts, both the Petitioner and he would be more enabled to abridge their Liſts; and therefore, in order to give the Houſe as little Trouble as poſſible, which he was very much inclined to, he hoped the Houſe would give him and the Petitioner as much Time as poſſible for making up and delivering their Liſts: That with reſpect to the Objections againſt the Voters of either Side, they were obliged to depend upon the Information of others; and in order to prevent their being excluded from objecting againſt any Perſon, who was really a bad Voter upon the other Side of the Queſtion, they were obliged to put every Man's Name in their Liſts, againſt whom they could hear of any Sort of Objection; but that if he had Time, he would, by himſelf and his Agents, inquire particularly into every Objection; and would put no Man's Name in his Liſt, if upon ſuch Inquiry he ſhould find that the Objection was not ſufficiently ſupported by Reaſon and Evidence, by which Means he might probably very much abridge the Liſt he was to deliver; and he did not doubt of the Petitioners doing the ſame: That as there were already Petitions from Yorkſhire, Norfolk and Flintſhire, appointed to be heard before the Day appointed for hearing of the Petition againſt him, it could not be preſumed, that the hearing of the Petition againſt him would come on upon the very Day the Houſe had appointed for hearing it: That therefore he thought it would be better for the Houſe to ſuſpend making any Order, for delivering Liſts of bad Voters for the County of Southampton, till after the Deter-

Debate thereon.

Mr Liſle.

Determination of the Yorkſhire Election at leaſt; for as the Petition for the County of Norfolk, and that for the County of Flint, were both to be heard before the Petition for the County of Southampton could come on, there could be no Inconvenience in delaying to make any Order for delivering Liſts with reſpect to the laſt; becauſe after the Determination of the Yorkſhire Election, the Houſe might order the Liſts for the County of Southampton to be delivered by that Day ſe'enight; and it was impoſſible the Norfolk and Flint Elections could both be determined in a Week's Time. For this Reaſon, he hoped the honourable Gentleman would, for the Convenience of the Petitioner, as well as for his Convenience, and alſo for the ſake of ſaving the Time of that Houſe, wave the Motion he had made; and that the Houſe would ſuſpend making any Order for delivering the Liſts for the County of Southampton, till after the Determination of the Yorkſhire Election. Anno 9 Geo. II. 1735-36.

To this it was anſwer'd, 'That the uſual Method was for the Houſe to appoint a Day for delivering Liſts of all County Elections, at the ſame Time they appointed a Day for hearing the Petition: That the three other County Elections might for ſome Reaſon or other be put off, or perhaps entirely dropt, for which Reaſon it was neceſſary for thoſe concerned in the Southampton Election, to be fully prepared and ready for the Hearing, againſt the Day the Houſe had appointed, which they could not be, unleſs the Liſts were delivered againſt the Day then moved for: And that, as the ſitting Member, as well as the Petitioner, had already had near a whole Year to inquire into the Qualifications of Voters and the Objections that could be made againſt any of them, it was to be preſumed that their Liſts were then as much abridged as they could poſſibly be.'

Then the Queſtion being put for delivering the Liſts by that Day five Weeks, it was carried in the Affirmative without a Diviſion.

January 26. Mr Eversfield preſented to the Houſe a Petition of Richard Sheppard, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election, and Return for the Borough of Southwark, which was accordingly read; and a Motion being made, and ſeconded, that the Matter of the ſaid Petition be heard at the Bar of the Houſe; Mr Winnington ſtood up and ſaid, 'That altho' the honourable Gentleman, who preſented the Petition, had moved to have it heard at the Bar of the Houſe; and altho' that Motion had been ſeconded, and very much preſſed by the honourable Gentleman, who was one of the ſitting Members for Southwark, and againſt whom the Petition ſeemed to be chiefly aimed; yet he hoped Gentlemen would have ſome Regard to the honourable Gentleman

A Petition of Richard Sheppard, Eſq; complaining of an undue Election for Southwark.

Debate thereon.

Mr Eversfield.

Mr Winnington.

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

tleman in the Chair, to whom every Election heard at the Bar was a very great Fatigue. That beſides, they ought to conſider their own Time, and how much of it would be taken up in hearing the Petitions already appointed to be heard at the Bar, inſomuch, that he was afraid it would be impoſſible for them to go thro' the publick Buſineſs, which could not be put off till another Seſſion without doing a very great Prejudice to the Nation in general: That as there was a vaſt Number of Voters in the Borough of Southwark, there would of courſe be a very great Number of Witneſſes to be examined; and conſequently a great many Points of Law would probably ariſe, which muſt be argued by Counſel, and many of them might perhaps afterwards be argued for a long Time in the Houſe; ſo that upon the whole, he did not believe the Houſe could go thro' that Election in two or three Weeks, even tho' they ſhould adjourn all other Buſineſs, and ſit upon it *De Die in Diem*. For this Reaſon he hoped, that not only out of Regard to their Speaker, but out of Regard to the Publick, and to the Buſineſs of the Nation in general, they would allow that Election to go to their Committee, where it might be heard without interrupting the publick Buſineſs, without fatiguing their Speaker, and without doing any Prejudice either to their Petitioner, or to the ſitting Member.'

Mr J. H. Cotton.

Hereupon Sir John Hynde Cotton ſtood up, and ſaid,

Sir,

'Upon the preſent Occaſion, I cannot omit taking Notice of what happened when the Yorkſhire Petition was preſented. In the County of York there are certainly five or ſix times as many Voters as there are in the Borough of Southwark, and therefore, if the honourable Gentleman be of Opinion, that the Election of the Borough of Southwark will take up two or three Weeks of our Time, he muſt have been of Opinion, that the Election for Yorkſhire would take up at leaſt three or four Months; yet when that Petition was preſented, I remember the ſame honourable Gentleman appeared very fond of having it heard at the Bar of this Houſe; and I ſhould be glad to know from whence proceeds that tender Regard, which he is pleaſed to teſtify in the preſent Caſe, for the honourable Gentleman in the Chair, ſince he did not ſeem to ſhew the leaſt Regard for him in the former?'

Mr Heathcote.

Mr Heathcote ſpoke next:

Sir,

'By an Agreement between me and the honourable Gentleman who preſented the Petition, he promiſed to move for its being heard at the Bar of the Houſe: He has accordingly done ſo, and I have ſeconded that Motion; after which

ch I am not a little ſurpriſed to hear any Gentleman Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.
mpt to have it ſent to the Committee; for when the ing Member, as well as the Petitioner, inſiſts upon having Petition heard at the Bar, I believe there is no Example ſuch a Petition's being referred to the Committee. I e as great a Regard for the honourable Gentleman in Chair as any Member in this Houſe can pretend to; I know he will grudge no Trouble in doing Service to Publick, or Juſtice to any Member who thinks himſelf red; and in the preſent Caſe I inſiſt with the more edom upon having the Petition heard at the Bar, becauſe now the conteſted Votes are but very few; ſo that the ring can laſt but a very few Days; and I have ſome ſon to expect, that the Petition will be given up even re thoſe Votes which are conteſted are all examined

But, Sir, I have another Reaſon for inſiſting upon its g heard at the Bar of this Houſe: The Petition which been publickly read here, contains ſeveral grievous and nous Allegations againſt me, therefore I think I have a of Right to have the Truth of theſe Allegations exa- ed into, in the ſame Place in which they have been pub- ed; and I inſiſt upon it, becauſe, I have very good aſon to believe, that when this is done the Petition will pear to be as vexatious as any ever preſented to this uſe. And my Reaſon for believing ſo is founded not y upon a Conſciouſneſs of my own Innocence, but upon Candour and Sincerity of the Petitioner's own Scruti- ers; for during the whole Time of the Election, the Re- ning Officer for that Borough acted ſo equally and fairly, at, after the Scrutiny was over, even the Scrutineers for e Petitioner returned him Thanks for his Juſtice and Im- rtiality.

For theſe Reaſons, I hope, Sir, the Houſe will not ly order this Petition to be heard at the Bar, but will point a ſhort Day, conſidering the Place is juſt in our eighbourhood, ſo that no Pretence can be made, that any the Parties or Witneſſes are at any great Diſtance.

Mr Walter Plumer ſpoke next.

Sir,

As the Elections, which are appointed to be heard at the Bar, e generally ſooner determined than thoſe which are referred Mr W. Plumer. the Committee; and as it is always very much the Inte- ſt of the Petitioner, to have the Matter of his Petition on heard, if he has any Confidence in it; therefore I have ver obſerved the Hearing of any Petition at Bar refuſed, hen it was deſired and inſiſted on by the ſitting Member: ut there *is ſomething very extraordinary* in the preſent

Caſe,

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Caſe, for not only the ſitting Member deſires and inſiſts upon the Petition's being appointed to be heard at the Bar, but there ſeems to be a Deſign in the Petitioner not to have his Petition heard at all, or at leaſt not this Seſſion; for otherwiſe he would certainly have preſented it among the firſt, as he might and ought to have done, whereas he has delayed preſenting it almoſt as long as he could; which to me is really a ſtrong Preſumption, that he is ſenſible of his Petition's being ſuch as the ſitting Member has repreſented it to be; and if it be ſo. there can be no ſtronger Reaſon aſſigned, not only for its being heard at the Bar, but for its being heard as ſoon as poſſible.

The Queſtion was then put for hearing the Petition at the Bar of the Houſe; which upon a Diviſion was carried in the Affirmative by 145 to 142. After which the Queſtion was put for hearing it at the Bar on the 10th of Febreary, which was carried in the Affirmative without a Diviſion.

This Affair being over Mr Walter Plumer ſtood up and ſaid, 'That, altho' he had before acquainted the Houſe, that Mr Neale, Petitioner for Coventry, was willing to paſs from every Complaint in his Petition, except ſo far as related to the Qualification of John Bird, Eſq; one of the ſitting Members; yet that ſomething to that Purpoſe might appear upon their Votes, and to inſure the ſitting Member that no other Complaint would be inſiſted on againſt him, he would move, That ſince John Neale, Eſq; who had exhibited a Petition to that Houſe, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the City of Coventry, deſired to withdraw the Complaints in the ſaid Petition, except as to what relates to the Qualification of John Bird, Eſq; one of the ſitting Members for the ſaid City, therefore it might be ordered, That the ſaid Petition ſhould be diſmiſſed except as aforeſaid: This was accordingly agreed to. Then Mr Plumer added, 'That as the examining the Matter of that Petition, as it then ſtood, could not require any long Preparation, or the bringing up many Witneſſes; and as it could not take up ſo much as one Evening to determine that Complaint in the Committee; therefore he would move for an Inſtruction to the Committee to hear it on that Day three Weeks'. To this it was objected, as it had been to the former Motion in this Affair, 'That it was contrary to the common Courſe, and that there was nothing in that Affair ſo extraordinary as to induce them to hear it out of its due Courſe.' For this Reaſon, upon the Queſtion's being put, it paſſed in the Negative.

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Sir C. Wager's Motion for 15,000 Men for the Sea Service for the Year 1736.

Debate thereon.

Mr W. Plumer.

'he ſame Day the Houſe being in a Committee of the
le Houſe on the Supply, Sir Charles Wager moved,
hat 15,000 Men be employed in the Sea Service for the
r 1736.'
ereupon Mr Walter Plumer ſtood up and ſpoke as fol-
:

Sir,

I do not riſe up to oppoſe the Motion, becauſe, as we
the Happineſs to live in an Iſland, I have always been
Opinion, that we ought chiefly to depend upon our Na-
Force; and for this Reaſon I ſhall never be againſt our
ing up a pretty large Number of Seamen, even in
es of the moſt profound Peace and Tranquility. We
e, 'tis true, for ſome Years paſt, followed a quite con-
y Maxim; we have kept up ſuch a great Number of
d Forces, that it has not been in our Power to keep up
h a Number of Seamen in Time of Peace as we ought to
e done; but what has been the Conſequence of this
xim? It has forced a great Number of our native and
lant Seamen into the Service of foreign Powers, and from
nce aroſe the Difficulty we found ourſelves in upon a late
den Emergency, with reſpect to the fitting out ſpeedily
owerful Squadron: This Difficulty the whole Nation was
ely ſenſible of; and to this Difficulty we ſhall always be
poſed, unleſs we diſband a great Number of our Land-
diers, and beſtow that Money upon keeping up a large
dy of Seamen.

' But, Sir, I riſe up to put you in Mind, that you ought
Proportion all your Expences for the current Service of
e Year, not only to the happy Situation of your Affairs
broad, but to the unhappy Situation of your Affairs at
ome. Whoever conſiders this, will never give his Con-
nt to the loading the preſent Generation or their Poſterity
ith new Taxes, and much leſs to the laying of violent
ands on the Sinking Fund, when both may be prevented
our inſiſting upon the Payment of thoſe Sums, to which
e are juſtly intitled from foreign Powers; and therefore,
r, when we go into a Committee of Ways and Means,
order to provide for the 15,000 Seamen now to be voted,
hope you will take under your Conſideration, what I ſhall
w preſume to mention to you.

' As the keeping up of a great Number of Land-Forces
this Iſland is quite unneceſſary, and even inconſiſtent with
e Nature of our happy Conſtitution, and the Freedom of
ur Government; therefore, when any War is like to break
ut in which we may probably have a Concern, we are al-
ays obliged to take foreign Troops into our Pay: Whether
e have always been in the Right when we did ſo, is what

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I ſhall not now controvert; but I have always obſerved, that no foreign Prince would lend us any of his Troops, without our engaging, not only to pay them, but to grant him a Subſidy, perhaps greater than the Pay of thoſe Troops, upon their own Footing, would have amounted to; and that even in Caſes where the Prince ſtood obliged, perhaps by former Treaties, to aſſiſt us with Troops at his own Expence, and often in Caſes where his own Preſervation was more immediately concerned in the Event of the War than ours.

'Tis true, Sir, we are always obliged upon ſuch Occaſions, to have Recourſe to the Princes of the North, who by Reaſon of their Poverty plead an Inability to ſend us, or to have ready to be ſent, the ſtipulated Succours, unleſs we, by a new Contract, agree to pay them a Subſidy; which has ſome Shew of Reaſon, or at leaſt of Neceſſity, when they raiſe any new Troops for our Service; but I never could comprehend either the Reaſon or the Neceſſity for ſuch a Pretence, when they make no real Addition to the Land-Army they before kept up, nor put themſelves to one Farthing Additional Expence on Account of their Subſidy from us. This I know has ſometimes been the Caſe for Years together, during all which Time we have been ſo generous as to pay their Subſidy regularly, for enabling them to defray an Expence they never were at: At leaſt, in the publick Accounts delivered to this Houſe, thoſe Subſidies have been yearly ſtated as fully and regularly paid, in Purſuance of the Treaties we had before approved of; though indeed, an Accident happened not long ago, which gave Room to think, that all thoſe Subſidies had not been fully and regularly paid to the Princes ſo intitled to them.

Now, Sir, if we narrowly conſider our Circumſtances, I believe we ſhall find that we are as poor, and in as great Difficulties, as the pooreſt Prince in the North; and as we have lately ſent a very powerful Squadron to the Aſſiſtance of a very rich Prince, I make no Doubt but that our wiſe and frugal Miniſters let that Prince know, before they ſent out the Squadron, that with reſpect to him we are a Northern Power, and as needy as any Power he could apply to; and that therefore they have obliged him to pay us a very large Subſidy, for the powerful Squadron we ſent to his Aſſiſtance.

I am very ſure our Miniſters had much more Reaſon to inſiſt upon ſuch a Subſidy, than the Miniſters of any Northern Power ever had to inſiſt upon a Subſidy from us; for with reſpect to the Breach between Portugal and Spain, it was, in my Opinion, at leaſt, as great a Queſtion which of them were acting upon the Offenſive, as it was with reſpect

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to the Breach between Spain and the Emperor; therefore, we were not by any former Treaty obliged to ſend him any Aſſiſtance: Then as to the Expence, it is certain we have put ourſelves to a very conſiderable additional Expence on Account of the Aſſiſtance we have ſent to him; and as to the Benefit he has reaped from that Aſſiſtance, it appears plain to me, that the Tranquility he has enjoyed, and does ſtill enjoy, has been, and is ſtill owing to nothing but the powerful Squadron we have ſent to his Aſſiſtance; which, I am poſitive, is much more than can be ſaid of any Aſſiſtance we have ever got from any of thoſe, to whom we have paid ſuch large and ſuch generous Subſidies: To this I muſt add, that it cannot be ſaid that the Preſervation of this Nation was immediately concerned in the Event of the War between Portugal and Spain; which has generally been the Caſe with reſpect to thoſe Northern Princes to whom we have hitherto diſtributed our Subſidies.

'From theſe Reaſons, I am induc'd, Sir, to think that our Miniſters have certainly ſtipulated a large Subſidy from Portugal; and I have taken Notice of it upon this Occaſion, only to put Gentlemen in Mind to call for an Account of this Subſidy, at a proper Opportunity; and to appropriate it to the maintaining the 15,000 Seamen now to be voted; in order to prevent our being obliged to load the preſent or the future Generation with additional Taxes, or to lay violent Hands upon that Fund, which ought always to be held ſacred to the Payment of our publick Debts; by which only we can free our poor Labourers and Manufacturers from thoſe Taxes, which at preſent render the Neceſſaries of Life ſo much dearer in this Country than they are in any other.'

Then the Queſtion being put on Sir Charles Wager's Motion, the ſame was agreed to without Oppoſition.

Debate on Mr Pulteney's Motion for referring the Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1736 to a ſelect Committee.

Jan. 28. A Motion was made by Mr Pulteney, 'That the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy for the Year 1736, be referred to a Select Committee; upon which enſued a Debate, in which Mr Pulteney's Motion was ſupported by Mr Plumer, Mr Sandys, Sir John Barnard, and Mr Gibbon, as follows:

Mr Walter Plumer. Mr Sandys. Sir John Barnard. Mr Gibbon.

Sir,

'Among the many ancient Methods of Proceeding in Parliament, drop'd by the Complaiſance of latter Times, I think no one more neceſſary to be re-aſſumed, than that of appointing Committees to inſpect the Eſtimates that are laid before us, for enforcing the Demands made, by the Crown. It appears from the ancient Journals of this Houſe, that when a Demand of Money is made for anſwering the Expence of any Meaſure neceſſary for the Honour or Intereſt of the Nation, an Eſtimate of that Expence was laid be-

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fore this Houſe, and a Committee appointed to examine that Eſtimate, to ſee whether every Article was fairly ſtated. Our Parliaments in thoſe Days were not ſo complaiſant as to take any ſuch Eſtimate upon the Credit of the Miniſters: They thought it incumbent upon them to ſee, with their own Eyes, the Neceſſity of every Article of the Expence propoſed, before they would open their Purſe. This Method of proceeding is, in my Opinion, proper upon all Occaſions, but at preſent, with reſpect to the Navy, it is become abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe the yearly Expence of the Navy now vaſtly exceeds what it was in former Times; and there is almoſt every Year ſome new Article brought into that Eſtimate which was never before heard of. I do not deny, Sir, but that it may be now neceſſary for us to keep up a much larger Fleet, and to keep a much greater Number of Seamen in our Pay than we formerly uſed to do; but the greater our Expence is that Way, the more Room there is for defrauding the Publick; and therefore we ought to be the more careful to prevent loading the Publick with any unneceſſary Article of Expence. Theſe Eſtimates, 'tis true, are laid yearly upon our Table; but I believe no Gentleman, even of thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the Affairs of our Navy, will pretend to ſay, that he can from a bare Peruſal at our Table determine, whether the Articles of Expence mentioned in ſuch Eſtimates are all neceſſary, or that no one of them has been overcharged? And I do not ſee how any Gentleman can anſwer to his Conſtituents the loading of them with an Expence, a great Part of which, for what he knows, may be altogether unneceſſary.

'We ought, Sir, likewiſe to take Care that ſo much Money may be granted as ſhall be neceſſary for our yearly Expence; for by Eſtimates and Grants of Money which are afterwards found to be deficient, eſpecially with reſpect to the Navy, we deceive our Conſtituents; we do Injuſtice to the particular Men employed in the Navy, who are generally obliged to ſell their Claims at a Diſcount; we enhance the Price of all Materials neceſſary for the Support of the Navy; and we diſcourage our Seamen from entering into the Service of their Country: This we have the more Reaſon to take notice of at preſent, becauſe of the great Debt that has been lately contracted on Account of our Navy; a moſt extraordinary Debt, conſidering the ſhort Time in which it has been contracted, and that in a Time of profound Peace. And the Method, which we were laſt Year obliged to take for paying off a Part of it, ought to make us extremely cautious of being again led into the ſame Error, by any ſhort Eſtimates that may be laid before us; for we may remember, that during the Time we were running ourſelves inſenſibly

ſibly into that conſiderable Debt, there were Eſtimates yearly laid before the Parliament, which it was pretended, contained an Eſtimate of the whole Expence neceſſary for the Service of that Year. The Nation may be accidentally drawn into an additional Expence not to be foreſeen; but that additional Expence ought always to be laid before the very next Seſſion of Parliament, and ought to be provided for within the very next Year. Anno 9. Geo 1715-6.

'Another Conſideration, Sir, which ought to make us look the more narrowly into all publick Accounts, is the great Debt the Nation groans under. A Gentleman of an opulent Fortune, may perhaps paſs ſlightly over his Steward's Accounts; he may even allow his Servants to heap up Expences upon him, and to charge him with new and extraordinary Articles, without inquiring whether or no there was any Neceſſity for them; but a Gentleman whoſe Eſtate is deeply mortgaged, and cannot even ſupport the yearly Expence of his Family, without laying Hands upon that Part of his Eſtate which ſtands appropriated for paying off old Mortgages, ought to inquire ſtrictly into the Management of his Stewards, and ought never to paſs any Account, before he is thoroughly convinced of the Neceſſity of it. This, Sir, is our melancholy Caſe at preſent; we cannot provide, even for the current Service of the Year, without laying Hands upon that Revenue, which was long ſince appropriated to the Payment of old Debts; and therefore we ought not to approve of any Eſtimate, till we are thoroughly convinced of the Neceſſity of every Article; and this can be done only by referring them to Select Committees.

'Whether any unneceſſary Articles of Expence have been lately brought upon the Nation, is what I ſhall not at preſent pretend to determine; but that ſeveral new and extraordinary Articles have been of late Years brought into almoſt every Eſtimate uſually laid before us, is what muſt be known to moſt Gentlemen in this Houſe; and no one of them has ever yet been inquired into, in that Manner which is neceſſary upon ſuch Occaſions. It is likewiſe well known, that we have had of late Years ſeveral new Offices erected, new Poſts eſtabliſhed, and new Salaries granted, all of which are a Charge upon the publick Revenue; and whatever may be the Caſe as to theſe new Offices, I believe, upon a proper Inquiry, it would be found that we have many old Offices or Officers that might be ſpared, and many Salaries which might be altogether ſuppreſſed or very much diminiſhed. If the Nation were engaged in War, or if we were in any Danger of being engaged in War, it would not perhaps be proper to enter upon ſuch Inquiries; but by the great Promotion lately made of General Officers, I am convinced the

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Peace of Europe is now fully re-eſtabliſhed; for I am perſuaded his Majeſty would not have made ſo many brave Gentlemen uſeleſs as Colonels, by promoting them to be Generals, if there had been the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect that we ſhould ſoon be engaged in War: 'Tis true, few of thoſe Gentlemen lately promoted will, I believe, be brought upon the Eſtabliſhment as Generals, and therefore it is to be hoped that Promotion will not increaſe the Publick Expence; but we are at preſent in a State of perfect Tranquility, therefore it is the moſt proper Time for us to inquire into all our publick Accounts; and as our Navy ought always to be the firſt Concern of the Parliaments of Great Britain, I ſhall beg Leave, Sir, to move, 'That a ſelect Committee be appointed to inquire into the Eſtimate of the Navy for the Current Year.'

Sir R. Walpole. Mr H. Walpole. Mr Winnington. Sir W. Yonge. Sir Ch. Wager.

To this it was anſwer'd by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Winnington, Sir William Yonge, and Sir Charles Wager, as follows;

Sir,

'I ſhall not take up your Time with a Diſpute about the ancient Uſage in Parliament, but if there ever was any ſuch Method as that mentioned by the honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, it is certain that it has not been followed for many Years; and as no Cuſtom once eſtabliſhed, is ever laid aſide, without ſome good Reaſons for ſo doing, we are to preſume that if there ever was any ſuch Method eſtabliſhed, it was found to be inconvenient or unneceſſary, otherwiſe it had never been diſcontinued for ſo many Years. This of itſelf is a ſufficient Reaſon for our not re-aſſuming that Cuſtom, unleſs it could be ſhewn that the Publick has ſuffered by its being laid aſide; but there is this farther Reaſon, that our reviving ſuch a Cuſtom on the preſent Occaſion, would make People ſuſpect that ſome very great Frauds have been lately committed in the Management of the publick Treaſure; and I cannot think it conſiſtent with that Duty we owe to his Majeſty, to give the People any ſuch Alarm, when there is not the leaſt Foundation for ſuch Suſpicion.

'Perhaps there may have been ſome new Articles lately brought into ſome of our Eſtimates, but I do not remember any that are very conſiderable; and there never was one new Article brought in, but what appeared, at firſt View, to be abſolutely neceſſary for the publick Service. The honourable Gentleman ſeems to think it impoſſible to determine, from a bare Peruſal of the Eſtimates at our Table, that the Articles of Expence mentioned in them are all neceſſary, and that no one Article has been overcharged; but I cannot be of his Opinion; for I never could obſerve any

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ry either in the Eſtimate of the Navy, or in any other
nates laid before Parliament: The Articles are all well
n, becauſe it never exceeds what it was in the prece-
Year, without ſome manifeſt Reaſon; therefore any
leman may ſufficiently ſatisfy himſelf about every Ar-
by a bare Peruſal at the Table; but if upon ſuch Pe-
any Doubt ſhould ariſe, there are always, in the Com-
e of Supply, many Gentlemen able to give him as much
mation as he can with Reaſon deſire; ſo that there
can be a Neceſſity for our referring any Eſtimate to a
Committee.

The Eſtimates, yearly laid before Parliament, have al-
contained the whole Charge neceſſary for the Service of
nſuing Year, ſo far as could be foreſeen when thoſe
nates were drawn up; but as it is impoſſible to foreſee
e Accidents that may happen in the Courſe of a Year,
fore the Government may ſometimes be obliged to in-
e the publick Charge, beyond what was contained in the
nate laid before the preceding Seſſion of Parliament:
is an Inconvenience proceeding from the Weakneſs of
n Foreſight, and cannot be removed by referring any
nate to a ſelect Committee of Parliament; for it is
ſſible to ſuppoſe, that any Committee can foreſee
y Thing that may happen in the Courſe of a Year;
it is not to be preſumed that they can foreſee Things
lly and clearly as thoſe, who are immediately concerned
e Adminiſtration, under whoſe Direction the Eſtimates
generally drawn up. And if, by future Accidents, it
d be found neceſſary to increaſe the publick Charge be-
l what was at firſt propoſed, an Account of that additio-
Charge certainly ought to be, and I believe has always
erto been laid before Parliament, as ſoon as any ſuch
ount could be regularly made up. This was the Caſe
reſpect to the Navy-Debt, ſo that its remaining ſo long
tisfied, could not be owing to the Eſtimates or Accounts
being referred to a ſelect Committee, but to the Inability
Nation was under of providing for it out of the Grants
ny ſucceeding Year.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Load of Debts this Nation
urs under at preſent is very great, but we ought to bear
ith the more Chearfulneſs, when we conſider that the
le was contracted in Defence of our Religion and Liber-
; and ſurely no Man will grudge contributing a ſmall Part
is yearly Revenue, towards paying the Principal and In-
t, when he conſiders, that if it had not been for that Debt,
would have no Property at all. But this Debt, great as it
was all contracted in Purſuance of Eſtimates yearly deli-
d into Parliament, no one of which was ever referred

to

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to a ſelect Committee; and yet it cannot be alle
the ſmalleſt Part of this Debt was unneceſſarily c
or that the Publick was in the leaſt defrauded b
thoſe Eſtimates. I ſhall likewiſe grant that we
look narrowly into all Eſtimates laid before us,
thoſe Eſtimates are plain, this may be done witho
them to a ſelect Committee; and let a private Ge
Eſtate be never ſo much mortgaged, I ſhall have m
of his Prudence, if he ſate half a Year poring ove
count, which a School-boy might fully examine i
Hour.

'As for new Offices, Officers, or Salaries, I
heard of any lately erected, and if any of them ſh
appear in the Eſtimates delivered into this Houſe, it
be Time enough to inquire particularly into them.
the late Promotion of General Officers, I hope no G
will find Fault with it; both becauſe there was no
Expence thereby brought upon the Nation, and b
was abſolutely neceſſary to give our Officers th
which their Services have intitled them to, in order
may be upon an equal Footing with their Cotemp
the Service of thoſe Foreign Powers with whom
Alliance; otherwiſe, in caſe we ſhould find it nec
join our Forces with any foreign Power, an Offic
Britiſh Service, by not being promoted ſoon enoug
Rank he deſerved, might find himſelf under a Ne
ſubmitting to be commanded by a foreign Officer of
ſo long ſtanding in the Army; for every one know
Detachments from confederate Armies, the Officers
ly roll, firſt according to their Ranks in the Army,
according to the Dates of their Commiſſions.

'To conclude, Sir, if there were any very new
traordinary Articles in the Eſtimate of the Navy or
Conſideration, if Gentlemen could ſhew any doubtful
in it, which could not be immediately ſet in a cle
there might be ſome Reaſon for agreeing to the Mo
made to us; but as there is no Charge in it but wh
al, I therefore cannot think there is any Occaſion
referring it to a ſelect Committee.'

To this it was replied by the ſame Members w
for the Motion as follows:

Sir,

Mr Pulteney. Mr Walter Plumer. Mr Sandys. Sir John Barnard. Mr Gybbon.

'The honourable Gentlemen are much in the Rig
diſpute whether there was ever ſuch a Cuſtom, as th
tioned by the honourable Gentleman who made
Motion, becauſe it would be immediately determine
ferring to the Journals of the Houſe; it muſt

d admitted, that there was once ſuch a Method of Pro- Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.
ling, but how it came to be laid aſide is a Queſtion of a different Nature. I ſhall agree, that a Cuſtom once bliſhed is never laid aſide without ſome Reaſon; but that ſon is often very far from being a good one: In the preſent , it is to be preſumed, that this Cuſtom of referring pub- Accounts and Eſtimates to ſelect Committees, was found very troubleſome to Miniſters; and this was the true on for its being laid aſide; but this was ſo far from be- good Reaſon for laying it aſide, that it will always be ong Reaſon for re-aſſuming that laudable Cuſtom.

We are told, Sir, that the reviving of this Cuſtom will e People ſuſpect, that ſome very great Frauds have been y committed in the Management of the publick Treaſure: I am of Opinion, that the Nation will be much more med, at leaſt I am ſure they'll have much greater Rea- to be alarmed, if they ſee their Repreſentatives in Parlia- t every Year receiving Eſtimates for moſt prodigious Sums Money, and granting all the Sums deſired by ſuch Eſti- es, without ever making the leaſt Inquiry into any one hem; for in private Life it is moſt natural to ſuppoſe a Man will be cheated by his Servants, if he ſhould al- s paſs ſuch Accounts as they are pleaſed to bring in, with- ever examining into any one; and it is not to be ſuppo- that the Servants of the Publick are honeſter, or leſs in- ed to pilfer, than the Servants of private Men.

The Duty we owe to his Majeſty, ought never, Sir, to brought into any Debate in this Houſe; but it was never re improperly brought in, than it is now by the Gentle- n on the other Side of the Queſtion; for as this Houſe is grand Inqueſt of the Nation, we ought to inquire for King as well as for the People: We are in ſome Manner Majeſty's Truſtees, and ought to take Care, that neither nor his People be cheated by the Servants or Officers employs; and therefore it is inconſiſtent with that Duty owe to his Majeſty, to paſs any Accounts, or agree to Eſtimates preſented to us by his Officers or Servants, till have ſtrictly examined the Truth of every Article.

The new Articles lately introduced into our Eſtimates, y not perhaps be very conſiderable, but the Charge upon ſe, and the additional Charge upon all the old Articles, ount yearly to a very conſiderable Sum; and I confeſs I er was ſo clear-ſighted as to ſee at firſt View, that all ſe additional Charges were abſolutely neceſſary for the blick Service. The Gentlemen ſay, that the ſeveral Ar- les in our Eſtimates are all well known, and that the arge upon each is likewiſe known, becauſe it never ex- *ds what it was in the preſent Year*, without ſome manifeſt

Reaſon:

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

Reaſon: This, Sir, might be ſome Satisfactio
ſtrict Inquiry had lately been made into any o
mates; but as no Inquiry has been made for m
we do not know but Frauds may have been introd
ral Years ſince, and continued to this very Day;
it can be no Satisfaction to any Man, who has
mined any of thoſe Articles, to find that they do
the Charge upon the ſame Articles for ſeveral
But, Sir, I will take upon me to affirm, that n
Articles in all our Eſtimates; eſpecially that of
are of ſuch a Nature, that it is impoſſible to f
they are overcharged or not, without examining
every Year: This every Man muſt be convinc
will but look into the ſeveral Articles of the Eſtim
Navy now upon our Table. Can any Gentle
mine how much will be neceſſary for maintainin
nuated Sea-Officers, or for paying Penſions, with
ing yearly into the Number and Quality of ſu
or Penſions? Can any Gentleman determine how
be neceſſary for Half-Pay to Sea-Officers, withou
every Year into the Number and Rank of ſuch
It is impoſſible; becauſe by the very Nature of t
it muſt vary every Year; and moſt of the other
the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy will be found t
ſame Nature; therefore, I am ſurprized to hear i
the Charge upon any of theſe Articles can be
to any Member of this Houſe, or that its not ea
Charge upon the ſame Article in former Years,
Argument for the Juſtneſs of the Charge in an
come.

'I have, Sir, many Queſtions to aſk, which I thi
ry for my Information, in relation to every Arti
Eſtimate; but it would be ridiculous to expect
Information from any Gentlemen in this Houſe,
never ſo well acquainted with the Affairs of the
cauſe every Article of the Eſtimate refers to a lo
lar Account, which ought to be examined, befor
Gentleman can have that Satisfaction, which we
have as Truſtees both for the King and the Peo
impoſſible for Gentlemen to diſcover the Fraud
ticle in an Eſtimate, or to ſtate their Objections
gular Method, without examining Perſons, Paper
cords, which cannot be done but by referring th
to a Select Committee, with proper Powers for th
If this be done, I ſhall think it worth while
Queſtions as are neceſſary for my Information;
be glad to find the Suſpicions I at preſent en
without any Foundation.

at was contained in the Eſtimates of late, yearly laid
s, or whether they contained an Account of all
al Charge that could be foreſeen, I cannot deter-
or there is ſo little Satisfaction to be got from pe-
counts at our Table, that I never gave myſelf the
; but this I can ſay, that if they contained an Ac-
all the Charge then neceſſary, it is very extraordi-
at our Foreſight ſhould run above 100,000 l. in Debt
pon the Article of the Navy only. This I cannot
and therefore I am afraid that theſe Eſtimates were
ficient on purpoſe to conceal, for ſome Time, from
en the Expence our Meaſures had made neceſſary;
as our Navy is a favourable Article, it was expected
Parliament would readily agree, without any In-
make that Deficiency good, whenever it ſhould be
neceſſary to make Application for that Purpoſe. I
iſe at a Loſs to determine whether there was, every
id before Parliament an Account of the Deficiency
rants for the former Year with reſpect to our Navy:
ch an Account was regularly laid every Year before
nt, it is with me a very ſtrong Argument for re-
very Account and every Eſtimate to Select Commit-
the Diſadvantages attending our running into a
ear are ſo evident, that I am ſure this Houſe would
allowed that Arrear to remain ſo long unſatisfied, if
Notice had been taken of the Account of thoſe Ar-
hich, 'tis ſaid, were yearly laid upon our Table.
ews that moſt of the Gentlemen of this Houſe ex-
Satisfaction from a Peruſal of any Account at our
nd therefore never give themſelves the Trouble to
them, which proves the Neceſſity of referring all
counts to be examined by Select Committees.
m convinced, that if the ancient Method of in-
into all Accounts and Eſtimates, by Select Commit-
been conſtantly obſerved, the Debt the Nation now
nder, would never have riſen to ſo large a Sum,
ld ſo ſmall a Part of it been paid off in above twenty
rofound Peace. The great Haſte made in contract-
nd the ſlow Steps in paying it off, is another Argu-
r our beginning to look a little more narrowly into
irs, which can be done only by reviving that ancient
of Proceeding, which the honourable Gentleman has
ved for, with reſpect to the Eſtimates of the Navy
Year.

at the honourable Gentlemen may mean by Myſte-
Accounts, I do not know; but to me every Article
Eſtimate now before us ſeems a Myſtery, and muſt
a Myſtery to every Gentleman, who has never ſeen

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the particular Account to which each Article refers. Can any Gentleman underſtand the very firſt Article, which is upwards of 28,000 l. *per Annum* *, without having looked into the particular Account of what is paid for Salaries and other Charges to the Lords of the Admiralty, the Commiſſioners of the Navy, the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, and Contingencies relating thereto? Or can any Gentleman ſay, that this whole Sum is abſolutely neceſſary, without having examined whether ſuch Commiſſioners, Secretaries, Officers, and Clerks, are all neceſſary for ſupporting the Buſineſs of that Office, and that ſuch Salaries are neceſſary for ſupporting ſuch Officers? Let us look into every other Article of the Eſtimate, and we ſhall find the ſame Myſtery. Therefore, inſtead of our not being able to ſhew any Article that is myſterious, I muſt deſire the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion to ſhew me any one Article that is not myſterious; eſpecially, conſidering that no Inquiry has been made into either of the Articles, I believe I may ſay, within the Memory of any Gentleman now in this Houſe.

'I hope, Sir, a Negative will not be put upon this Queſtion; for it will certainly give too juſt an Alarm to the People of this Nation; they will imagine, that there muſt be Errors, and even Frauds, in the Eſtimates and Accounts delivered into Parliament, when the very Gentlemen who deliver them, or at leaſt thoſe who are principally concerned in the making them up, prevent any Inquiry into the Juſtice of them: Therefore, if Gentlemen are reſolved to diſagree with the Motion, I hope for their own Sakes, and for the Honour of Parliament, they will put the previous Queſtion, inſtead of putting a Negative upon the Queſtion now before us.'

The Queſtion being then put upon the Motion, it was carried in the Negative by 256 to 155.

Debate on a Motion, to addreſs the King for a farther Reduction of the Forces.

Jan. 29. A Motion was made, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to acquaint him with the Readineſs, wherewith his faithful Commons had agreed to the Continuance of the extraordinary Expence, which he had thought neceſſary in the preſent Juncture; in which Reſolution they had concurred with the greater Chearfulneſs, as a grateful Return to his Royal Goodneſs, in ordering ſo conſiderable a Reduction of his Forces both by Sea and Land, as ſoon as the preſent Poſture of Affairs would permit; and in full Confidence, that it was his Royal Intention, as ſoon as there ſhould be a more perfect Reconciliation among the ſeveral

* *In the ordinary Eſtimate of the Navy, for the Year* 1736, 28,052 *l.* 14 *s.* 1 *d.* *is charged for Commiſſioners of the Navy, with the Secretaries, Officers, Clerks, Inſtruments, and Contingencies relating thereto.*

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

wers of Europe, to make ſuch farther Reduction rces, as might be conſiſtent with the Security and f his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government, and preſent happy Conſtitution; not doubting, but that, fatherly Compaſſion to his People, he would be pleaſed to direct, that whatever Land-Force ſhould be thought neceſſary, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſuch , as ſhould make the Saving more ſenſible, and the rthen leſs grievous to the Nation.

Motion was ſupported by Mr John Pitt, Lord Pol- Sir Pulteney, Mr Gybbon, Sir John Barnard, Mr nd Mr Walter Plumer; and was oppos'd by Mr tum, Col. Bladen, Sir William Yonge, and Mr

But the Queſtion being at laſt put, in was carried egative without a Diviſion.

ry 2. The Houſe having ordered, that the proper ould lay before them an Account of all the publick t the Receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer, due or out at Chriſtmas, 1735, with the annual Intereſt the ſame; Mr Sandys ſtood up, and ſpoke as fol-

Mr John Pitt.
Lord Polwarth.
Mr Pulteney.
Mr Gybbon.
Sir John Barnard.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Plumer.
Mr Winnington.
Col. Bladen.
Sir W. Yonge.
Mr Conduit.

ry Man is now, I believe, convinced that the great groan under, is a moſt heavy Clog upon all pub- ſures, and will certainly, while it continues, pre- being in our Power to act upon any Occaſion with our we ought, either in Vindication of the Honour reſt of this Nation, or in Defence of our Allies. itſelf is a moſt terrible Misfortune, but what ſtill it is, that theſe our unlucky Circumſtances are well all our Neighbours, which is, I believe, the prin- ſe of our having ſo little Influence on the Councils Nations; and while this Load continues we may be inſulted by them, as often as they can find Pretence for ſo doing. In ſuch Circumſtances there- is the moſt pernicious Thing we can do, to run the any farther in Debt by creating new Funds, or to that Fund, which was long ſince appropriated, ing religiouſly applied to the extinguiſhing yearly a that Debt contracted before the Year 1716; for if ſo in Time of Peace, it will convince our Neigh- that it would be impoſſible for us to ſupport an ex- War, which will of courſe render us contemptible Eyes of all foreign Nations. And with reſpect to meſtick Affairs, the Conſequences of purſuing any eaſure are full as pernicious; for every new Mort- e make, becomes a ſort of Prop for ſupporting the payable upon the former; whereas we ought to

Mr Sandys's Motion for raiſing, within the Year, the Supplies neceſſary for the current Service.

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

uſe all poſſible Means to reduce that Intereſt, not only for the Encouragement of Trade among us, but to encreaſe the Sinking Fund, which would enable us to pay off all our old Debts much ſooner, than it will otherwiſe be poſſible for us to do: Nay, I am almoſt certain, that if no new Debt had been contracted ſince the Year 1716, nor any Part of the Sinking Fund converted to other Uſes than it was originally deſigned for, the Intereſt upon all our Funds would have been long ſince reduced to 3 l. *per Cent.* and a much greater Part of our old Debt would have been paid, by which we ſhould have been enabled to have taken off ſome of thoſe heavy Taxes, under which the poor Labourers and Manufacturers have groaned for ſo many Years. The loading Poſterity with new Debts, in order to give a little Eaſe to the preſent Generation, may be a good temporary Expedient for a Miniſter; and may prevent the People's making too particular an Inquiry into that Expence, which his Meaſures have brought upon them: But it is a moſt pernicious Expedient both for the Royal Family, and for the Nation in general. For when any Sum of Money is raiſed for the Service of the enſuing Year, by contracting a new Debt, and creating a new Fund for the Payment of that Debt, it is ſubjecting the Nation to pay at leaſt double that Sum in the End; becauſe in every ſuch Caſe, the Nation is obliged to pay Intereſt for the Money raiſed, and the Expences of collecting for many Years, beſides paying the Principal at laſt: this ſhews the Loſs the Nation ſuſtains by the contracting of any ſuch Debt for the current Service. By a long Continuation of ſuch Meaſures the People may come to be ſo loaded with Taxes, and thoſe Taxes ſo much engaged for the Payment of former Mortgages, that it may be impoſſible for his Majeſty, or ſome of his Succeſſors, to vindicate the Rights of the Nation, without loading them with heavier Taxes than they are able to bear, which may very probably raiſe a general Diſaffection againſt our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; and may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence even to the Creditors themſelves; for if ever we ſhould be reduced to ſuch Circumſtances, that either the Nation muſt be ruined, or the publick Creditors left unpaid, it is eaſy to ſee which Side of the Dilemma would be choſen. The proper Method to prevent our running into Debt is to diminiſh our yearly Expence; but as the Number of our Forces for the Service of the enſuing Year has already been agreed to; I cannot now propoſe any Diminution of our Expence for this Year. We have already granted a great Part of the Supplies neceſſary for the Service, and we are to go this Day into a Committee of Ways and Means for raiſing thoſe Supplies. What Methods may then be pro-

poſe

to the Want even of the Neceſſaries of Life, that
ives may live in Affluence; for this Reaſon, before
nto the Committee of Ways and Means, I ſhall take
rty to move to reſolve, 'That this Houſe will raiſe
he Year the Supplies neceſſary for the current Ser-
Mr Sandys being ſeconded by Sir John Barnard and
mot, the ſame was oppoſed by Sir William Yonge,
nington, Mr Heathcote, and Sir Robert Walpole as

Debate thereon.
Sir John Barnard.
Mr Willimot.
Sir W. Yonge.
Mr Winnington.
Mr Heathcote.
Sir R. Walpole.

e Queſtion, now before us, depended ſolely upon the
e this Nation has at preſent in the Councils of all
ers of Europe, or upon the Regard our Neighbours
ewn to this Nation in all their Meaſures, a few
would be ſufficient to ſhew, that we ought not to
any ſuch Reſolution as has been propoſed; for it is
hat we never had a greater Influence than we have
t in every Court of Europe, and that Influence is
upon the ſtrongeſt Reaſon; becauſe our Neighbours
very well, that we have now two Funds ſufficient
orting any War we may be engaged in, and which
pon any ſuch Occaſion make uſe of, without over-
he Subject, or raiſing Diſcontent in the Nation;
e Funds are the Land-Tax and the Sinking-Fund.
r landed Gentlemen would think it hard to pay 4 s.
ound Land-Tax, during a Time of Peace, yet they
ot certainly grudge that Tax, if they ſaw the Na-
eſſarily involved in a War; and tho' the Sinking-
o be applied in the moſt religious Manner to the
of our old Debts, yet, in Caſe of a War, I believe

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'I ſhall admit, Sir, that the Sinking Fund would be a Gainer, by the Reduction of the Intereſt payable upon the old Funds, and that it would be an Advantage to the Nation to have the Sinking Fund increaſed; but I very much queſtion if it would be poſſible to reduce the Intereſt payable upon our old Funds lower than it is at preſent, even tho' we ſhould never hereafter contract one Shilling new Debt. I have indeed heard of a great many Projects for that Purpoſe; and ſome of them have appeared well in Theory, but when they came to be examined, it has always been found that they would not do in Practice, and therefore they have been laid aſide: Beſides, Sir, it would be an Experiment of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, to reduce the Intereſt payable upon our old Funds lower than it is at preſent, becauſe it would probably induce Foreigners to draw their Money all at once out of our Funds, which would of courſe bring our publick Credit into great Diſtreſs, and would drain us of all the ready Specie now circulating in the Nation; and if the publick Credit of the Nation ſhould be once brought into any great Diſtreſs, moſt of our own People would take the Alarm, which would run it ſo low, that the Reſtoring of it would be impracticable.

'Another Conſideration, Sir, of great Weight with me, is, That we cannot well reduce the Intereſt upon our publick Funds any lower than it is at preſent, without reducing at the ſame Time the Intereſt of Money in general; and I am perſuaded the reducing the Intereſt of Money in general, to a lower Rate than what it is at preſent, would bring great Difficulties upon all Ranks of Men in the Kingdom. With reſpect to the publick Creditors the Difficulties are apparent; for a third Part of their yearly Income has been taken from them by the Reduction already made; and if a farther Reduction of one *per Cent.* ſhould be made, they would then have but one half of that Revenue, which they ſuppoſed they were to have when they firſt lent their Money to the Publick.

'Then with reſpect to the Landed Gentlemen, the reducing Intereſt ſo low would be a great Hardſhip, for they would be obliged to give each of their younger Children at leaſt 5 or 6000 l. whereas when Intereſt is at 5 or 6 *per Cent.* one half of that Sum will enable them to live in a genteel Manner; ſo that the reducing of Intereſt ſo low would lay all our Landed Gentlemen under a Neceſſity of ruining their Eſtates, or at leaſt of mortgaging them very deeply, to provide for their younger Children. And laſtly, Sir, with reſpect to the Trading Part of the Nation, it is very well known, that every Branch of Trade in the Kingdom is already ſo overſtocked, that it is almoſt impoſſible for

in the Kingdom who owe any Money at Intereſt,
e ſame Time would render it impoſſible for them
y Money for anſwering that Demand. From all
think it inconſiſtent with the publick Good of the
and with that of every particular Man, to reduce
eſt payable upon our publick Funds lower than it is
. Whatever may be the Conſequence with reſpect
ers, I am very certain, Sir, it would be an Expe-
very bad Conſequence with reſpect to his preſent
to load his People with Taxes which they may
eceſſary; for the People will always pay volunta-
freely ſuch Taxes as they think are abſolutely ne-
r the Support of the Nation, but it will always
ffection to the King upon the Throne, to load the
ith Taxes which they think unneceſſary at the
y are laid on. It is for this Reaſon that in Time
a Government may venture to ſubject the People
which would raiſe terrible Complaints, if they
raiſed in Time of Peace; and for the ſame Rea-
of Opinion, that we ought rather to convert a Part
nking Fund to the current Service of the Year,
increaſe any of our old Taxes, or load the People
new; for as there is at preſent no Demand for
any of our old Debts, and as none of the publick
deſire to have their Money, I am convinced the
y of the People would think it unneceſſary to load
h any new Tax, when they know we have ſuch a
which we may have Recourſe for making good the
ervice of the Year; and therefore we may pre-
t the loading of them at preſent with any new Tax

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

Calculation; for, with reſpect to the Expences of Management, it is well known that no new Debt we have lately contracted, has occaſioned any great new Expence; becauſe the Fund for paying off that Debt has always been committed to the Offices already erected, ſo that it has occaſioned no additional Expence, but that of adding perhaps two or three Under Clerks to ſome of the Offices before eſtabliſhed: And as to the Intereſt paid yearly by the Nation, does not every private Man ſave that Intereſt yearly, or make as much by the Share which he muſt have contributed to that principal Sum, in caſe it had been raiſed within the Year? If every Man in the Nation ſhould be obliged this Year to contribute 10 s. towards the current Service of the Year, does not he loſe the Intereſt of that 10 s. for all Years to come? And if by borrowing a Sum of Money upon the publick Credit at 3 or 4 *per Cent.* that 10 s. ſhould be left in every private Man's Pocket, may he not make every Year 5 *per Cent.* of that Money ſo left in his Pocket? From hence it muſt be granted, that the contracting of a new Debt at a low Intereſt, inſtead of raiſing the Money within the Year, is an Advantage rather than a Loſs to the Nation in general.

'As the Forces neceſſary for the Service of the enſuing Year both by Sea and Land, have been already agreed to, they muſt be provided for ſome Way or other; and if the uſual Taxes ſhall be found inſufficient for that Purpoſe, every one knows we have but three Ways to make good that Deficiency. We muſt make it good either by increaſing ſome old Taxes, or by laying on new Taxes, or by taking ſo much from the Sinking Fund as will make good that Deficiency. As for the firſt Method, none of our old Taxes will admit of any Increaſe, except the Land-Tax; and, conſidering the heavy Load that has for many Years lain upon the Landed Gentlemen of this Kingdom, I am really ſurprized, that they have ſo long allowed themſelves to be ſo loaded by the Trading Intereſt; therefore for the ſake of Prudence, as well as Juſtice, we ought not to think of increaſing the Land-Tax; and I hope, in all our future Meaſures, we ſhall impoſe ſuch Taxes as may fall with an equal Weight upon all the Subjects, in Proportion to their yearly Revenues or Profits, whether thoſe yearly Revenues and Profits proceed from Land, Trade or Money. With reſpect to the ſecond Method, I wiſh with all my Heart ſeveral of the Luxuries which have been lately introduced, or very much increaſed, were taxed more heavily than they are at preſent: But I am of Opinion, that it is a dangerous Experiment to lay on any new Tax, in a Time of profound Peace, even upon the Luxuries of Life; eſpecially as it is generally

known,

mown, that we have another Fund to which we may have Recourſe, without injuring in the leaſt the publick Credit of the Nation, or laying any additional Load upon any Rank of People: And if we ſhould venture upon any ſuch Meaſure, it would not be proper to make uſe of any ſuch Tax for the current Service of the Year, becauſe it is impoſſible to gueſs how much the Produce of a new Tax will amount to, and I cannot think it would be right to appropriate an uncertain Produce for the Payment of a certain Sum. It is well known, that a great Part of the Debts we are now loaded with, and of which ſome Gentlemen take all Occaſions to complain in the moſt grievous Manner, were occaſioned by that very Method of laying on a new Tax, the Produce of which muſt always be uncertain, and appropriating that uncertain Produce towards the Payment of a certain Sum; therefore if Gentlemen have a Mind to lay any new Taxes upon the Luxuries of Life, I ſhall not be againſt it; but I hope they will order the whole Produce to remain in the Exchequer, in order to attend the future Diſpoſition of Parliament; for before next Seſſion the Amount of ſuch new Tax will be known, or may be nearly gueſſed at, and then it may ſafely be appropriated to the current Service of the then enſuing Year; or be made a Fund for anſwering the current Service of that Year. Whether the uſual Taxes will be ſufficient to anſwer the Services already voted, and the other Services that may be thought neceſſary for the enſuing Year, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but if they are not, I think it is plain that we muſt have Recourſe to the ſinking Fund, as the moſt proper Method of providing for any Deficiency: However, we are not at preſent to determine this Queſtion abſolutely; when Gentlemen begin to conſider of Ways and Means for raiſing the Sums neceſſary for the Service of the enſuing Year, they ought, and they certainly will agree to raiſe them in that Manner, which ſhall appear to be the leaſt burthenſome to the People; and therefore I think it would be very wrong in us, to reſtrain ourſelves in the Manner propoſed by the Motion now before us. But that we may be left altogether free to do in this reſpect what we may think proper when we go into the Committee of Ways and Means, I ſhall propoſe, that the previous Queſtion may be put, with regard to the Queſtion now before us.'

Anno 9. Geo. I. 1722-3.

To this it was replied by the ſame Members, who were for the Motion, as follows:

Mr Sandys. Sir John Barnard. Mr Willimot.

Sir,

'It has been often obſerved, That new Meaſures muſt always be ſupported by new Doctrines, and it may as juſtly be obſerved, *that wrong Meaſures muſt* be ſupported by wrong

Anno 7mo. H. 1733

Doctrines. This is the Caſe with reſpect to the Queſtion now before us. The Doctrines advanced in favour of that Meaſure againſt which the preſent Queſtion is intended, are all ſo deceitful, that they are a plain Proof that the Meaſure muſt be wrong. What Influence our Miniſters may think they have in the Councils of Foreign Powers, I ſhall not determine; but I am ſure it does not appear that we have any great Influence, either from the Advantages that have been lately obtained in Favour of this Nation, or from the late Behaviour of ſome of our Neighbours towards our Allies. I hope it will not be ſaid, that the Courts of Vienna and Madrid had any great Regard for us, when they concluded that Treaty of Vienna which produced the Treaty of Hanover, and made ſuch a Buſtle in Europe; and I am ſure it cannot be ſaid, that the Courts of Paris, Madrid, and Turin, ſhewed any great Regard for us, when they made that private Alliance, by which they parcelled out among them, our Ally the Emperor's Dominions in Italy; nor can it, I think, be ſaid, that the Emperor placed any great Confidence in our Aſſiſtance, when, in order to obtain a Peace, he agreed to yield up to France the whole Dutchy of Lorrain.

'I have not the Honour, Sir, to be in the Secret of Affairs, therefore I muſt judge from publick Appearances; and from them it is to me evident, that our Influence has of late greatly decayed, and will, I am afraid, decay more and more: Foreigners, Sir, know our Circumſtances better than we ſeem to do ourſelves: They know that now, after a Term of twenty Years Peace, our publick Debts are very near as great, and our Circumſtances as bad as they were at the End of the laſt War: They know that by a Land-Tax of 2 s. in the Pound, we cannot provide for the yearly Supplies we think neceſſary, even in Time of Peace, without running ourſelves into ſome new Debt, to the Amount of 5 or 600,000 l. yearly, or taking ſo much from the Sinking Fund: and they know that, as the Sinking Fund we now have ariſes wholly from our Conſumptions being much greater in Time of Peace than in Time of War, the greateſt Part of it would be annihilated in caſe we ſhould engage in a War; from which, every Foreigner muſt conclude, and I ſhould think every Engliſhman too, that with 4 s. in the Pound Land-Tax, we could not raiſe 500,000 l. a Year more than has been found neceſſary for ſupporting our Government in Time of Peace; and that therefore we could not ſupport a War without loading the People with many new Taxes, or greatly increaſing thoſe we now have; neither of which, I am afraid, our People would patiently ſubmit to.

'Now,

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735 36

' Now, Sir, give me Leave to conſider the extraordinary Doctrines advanced, for the Support of that Meaſure which the oppoſing of this Queſtion ſeems to point at: In the firſt Place we are told, it would not be poſſible for us to reduce the Intereſt payable upon our old Debts, even tho' we ſhould never contract any new Debt: This, Sir, is contrary to one of the moſt eſtabliſhed Maxims, which is, That the natural Intereſt of Money muſt always depend upon the Proportion there is in any particular Country, between the Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt, and the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt; for as we have a Sinking Fund capable of paying off a very large Sum yearly, if we never perverted any Part of that Fund, which is always the ſame with contracting a new Debt, we ſhould be every Year diminiſhing the Demand for borrowing, and increaſing the Demand for lending; ſo that the natural Intereſt of Money, would neceſſarily of itſelf decreaſe, without any Projects for that Purpoſe.

' This, I ſay, Sir, would of courſe happen in a few Years; but even at preſent, if no new Debts were to be contracted, I do not know but Methods might be found for reducing immediately the Intereſt of all our Funds to 3 and a *half*, perhaps to 3 *per Cent.* what theſe Methods may be, I ſhall not take upon me to mention, becauſe ſome Gentlemen ſeem reſolved that no Propoſition ſhall be received, except thoſe offered by themſelves. And to frighten us from any ſuch Projects, we are told, that the Foreigners would, in ſuch a Caſe, draw their Money out all at once, and drain us of all the current Specie in the Kingdom; but to thoſe who underſtand the Circumſtances of Europe, and are appriſed of the Lowneſs of Intereſt in ſome Countries, and the Precarioufneſs of the Security in others, this muſt appear to be a meer Bugbear.

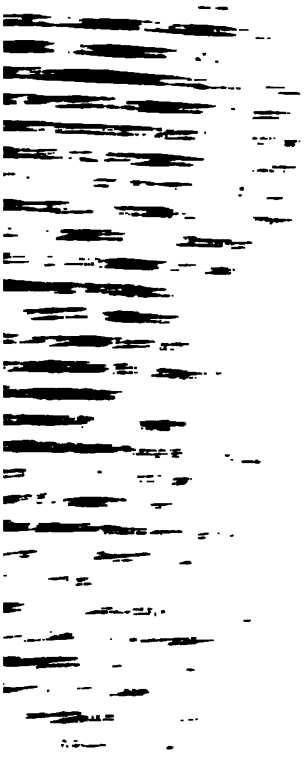
' Beſides, Sir, the Thing would either be in itſelf impoſſible, or it is an Event we have no Occaſion to be afraid of; for if Foreigners ſhould all at once reſolve to ſell out, it would either run the Price of all our Funds a great deal below *Par*, or it would not; if it did, they would be obliged to ſuſpend their Reſolution, and take 3 *per Cent.* rather than ſell out a 100l. Stock for 80 or 90l. in ready Money; and if their ſelling out did not run the Price of our Stocks below *Par*, we can have no Occaſion to be afraid of any ſuch Reſolution; becauſe their ſelling out could not ruin our publick Credit, and the ready Specie they could carry out would ſoon be replaced by the general Balance of our Trade, if we had no Intereſt to pay yearly to them; for it has been for many Years, and while it continues, it muſt always be a terrible Drawback upon our general Balance of Trade, to

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

have a Sum of 4 or 500,000 l. ſent yearly ou
tion, in order to pay the Intereſt due to them,
of which is entirely loſt to us; becauſe the wh
them in their own Countries, or converted
here, to increaſe their future yearly Demand.

'Another Paradox, advanced againſt the
before us is, That the reducing the Intereſt of
neral, would bring great Difficulties upon all
in the Kingdom. This, Sir, is evidently co
ther eſtabliſhed Maxim, which is, That the
tereſt of Money is in any Country, the mo
muſt be in its Trade and Commerce: I ſha
would diminiſh the Revenue of our publ
well as of all other Money-Lenders, but
miniſh their Capital, and thoſe that could
the Intereſt of their Money, would be o
themſelves to Trade, or to ſome other im
ment, which might be a Service to themſel
Advantage to their Country.

'As to the Landed Gentlemen, I am
hear it ſaid, that the reducing of Intereſt
ſhip upon them, conſidering how many,
many of them, are like their Country,
and Mortgages. On the contrary, it wo
vantage to every Landed Gentleman in
cauſe, beſides reducing the Intereſt he is
he owes, if he has any, it would greatly
of his Lands, as well as of all the Land
and as for his younger Children, he wo
ceſſity to give them any greater Fortune
if he were, a Mortgage of 6000 l. at
greater Burthen upon an Eſtate, than
that Sum at 6 *per Cent.* Intereſt; and
Eſtate were to be ſold for the raiſing of
Price of Lands will always riſe in Propo
of Money falls, when Money comes
Intereſt, the ſame Parcel of Land to be
6000 l. which would have ſold but for
was at 6 *per Cent.* I do not know
Gentleman means by enabling young
a genteel Manner; unleſs he means in
gant Manner; and the fewer there ar
any Country, I am ſure it is the le
which would be the Conſequence in th
few Gentlemen could propoſe that t
ſhould live upon the Intereſt of the Fo
them, they would breed them all up in
fineſs; ſo that inſtead of a great Numb



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Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

Expence that is not neceſſary, or the Money they contribute improperly applied; and tho' the perverting of the Sinking Fund, or running the Nation in Debt, may prevent the People of the preſent Generation from being ſenſible of an unneceſſary Expence, and conſequently may prevent their inquiring ſtrictly into that Expence, yet ſuch a Meaſure will make the preſent Expence fall with double Weight upon their Poſterity, and when they find themſelves obliged to ſubmit to heavy new Taxes, becauſe all the Old ſtand engaged for the Payment of old Debts, which will certainly be the Caſe as ſoon as the Nation comes to be engaged in any War, they will then with Reaſon complain, that an inſupportable Load has been thrown upon them, for the Sake of a temporary Eaſe given to their Anceſtors. This may very probably raiſe a general Diſaffection to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and it will be the more dangerous, becauſe it will happen at a Time when our Enemies will certainly be in Earneſt about playing the Pretender upon us. This Conſideration muſt, in my Opinion, have great Weight with every Gentleman, who has a ſincere Regard for the illuſtrious Family now upon the Throne, and eſpecially for that Royal Prince, who, 'tis to be hoped, will one Day ſway the Scepter of this Kingdom; for by thus perverting the Sinking Fund, or running the Nation into new Incumbrances, even in Time of Peace, he may be left in ſuch Diſtreſs, as not to have it any Way in his Power to ſupport the Government with any Luſtre, or to vindicate the Rights of the Nation with any Vigour.

'That no new Office or Officer has lately been created may be true, but, Sir, we know that a very great and a very grievous Office, and a great Number of Officers, were lately revived in Purſuance of the ſame Meaſures now pointed at; [*The Salt-Tax. See* VOL II. *p.* 159.] and we likewiſe know that the collecting of our Taxes, and the managing of our Funds, coſt the Nation a moſt prodigious Sum of Money yearly, a much greater Sum, I believe, than is neceſſary for that Purpoſe; for if a narrow Scrutiny were made into that Affair, I am convinced it would be found, that the Buſineſs of two or three Offices might be managed by one, without employing a greater Number of Officers and Clerks in that one, than is now employed in any one of the three; ſo that ſeveral Offices, and a great Number of Officers and Clerks might be laid aſide, by which a very large Sum of Money might be ſaved yearly to the Publick. This would contribute greatly towards preventing our loading the People with new or additional Taxes, or running the Nation in Debt, by creating new Funds, or perverting the old; and this the People would certainly inſiſt on, if they were every Year made

ade ſenſible of the Sums neceſſary for the publick Service; it this, it may be preſumed, will always be avoided by oſe who have the Diſpoſal of ſuch lucrative Poſts and nployments. Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

' It has been inſinuated, as if it were an Advantage to e People to run the Nation in Debt yearly, rather than iſe the Sums neceſſary within the Year; becauſe the oney is thereby ſaved in every private Man's Pocket; of hich he may, as long as he keeps it in his own Poſſeſ-n, make an Intereſt or a Profit of 5 *per Cent.* perhaps ore; whereas the Publick may borrow at 3 *per Cent.* or 4 moſt; and from the ſame Way of Reaſoning, it may be gued, that it will be an Advantage to the People to run e Nation every Year into ſome new Debt, and never pay ff one Shilling of the old. But do not we know, Sir, that all Countries, People look upon the publick Taxes as a art of their yearly Expence; when thoſe Taxes are high, very Man muſt contract his yearly Expence in other Arti-les, and when the publick Taxes are low, every Man may, nd generally does launch out a little into Expences upon ther Articles, which he would otherwiſe have ſaved; ſo hat if by borrowing a Sum of Money upon the publick Credit for the Service of this Year, we ſhould prevent our being under a Neceſſity of impoſing a Tax of Ten Shillings upon every Man in the Kingdom, that Ten Shillings would not be ſaved and laid out at Intereſt by any Man in the Kingdom, at leaſt not by any Man, I believe, with a View to anſwer his Share of the Principal and Intereſt of that Sum that had been borrowed by the Publick: No, Sir, every Man would live in his uſual Way, as if no ſuch Ten Shillings had been, or were ever to be paid; no Man would contract his uſual annual Expence on account of his Share of that Sum borrowed by the Publick; ſo that the Sum ſo borrowed by the Publick, and the Intereſt thereof, would remain a Charge upon every Man's Poſterity, without their having any Thing left them by their Anceſtor for anſwering that Charge. Even the Poſterity of the moſt frugal Man in the Kingdom would not be One Shilling the richer, on account of that Ten Shillings which was ſaved in the Pocket of their Anceſtor; becauſe he might have ſaved Ten Shillings of his yearly Expence in any one Year, and would certainly have ſaved it, if he had found himſelf under a Neceſſity of paying a Tax of Ten Shillings to the Publick.

' Sir, we have ſeen of late Years ſeveral Attempts made to throw a Diviſion, and to breed a Diſſenſion between the Landed Intereſt and the Trading Intereſt of this Nation; but ſuch Attempts will, I hope, always prove fruitleſs, for their Intereſts are inſeparable, and will always be thought ſo

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ſo by every Man who has a Reſpect for either. There is not a Landed Gentleman of any Senſe in the Kingdom, but knows how greatly the Rents of his Eſtate would be diminiſhed, if our Trade ſhould be undone; and therefore he will never conſent to the throwing of any unneceſſary Burthen upon it. There is not a Trading Man in the Kingdom, of any Conſequence, but has a View to ſettle himſelf or his Poſterity in a Land-Eſtate, and therefore he will never agree to the throwing of any unneceſſary Burthens upon Land: But, Sir, there has been lately a third Intereſt reared up in this Kingdom, inconſiſtent with both: I mean, Sir, the Intereſt of thoſe concerned in our public Funds: This is an Intereſt for the Support of which both our Landed Intereſt, and our Trading Intereſt are now greatly diſtreſſed; and it is an Intereſt which ſome Gentlemen ſeem to have a much greater Regard for than for either of the other two: Such Gentlemen will, I believe, always be for creating new Funds as long as we have any Thing left unmortgaged, or any Thing upon which a new or additional Tax can be laid; becauſe the creating of new Funds will always increaſe that Intereſt which they ſeem to have ſo much at Heart; and will prevent its being ever in our Power to diminiſh thoſe Annuities we are obliged to pay them; but they ought to conſider, that the Number of Men concerned in our Landed and Trading Intereſt, muſt always be much greater than the Number of thoſe concerned in our Funds; ſo that if People find that either our Landed Intereſt, and our Trading Intereſt muſt be deſtroyed, or our publick Fund Intereſt annihilated, it is eaſy to ſee upon whom the Ruin muſt fall; and therefore, if thoſe Gentlemen conſider right, they muſt conclude that it is againſt the Intereſt of the Proprietors of our Funds to make any Additions to them, or to divert that Money which is appropriated, and ought to be applied yearly, to the diminiſhing of them.

'Whether or no it may be neceſſary to impoſe any new Taxes, I ſhall not determine; I hope not, but if it ſhould be found neceſſary, the Produce of a new Tax may be appropriated to the current Service, as well as the Produce of an old; becauſe if any Deficiency happen, it may and ought to be made good out of the Grants of the ſucceeding Year; for our preſent Debts did not proceed from appropriating the Produce of any new Tax, but from not taking Care to make good in every ſucceeding Year the Deficiencies, which had happened in the Grants for the Service of the former. We all know, Sir, how dangerous it is to have Money lying in the Exchequer unappropriated; we know what a Temptation it is for ſome Gentlemen to form extravagant Projects, and to put the Nation to a needleſs Expence: Nay, we know how

how apt ſome Gentlemen are to break thro' the moſt ſtrict, and the moſt neceſſary Appropriations, in Caſes where there is not an immediate abſolute Neceſſity to apply the Sums ſo appropriated to the Uſes for which they were originally deſigned; and our Experience in this Particular is one of the chief Reaſons, and one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments for the Queſtion now before us; therefore if we agree to the laying on of any new Tax, I hope it will be immediately appropriated to the Service of the enſuing Year. Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

'The very Queſtion now before us is, whether we ought to lay a Reſtraint upon ourſelves, with reſpect to the contracting of any new Debt, or diverting the Sinking Fund from that Uſe for which it was originally deſigned, and to which it ſtands appropriated by the expreſs Words of thoſe Acts of Parliament by which it was eſtabliſhed? The Reſtraint now propoſed, is only for this Seſſion; but I wiſh the Reſtraint were for all Seſſions to come; and I am ſure if we have any Regard for our Poſterity, if we have any Regard for the preſent illuſtrious Family, if we have any Regard for the future Happineſs, I may ſay Preſervation, of the Nation, we will at leaſt for this Seſſion act as if we were under ſuch a Reſtraint; therefore there can be no Harm in laying ourſelves under any ſuch. And there is the more Occaſion for it, becauſe of the frequent Deviations we have lately made from this neceſſary Rule, and becauſe of the bad Uſe that may be made of ſome late Precedents; for if a Check be not ſpeedily put to ſuch Meaſures, as all Adminiſtrations are but fleeting Things, we may expect that every Adminiſtration will endeavour to make themſelves eaſy, and to put off the evil Day as long as they can, by contracting ſome new Debt every Year, and mortgaging ſome Part of the Sinking Fund as long as there is a Shilling of it left. As we have at preſent a pretty conſiderable Sinking Fund, this Meaſure may perhaps ſupport the preſent Adminiſtration as long as it can well be ſuppoſed to laſt, eſpecially if no War happens in the mean Time; but ſad and melancholy will the Reckoning certainly come to be at laſt, when we find ourſelves engaged in a dangerous and expenſive War, our People loaded with as heavy Taxes as they can poſſibly bear, and all thoſe Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of Debts, except juſt as much as may be ſufficient for the Support of our Civil Government. This Proſpect, Sir, gives me a moſt terrible Alarm, and therefore I am moſt heartily for the Queſtion before us.'

Then the Queſtion being put, That the Queſtion be now put; it was carried in the Negative without a Diviſion.

Anno 9 Geo. II. 1735-36.

Mr Heathcote voted duly elected for Southwark.

Feb. 17. The Houſe reſolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That George Heathcote, Eſq; was duely elected a Burgeſs for Southwark: Mr Sheppard the Petitioner having ſome Days before given up the Diſpute.

A Petition of the Juſtices of Peace for Middleſex, againſt the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, which is referr'd to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Feb. 20. A Petition of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the County of Middleſex, in their general Quarter Seſſions aſſembled, was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth, That the drinking of Geneva and other diſtilled Spirituous Liquors, had for ſome Years paſt greatly increaſed, eſpecially among the People of inferior Rank; and that the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe thereof had already deſtroyed Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects, and rendered great Numbers of others unfit for uſeful Labour and Service, debauching at the ſame Time their Morals, and driving them into all manner of Vice and Wickedneſs; and that that pernicious Liquor was then ſold, not only by the Diſtillers and Geneva Shops but many other Perſons of inferior Trades; by which Means, Journeymen, Apprentices, and Servants, were drawn in to taſte, and by Degrees to like, approve, and immoderately to drink thereof; and that the Petitioners apprehended the publick Welfare and Safety, as well as the Trade of the Nation, would be greatly affected by it, as that Practice was dangerous and miſchievous to the Health, Strength, Peace, and Morals, and tended greatly to diminiſh the Labour and Induſtry of his Majeſty's Subjects; and therefore praying that the Houſe would take the Premiſes into their ſerious Conſideration, and apply ſuch Remedy as the Houſe ſhould judge moſt proper. This Petition was ordered to be referred to a Committee of the whole Houſe; and it was reſolved that the Houſe would reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, on the 23d, to conſider of the ſaid Petition.

Four Reſolutions of the ſaid Committee thereupon.

Feb. 23. The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, Sir Joſeph Jekyll mov'd for the following Reſolutions, viz. I. That the low Price of Spirituous Liquors was the principal Inducement to the exceſſive and pernicious Uſe thereof. II. That in order to prevent the exceſſive and pernicious Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, a Diſcouragement ſhould be given thereto by a Duty to be laid on all ſuch Liquors by Retail. III. That the vending, bartering, or uttering the ſaid Liquors ſhould be reſtrained to Perſons keeping publick Brandy-Shops, Victualling Houſes, Coffee-Houſes, Ale-Houſes and Innholders, and to ſuch Apothecaries and Surgeons, as ſhould make uſe of the ſame by way of Medicine only. IV. That no Perſon keeping a publick Brandy-Shop, a publick Victualling Houſe, Coffee-Houſe or Ale-Houſe, or being an Innholder, ſhould be permitted to

vend,

vend, barter, or utter the ſaid Liquors, but by Licence, with a Duty payable thereupon.

Theſe Reſolutions were all agreed to without Debate in the Committee, and being next Day reported to the Houſe, were there likewiſe agreed to. Then it was ordered, That the ſaid Report be referred to the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom it was referred to conſider farther of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply.

Feb. 24. The Houſe proceeded, according to Order, to the Hearing of the ſeveral Petitions, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of York, and the Deputy-Clerk of the Peace for the Eaſt-Riding of the ſaid County, having produced ſeveral Books, as the original Poll taken at the ſaid Election; and being examined as to the Time, Place, and Manner of the Delivery thereof to him by the High-Sheriff of the ſaid County; the Counſel for the ſitting Member, Sir Miles Stapylton, Bart. againſt whom only the Petitions were aimed, objected that the ſaid Books ought not to be admitted as Evidence, the ſame not having been delivered over upon Oath, nor within the Time limited by Law, nor any Proof given, that no Alterations had been made therein after the ſaid Election, and before the ſaid Delivery. Upon this Objection the Counſel of both Sides being heard, and the Preamble and the fifth Section of an Act made in the 10th Year of Queen Anne, intitled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of Shires to ſerve in Parliament*, was read, whereby it was enacted, 'That in taking the Poll, the Sheriff, &c. ſhall 'enter the Place of the Elector's Freehold, and of his 'Abode, and ſhall mark *Jurat.* againſt his Name, and the 'Returning-Officer ſhall, within twenty Days after the Election, deliver over to the Clerk of the Peace all the Poll-'Books, on Oath made before the two next Juſtices of the 'Peace, *Quorum unus*, &c. without Imbezzlement or Alteration; and in ſuch Counties where there are more than one 'Clerk of the Peace, then he ſhall deliver the original Poll-'Books to one, and the atteſted Copies to the reſt, to be 'preſerved amongſt the Records of the Seſſions of the Peace.' Then the Journal of the Houſe of the 12th of March, 1727, in relation to the Report from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, touching the Election for the County of Bucks was read; after which the ſaid Clerk was again called in and examined as to the keeping of the ſaid Books, ſince the Time of the ſaid Delivery thereof, and as to the taking Copies of and collating the ſaid Books, and as to the Declarations of the ſaid High-Sheriff, and other Circumſtances *before and at the Time of* ſuch Delivery: After which the

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following Queſtion was propoſed, 'That Books, called the Original Poll-Books of the laſt Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament for the County of York, produced by Robert Appleton, Deputy-Clerk of the Peace for the Eaſt-Riding of the ſaid County, and which were delivered over to him by the High-Sheriff of the ſaid County in open Court, at the Quarter-Seſſions of the Peace for the ſaid Riding, about two Months after the ſaid Election, as the original Poll taken at the ſaid Election, and which have been kept by him the ſaid Deputy-Clerk of the Peace ever ſince among the Records of the Seſſions of the Peace for the ſaid Riding, the ſaid Books not being delivered over by the ſaid Sheriff within the Time, nor upon Oath, as required by the Act of the 10th Year of the Reign of Queen Anne, *For the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of Shires to ſerve in Parliament*, be admitted as Evidence?

After Debate, the Queſtion being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 201 to 164: Hereupon the ſaid Poll-Books, and Copies of them, were delivered in; and then it was ordered that the farther Hearing of the ſaid Petitions be adjourned to the 26th.

A Bill ordered in, for limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons.

Feb. 25. Mr Sandys moved for Leave to bring in a Bill, *For the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons*; and Leave was accordingly given, and Mr Sandys, Mr Greenville, Mr Gore, and Mr Howe, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame.

Second Debate on the Yorkſhire Election.

Feb. 26. The Houſe proceeded to the farther Hearing of the Petitions complaining of an undue Return for the County of York, and the Counſel for the Petitioner Sir Rowland Winn, Bart. and the other Petitioners, having propoſed, in order to diſqualify John Maken, who voted for Sir Miles Stapylton at the ſaid Election, and then ſwore that he was a Freeholder, to prove by Parol-Evidence, that he had no Freehold at the Time of the ſaid Election, in the Place where he then ſwore that his Freehold did lie: The admitting of ſuch Evidence was objected to by the Counſel for the ſitting Member, who alledged, that no Man's Parol-Evidence could be admitted, or received as any Proof, againſt the Affidavit of another Man; and the Counſel on both Sides being heard upon this Objection, and ſeveral Journals relating to it read, the following Queſtion was propoſed, viz. 'That the Counſel for the Petitioners be admitted to give Parol-Evidence, as to a Perſon being no Freeholder at the Time of the Election, who ſwore himſelf then to be a Freeholder?

This

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otion likewiſe occaſioned a long Debate, but at eſtion being put, it was carried in the Affirmative inſt 152; after which the farther Hearing of the f the ſaid Petitions was adjourned to the 2d of

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committider farther of Ways and Means for raiſing the Sup- to his Majeſty, and the Surpluſſes ſtated at Lady- Michaelmas having been referred to the ſaid Com- Motion was made, 'That towards raiſing the Sup- to his Majeſty, his Majeſty be enabled to bor- Sum or Sums of Money not exceeding 600,000 l. eſt not exceeding 3 l. *per Cent. per Ann.* by Loans ed upon the Surpluſſes, Exceſſes, or overplus Mo- only called the Sinking Fund, redeemable by Par-

Debate on a Motion for enabling the King to borrow 600,000 l. at 3 l. *per Cent.* chargeable on the Sinking Fund.

is Motion there was a Debate, in which the Cour- The Neceſſity of raiſing, ſome Way or other, s voted for the current Service of the Year; the y that there was of raiſing them any other Way, owing the Burden upon the landed Intereſt, which the more unreaſonable, becauſe that Intereſt had any Years overloaded, and obliged to contribute re than their proportional Share towards the an- ck Expence; the abſolute uncontroulable Right ent had to diſpoſe of the Sinking Fund yearly rpoſes, as they ſhould think moſt for the Benefit tion in general; the Inconvenience of paying off f the publick Debt at once; the Unwillingneſs lick Creditors to receive their Money; and the eſt the Nation would be obliged to pay for what neceſſary to be borrowed upon the Credit of the nd.'

it was anſwered, 'That the Supplies, neceſſary ent Service of the Year, might have been greatly ſome Gentlemen had thought fit; in which Caſe not have been obliged either to throw an addi- len on the landed Intereſt, or to incroach upon which had always, till of late Years, been deem- o the Payment of our publick Debts: That if an Act of Parliament could appropriate any Sum lar Uſe, the Sinking Fund was originally appro- the moſt expreſs Terms, to the Payment of the ebts contracted before the Year 1716; and the that was left to future Parliaments, by its ori- ſtitution, was to diſpoſe of it to the Payment of oſe Debts, as ſhould at the Time be thought ry to be paid off: That it would be happy for

the

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the Nation, if they could pay off all their publick Debts at once: That the Unwillingneſs of the publick Creditors to receive their Money was a certain Sign of their having a advantageous Bargain; and was therefore a Demonſtration that it was the Intereſt of the Publick to pay them off as faſt as poſſible: And that, tho' they might perhaps be able to borrow the Sum then propoſed at 3 l. *per Cent.* yet even at that Rate, it was adding to the future yearly Expence of the Nation a Sum of 18,000 l. *per Ann.* for ever; which, tho' perhaps a ſmall Sum in the Eyes of Gentlemen who dealt in Millions, was however a Sum, that might thereafter be greatly wanted for the current Service of ſome ſucceeding Year: That conſidering the great Expence we had been at in the then current Year, and the great Expence we were like to be put to in the next, for the Defence of a Foreign Nation, they were ſurprized to find that no Subſidy had been received, nor any Sum like to be brought, at leaſt to the publick Account, for anſwering the Expence we had been, or were like to be at on that Occaſion: That we found by Experience, no Nation would ſo much as promiſe us any Aſſiſtance, without our granting them a large annual Subſidy, to commence as ſoon as the Promiſe was made, and to be paid, tho' no ſuch Aſſiſtance ſhould ever be wanted: That even when ſome of our Allies had, for very valuable Conſiderations, engaged to aſſiſt us at their own Expence, yet when that Aſſiſtance was required, they had always found Pretences for not complying, 'till we engaged to defray any Expence they ſhould be put to upon that Account: That it was certainly our Intereſt to protect our Allies, and to prevent any one of our Neighbours growing too powerful by conquering another; but if we always ſhewed ourſelves ready to protect the weakeſt Side at our own Expence, every one would find Pretences for throwing all the Burden upon our Shoulders, by which Management we muſt neceſſarily at laſt become the weakeſt of all our Neighbours; and having thus ſpent our whole Force, and thrown away all our Money in the protecting of others, we ſhould at laſt have nothing left wherewithal to protect or ſupport ourſelves.'

To this it was replied again, 'That we had given no Aſſiſtance, nor had lately put ourſelves to any Expence in the Defence of any Nation, but what we were obliged to, not only by the moſt ſolemn Treaties, but even for the Sake of our own Preſervation: That with regard to the Nation ſuppoſed to be meant [*Portugal*] it was very well known, that we were as much intereſted in the Defence and Preſervation of that Nation as of any other; and it was likewiſe known, that we were far from being at all the Expence, for that Nation itſelf had been at a very great Expence in providing for its

Defence, and a great Part of the Money laid out in Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.
ovision had been brought to this Kingdom: That as
affair was then upon the Anvil, it could not at this Time
ly explained, but a Time would come when it might;
hen that Time did come, the Houſe might then, if
thought fit, inquire into it; upon which Occaſion the
ſity, the Juſtice, and the Wiſdom of our preſent Con-
would, they believed, be eaſily explained to the Satiſ-
n of almoſt every Gentleman, who might then have
honour of being a Member of that Houſe.'
hen the Queſtion being put for agreeing to the Mo-
it was carried in the Affirmative without a Di-

rch 2. The Houſe having re-aſſum'd the Hearing of Farther Debate on the Yorkſhire Election.
etitions relating to an undue Election for the County of
, the Counſel for the Petitioners examin'd Joſhua Wil-
n order to diſqualify the above-mentioned John Maken,
ing had no Freehold, at the Time of the ſaid Election,
Place where he then ſwore that his Freehold did lie;
e ſaid Wilſon beginning to give Evidence of that Diſ-
cation, by relating the Confeſſion of the ſaid John
n, he was interrupted by the Counſel for the ſitting
ber, who ſaid, That as the Houſe would not admit of a
Confeſſion, even before them, as an Evidence againſt
he had ſwore at the Time of an Election, they would
rely admit of a Man's private Confeſſion to a Neigh-
in the Country, as an Evidence againſt what he had
at the Time of an Election. Upon this the Counſel
h Sides were heard, and ſeveral Journals read, parti-
the Reſolution of that Houſe of the 12th of Feb.
ſt, in the Caſe of the Election of the Borough of
ark, againſt admitting the Petitioner's Counſel to ex-
Thomas Gaman, in Contradiction to his Oath at that
n: And then the following Queſtion was propoſed,
That the Counſel for the Petitioners be admitted to
idence, as to what a Voter confeſſed of his having
ebold, who at the Time of the Election ſwore he
Upon this Motion there was alſo a Debate; but
the Queſtion's being put, it was carried in the Affir-
by 181 to 132.
r this the Counſel for the Petitioners proceeded to exa-
he ſaid Wilſon and ſeveral other Witneſſes, in order
alify ſeveral other Perſons, who voted for the ſaid
Member at the ſaid Election; and having begun to
e a Witneſs, in order to diſqualify one of thoſe Per-
o whom the Petitioners, in the Liſts by them deli-
purſuant to the Order of the Houſe of the 16th of
y laſt, had objected, that he was not aſſeſſed, nor had

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a Freehold of 40 s. *per Ann.* in the Place, where, at the Time of the ſaid Election, he ſwore that his Freehold did lie; and it appearing that the Evidence, which the Witneſs gave, tended to prove that ſuch Perſon had no Freehold at all there, he was interrupted in his Evidence by the Counſel for the ſitting Member, who ſaid, That by the ſaid Order, Petitioners were obliged to deliver to the ſitting Members Liſts of the Perſons intended by the Petitioners to be objected to, who voted for the ſitting Members, giving in the ſaid Liſts the ſeveral Heads of Objection, and diſtinguiſhing the ſame againſt the Names of the Voters excepted to: That as the Petitioners had not objected to this Perſon that he had no Freehold at all, but only that he had not a Freehold of 40 s. a Year, where, at the Time of the ſaid Election, he ſwore that his Freehold did lie; therefore no Evidence was to be admitted for proving that he had no Freehold at all. The Counſel of both Sides being heard upon this Objection, after ſome Debate, the Queſtion was put, and carried, That the Counſel for the Petitioners be admitted to give Evidence as to a Perſon's having no Freehold at all, to whom the Petitioners had objected, in their Liſt of Objections, that ſuch Perſon had not a Freehold of 40 s. *per Annum*. Then the farther Hearing of this Affair was adjourned to the 4th Inſtant.

A Petition of the Quakers for Relief, relating to Tithes;

The ſame Day a Petition of the Quakers was preſented to the Houſe, and read, ſetting forth, 'That notwithſtanding the ſeveral Acts of Parliament made for the more eaſy Recovery of Tithes, Church-Rates, Oblations, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dues, in a ſummary Way, by Warrant from Juſtices of the Peace; yet as the ſaid People conſcientiouſly refuſed the Payment thereof, they were not only liable to, but many of them had undergone grievous Sufferings by Proſecution in the Exchequer, Eccleſiaſtical, and other Courts, to the Impriſonment of their Perſons, and the Impoveriſhing and Ruin of them and their Families, for ſuch ſmall Sums as were recoverable by thoſe Acts; and therefore praying, that the Houſe would be pleaſed to take the Premiſes into Conſideration, and afford them ſuch Relief therein, as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem meet. Hereupon it was order'd, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend, and render more effectual the Laws then in being, for the more eaſy Recovery of Tithes, Church-Rates, Oblations, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dues from the People called Quakers, and that Mr * Glanville, Sir William † Yonge, Mr Henry Archer, and Mr Hampden, ſhould prepare and bring in the ſame.

A Bill order'd in accordingly.

Marcò

* *A Commiſſioner of the Revenue in Ireland.*
† *Secretary at War.*

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March 8. The Houſe being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, Sir Joſeph Jekyll mov'd to reſolve, That for all Spirituous Liquors, which any Retailer thereof ſhould, from and after the 24th Day of June, 1736, be poſſeſſed of, there ſhould be granted to his Majeſty a Duty of twenty Shillings *per* Gallon: But this was oppos'd by ſeveral Members, who thought the laying on ſo high a Duty was in ſome Meaſure a Prohibition: And upon this Occaſion Mr William Pulteney ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Sir J. Jekyll's Motion for a Duty of 20*s. per* Gallon to be laid on all Spirituous Liquors.

Sir,

Mr Pulteney's Speech againſt the Motion.

'I believe it will be admitted by every Gentleman, that the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of ſpirituous Liquors among the inferior Rank of our People, is a Practice which has of late Years grown to a monſt'rous Height, and it will be as generally and as readily admitted, that this Practice is dangerous and miſchievous to the Health, Strength, Peace, and Morals of the People; and that it tends greatly to diminiſhing the Labour and Induſtry of his Majeſty's Subjects; therefore I believe we ſhall all agree in this, that ſome Method ought to be taken for putting a Stop to this Practice; but whether it be neceſſary for this End, to lay a total Prohibition upon the Retail of ſuch Liquors, is a Queſtion that will, in my Opinion, admit of ſome Doubt, and deſerves our moſt ſerious Conſideration, becauſe of the many bad Conſequences with which ſuch a Prohibition muſt certainly be attended.

'Let us conſider, Sir, that the Diſtilling Trade is a Buſineſs which has been carried on by Royal Authority for about an hundred Years, and that it has been not only highly approved, but very much encouraged by ſeveral Acts of Parliament paſſed ſince the Revolution. Under ſuch publick, ſuch great, and ſuch ſolemn Sanctions, what Perſon in the Kingdom could imagine that the Trade was in itſelf pernicious, or that it was inconſiſtent with the Health and Welfare of the People; no Man could: And accordingly great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects, eſpecially within theſe laſt forty Years, have betaken themſelves to this Buſineſs, and have employed all the Money they were Maſters of in providing Materials proper for the Buſineſs. And farther, Sir, as the diſtilling of ſuch Spirits has met with great Encouragement from the Legiſlature for many Years paſt, ſo likewiſe the Retail of them hath been ſo much encouraged, or at leaſt connived at, and there is not now an Inn, an Alehouſe, or a Coffeehouſe in the Kingdom, but what owes a great Part of its Profits to the Retail of ſuch Liquors: By which Means there are now ſuch Multitudes of Families in the Kingdom who owe their chief, if not their only Support to the diſtilling, or to the retailing

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ſuch Liquors, that they very well deſerve the Care and the Conſideration of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons. The only Complaint now before us, Sir, is againſt the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of ſpirituous Liquors among Perſons of inferior Rank: There is no Complaint againſt the Liquors themſelves, nor was it ever ſaid that a moderate Uſe of any ſort of ſuch Liquors was hurtful; nay, it will be granted, I believe, that the moderate Uſe of them is upon many Occaſions convenient, if not neceſſary; ſo that by a total Prohibition of ſuch Liquors by Retail we ſeem to be carrying the Remedy much farther than the Diſeaſe, even with reſpect to our home-made Spirits. But with reſpect to Rum, I am ſure there never was any Complaint againſt the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of that Liquor among Perſons of inferior Rank; therefore I can ſee no Reaſon for putting a Stop to the Retail of that Liquor; and when we conſider the preſent low and diſtreſſed Condition of our Sugar-Colonies, and that they are now chiefly ſupported by the Sale of their Rum, I think we ought not to put almoſt an intire Stop to the Conſumption of that Liquor, without ſome very ſtrong and very urgent Reaſons for ſo doing.

'From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope no Gentleman will ſuppoſe or imagine, that I am arguing againſt our taking ſome Method for putting a Stop to the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of ſuch Liquors amongſt Perſons of inferior Rank. No, Sir, I ſhall readily and willingly agree to any proper Method for that Purpoſe; but I muſt declare that my Concern is ſo great for the Multitudes of Families both in this Iſland and in the Weſt-Indies, who now owe their chief Support to the making and vending of ſuch Liquors, that I cannot give my Conſent to any Regulation which will turn them entirely, and at once, out of the Buſineſs to which they at preſent owe their chief Support; eſpecially, as I am convinced the Diſeaſe we have under our Conſideration does not any Ways ſtand in need of ſuch a deſperate Cure: And I have likewiſe ſo great a Regard for his Majeſty and his illuſtrious Family, and for the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom, that I cannot give my Conſent to a Regulation which I foreſee will raiſe great Diſaffection to the preſent Government, and may produce ſuch Riots and Tumults, as may endanger our preſent Eſtabliſhment, or at leaſt ſuch as cannot be quelled without ſpilling the Blood of many of his Majeſty's once faithful Subjects, and putting an End to the Liberties of the People. It is a dangerous, it is, Sir, a terrible Thing, to reduce many thouſands of Families at once to a State of Deſpair, which will be the certain Conſequence of laying ſuch high Duties upon the Retail

tail of ſpirituous Liquors as will amount to a total Prohibition. Anno 9. Geo. 1735-36.

' The conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of ſpirituous Liquors, amongſt the inferior Rank of our People, is the only Complaint now properly before us, and as it is evident that this Grievance proceeds entirely from the low Price of our home-made ſpirituous Liquors, it is certain that a Duty upon all ſuch, perhaps leſs than that which was impoſed by the late Act againſt Geneva, would prevent the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of ſuch Liquors amongſt the inferior Rank of our People: This, Sir, I think is evident from the Effect of thoſe high Duties which are laid upon Brandy and Rum; for it is certain that Brandy and Rum are more coveted by the Vulgar, and may eaſily be made more palatable than any ſort of home-made Spirit; yet we have never heard of great Complaints made againſt the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of Brandy or Rum among Perſons of inferior Rank; the Reaſon of which certainly is, becauſe the Duties upon theſe Liquors have raiſed the Price ſo high, that the lower ſort of People cannot afford to make a conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of them; and therefore it is plain, that if the Price of all home-made Spirits were, by a Duty to be laid upon them, made as high as the Price of Rum is at preſent, it would prevent the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of them among the Vulgar.

' It cannot be ſaid, Sir, that nothing but a total Prohibition can be an effectual Remedy againſt the Evil complained of, becauſe we all know that the late Act againſt Geneva was effectual ſo far as it went: It was made, we know, to extend only to Compound Spirits, and with reſpect to them it was an effectual Remedy, for it put an entire Stop to the conſtant and exceſſive Uſe of ſuch Spirits amongſt thoſe of inferior Rank; but ſome of the Diſtillers immediately began to make a ſort of plain Spirit, which, I believe, in Deriſion of the Act, they called Parliament Brandy, and this the Common People made as conſtant and as exceſſive an Uſe of, as they had before done of Compound Spirits: This was the Caſe of that Act, and if it had been amended, and made to extend to all home-made Spirits, inſtead of being repealed, there would never have been Occaſion for any ſuch Complaint as that we have now before us: How it comes to be repealed, I ſhall not now take upon me to explain; but upon recollecting what was the Effect of that Act, I think we need not give ourſelves any great Trouble in ſearching after a Remedy for the Diſeaſe now complained of: Let us but revive that Act, extend it to all home-made Spirits, and add ſome Clauſes for preventing any

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

Perſon's ſelling ſpirituous Liquors without a Licence, a
am convinced the Remedy will be found to be effectual

'But admitting that nothing but a total Prohibition
do; yet, for God's Sake, Sir, let us have ſome Regard t
many poor Families that are now ſupported by the diſti
and vending of ſpirituous Liquors: Do not let us, for G
Sake, turn them all at once out of their Livelyhood: L
conſider how difficult it is for a Man who has been bre
to, and long exerciſed one ſort of Buſineſs, to turn hi
all at once to another, by which he may ſupport his
mily: Let us conſider what a Loſs he muſt ſuſtain by
Sale of thoſe Utenſils he had occaſion for in his fo
Way of Buſineſs; The Difficulty muſt upon all Occa
be great, the Loſs muſt be conſiderable; but by turning
Multitudes adrift at once, we ſhall make the Difficulty
ſurmountable, and the Loſs irreparable; for there wil
ſuch Numbers brought at once to look out for new Emp
ments, that it will make it impoſſible for any one of t
to ſucceed; and there will be ſuch a large Quantity
certain Sort of Materials brought at once to the Market,
none of them will bear any Price. In ſhort, Sir, the Diſ
ties and Diſtreſſes which many poor Families muſt be
to, raiſe in me the moſt melancholy Reflections, and
muſt raiſe in the Breaſt of every Man that hears me, the
compaſſionate Concern; therefore, if it be thought abſol
neceſſary to lay on ſuch Duties as will amount to a Pro
tion, I hope they will not be laid on all at once: We may
lay on a ſmall Duty upon all ſorts of Spirits ſold by
tail, and a ſmall Duty upon Licences for ſelling by Re
we may increaſe thoſe Duties the next Seſſion, and we
go on increaſing yearly, till they be at laſt brought up ſo
as to amount to a Prohibition: By this Method People
have time to look about them, and will get out of the T
by Degrees; which will make it the leſs hurtful to
particular Man, and the more eaſy for him to fix himſ
ſome new Way of Buſineſs, by which he may be ab
ſupport his Family.

'I have often heard, Sir, of Sumptuary Laws, by w
certain Sorts of Apparel, or rather Decorations, have
forbid to be worn by Perſons of inferior Rank; but I
yet heard of a Sumptuary Law, by which any Sort of
tuals or Drink were forbid to be made uſe of by Perſo
a low Degree; yet this is, as it appears to me, what
to be now intended: We are abſolutely to forbid the U
Spirituous Liquors to all thoſe, who are not able to pur
a certain Number of Gallons at a Time: A poor Journe
or Labourer ſhall not have a Dram, ſhall not have a Gl
Punch, unleſs he can ſpare to lay out eight or ten Shillin
a T

ure againſt the exceſſive Drinking of Spirits, ſhall
traint upon any ſuch Man: If Spirituous Liquors,
taken in the moſt moderate Way, are of ſuch a
Nature, that they ought never to be taſted with-
vice and Preſcription of a Phyſician, we ought
e of the Rich as well as of the Poor, by put-
of the Power of the former, as well as of the
aſte the bewitching Cup without ſuch Advice and
; but if the moderate Uſe of ſuch Liquors be no
, I can ſee no Reaſon for our making any invi-
ction between the Poor and the Rich; let us
oderate Uſe of ſuch Liquors to all, and take all
hods for preventing their being immoderately
. This, I think, Sir, may be done by a much
y than that now propoſed, and therefore, tho' I
at a Regard for the Health and the Morals of the
any Gentleman in this Houſe; yet I cannot but
the Motion now made to you, becauſe of the
nſequences with which it muſt neceſſarily be at-

er to the above Speech of Mr Pulteney's it was Arguments in Behalf of the Motion.
hat no ſort of diſtilled Spirituous Liquor was ab-
eſſary for the Support of Nature; that ſuch Li-
at firſt uſed only by Phyſicians, in ſome danger-
pers, and were never diſpenſed but in ſmall
but when ſuch Liquors were to be met with
rner, and People left at Liberty to take as much
they pleaſed, few could keep themſelves within
s, becauſe a ſmall Quantity deprived them of
n, and the Companions they uſually met with

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

very few Perſons were ſo ridiculouſly abandoned as drunk by themſelves.

'That they were very ſenſible of the Difficulties to great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects would be by the Duties to be laid upon the Retail of ſuch Li but the Intereſt of every particular Man muſt give the general Intereſt; and where the Preſervation of ciety was ſo eſſentially concerned, the Prejudice of ſo particular Perſons was not to be regarded. However all poſſible Care would be taken of thoſe that might by the Duties to be laid upon the Retail of Spiritu quors, in order that they might be enabled to fall ſome other Way of ſupporting their Families; and as one would be convinced that their being turned out o preſent Way of ſupporting them, was neceſſary for th lick Good, it was to be preſumed that every Man willingly ſubmit to ſuch a Regulation; ſo that it co raiſe any Diſaffection to his Majeſty's Government.

'That with reſpect to Rum and Brandy, it was ver tain that they likewiſe had been often drank to great notwithſtanding the high Duties laid upon them, and as pernicious, both to the Health and the Morals of th ple, as any home-made Spirit: That it would be rid to lay a higher Duty upon home-made Spirits, which the Manufacture of the Subjects of this Iſland, than Rum and Brandy, eſpecially the latter; and that if ſo gar-Iſlands ſhould ſuffer a little by our leſſening the ſumption of Rum, they could not complain, when they conſidered that it was for the Sake of preſerving their M Country, the general Intereſt of which was always preferred to the particular Intereſt of any Colony; any ſort of Spirit ſhould be exempted from the Duties to be impoſed, the Retailers would ſell all Sorts of under that Denomination, and the Diſtillers would com them in ſuch a Manner, that it would be impoſſible cover the Fallacy.

'That they would willingly agree to the Metho poſed by the honourable Gentleman, of laying on ſmall Duty at once, and raiſing that Duty by Degrees they were very ſure the laying on a ſmall Duty wou be an effectual Remedy for the Evil ſo loudly compl of: And if the Reſentment, then in the Nation again Sorts of diſtilled Spirituous Liquors, ſhould be allow ſubſide, they were afraid they would never be able a new Act paſſed for raiſing that Duty, becauſe of the titudes of People that would always be engaged, by their private Intereſt, to oppoſe the paſſing of any ſuch therefore they thought it was abſolutely neceſſary to

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Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-6.

vantage of preſent Conjuncture, to put an effectual Stop
Practice ſo long, and ſo juſtly complained of; and for
Reaſon they were for agreeing with the Motion.'

The Motion for laying a Duty of 20s. *per* Gallon on all Spirituous Liquors agreed to in the Grand Committee, who reſolve alſo, That all Retailers thereof ſhall pay 50l. yearly for a Licenſe.

The Queſtion being then put upon Sir Joſeph Jekyll's
ion, the ſame was agreed to without any farther Debate;
was likewiſe the following, viz. That from and after the
h Day of June, 1736, the Sum of 50 l. yearly ſhould
paid to his Majeſty, for a Licence, to be taken out yearly
every Perſon keeping a publick Brandy-Shop, a publick
ſmalling-Houſe, Coffee-Houſe, or Ale-Houſe, or being an
holder, who ſhall vend, barter, or utter, any ſuch Spi-
ous Liquors.

Sir Robert Walpole moves, That the Committee might ſit again, to make good what Deficiencies might happen in the Civil Liſt, by the above Reſolutions, which is agreed to.

The Chairman of the Committee being about to make a
ort of the two foregoing Reſolutions to the Houſe,
Robert Walpole ſtood up and mov'd, 'That the Com-
tee might ſit again before any Report was made to the
ſe, becauſe as the Duties propoſed to be laid upon Spi-
ous Liquors would certainly very much diminiſh the Con-
ption of ſuch Spirits, it was not to be expected that the
es upon ſuch Spirits would produce ſo much yearly as
y had formerly done; and as the former Produce ſtood
propriated for anſwering certain Annuities and Payments,
ticularly to the Civil Liſt, it would be neceſſary to con-
der of Ways and Means to make good the Deficiencies,
at might happen by the two Reſolutions they had then
ed to: Hereupon the Committee agreed to ſit again
on that Affair before making any Report.

The Houſe proceed farther on the conteſted Election for Yorkſhire, and reſolve, That Freeholders in the Ayntly have a Right to vote for Knights of the Shire.

March 9. The Houſe proceeded farther on the conteſted
ction for the County of York, and the Counſel for Sir
ard Winn having propoſed to diſqualify William
ard, who voted in Right of a Freehold at Acomb in
Wapontake of Aynſly, within the County of the City of
k, and having examin'd a Witneſs concerning the Uſage
voting for Freeholds lying in the ſaid Hundred at Elec-
s for the County of York, the Counſel for Sir Miles
ylton, ſitting Member, were heard in Anſwer to the
ence of that Diſqualification. And a Copy of the Re-
d of the Letters Patent granted by King Henry VI. to
Mayor and Citizens of York was read, reciting that the
yor and Citizens were Bailiffs of and in the Hundred of
lly, and granting to them and their Succeſſors that the
Hundred or Wapontake, with the Appurtenances, ſhould
annexed and united to the County of the ſaid City, as
rt thereof, excepting the Caſtle of York and its Diſtrict;
ſaving to the Archbiſhop, Dean and Chapter; and all
er Perſons, all kind of Franchiſes, Privileges, &c. to
m of right belonging: Hereupon it was reſolved, That
ſons whoſe Freeholds lie within that Part of the County

of

Ann. 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

very few Perſons were ſo ridi
drunk by themſelves.

'That they were very ſenſi
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Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

of the City of York, which is commonly call'd the Ainſty, have a Right to Vote for Knight of the Shire for the County of York.

A Petition of the Druggiſts, &c. complaining of the unequal Duties upon Tea, and the pernicious Practice of Smuggling.

March 10. A Petition of the Druggiſts, and other Dealers in Tea, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, 'That the Petitioners were induced to hope, that the Intereſt of the fair Trader in Tea would have been effectually ſecured by an Act paſſed in the 10th Year of his late Majeſty, by which an Inland Duty of 4 s. *per* Pound was laid on all Tea, without Diſtinction of Quality; but notwithſtanding the Regulations made by that Act, and the many Penalties the Smugglers of Tea and their Accomplices were liable to by Law, the Petitioners had fatally experienced, the clandeſtine Importation of that Commodity was ſo far from being prevented, that it was carried on to ſuch a Degree, that the Petitioners had the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe, near one half of the Tea conſumed in this Kingdom paid no Duty; and that the very high Duty of 4 s. *per* Pound, as well as the Inequality of its being laid, were the principal Foundations of the pernicious Practice of Smuggling, the coarſer Sort bearing much too great a Proportion of the ſaid Duty, and by the Smugglers bought Abroad at one third of the Price it would ſtand the fair Trader in at Home; and that unleſs ſome Remedy ſhould be applied effectually to prevent that known Evil, the Petitioners and all fair Traders would be under extreme Difficulties in carrying on their Trade, by reaſon of the Diſadvantages they were under, from the Practices of Smuggling, as well as from the Hardſhips they endured, and the Trouble they were put to, by the Execution of the ſaid Act; and that the Petitioners conceived the moſt effectual Means of putting a Stop to the clandeſtine Importation of Tea would be, to alter the Duty of 4 s. *per* Pound to a certain Rate *ad Valorem*, according to the Prices Tea ſhould ſell for at the Eaſt-India Company's Sale; by which Alteration, the Petitioners apprehended, the Amount of the Duty to the Publick would be equivalent, conſidering the Quantity, before that Time fraudulently imported, would be then added to the Revenue; and therefore, for the Preſervation of that Trade to the Petitioners, by putting an End to the Practice of Smuggling, and for ſecuring a Revenue to the Publick, by the Importation of that Commodity in Britiſh Ships from China and other Parts of India, and for preventing any Money being ſent to neighbouring Countries for the Purchaſe of Tea to be clandeſtinely imported and conſumed in this Kingdom, praying the Houſe to take the Premiſes into Conſideration, and give the Petitioners ſuch Relief, as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem meet.' Hereupon it was reſolved, *Nem. Con.* That that Houſe would, upon

upon that Day Seven-night, reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the moſt effectual Means to put a Stop to the great and growing Evil ariſing from the unwarrantable and illegal Methods of importing Tea and other Goods into this Kingdom; and the ſaid Petition was order'd to be referred to the Conſideration of the ſaid Committee. Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

March 12. A Motion was made by Mr Walter Plumer, That an Act made in the 25th of King Charles II. intitled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, might be read; and the ſame being read accordingly, Mr Plumer ſtood up and ſpoke as follows: Mr Plumer's Motion for repealing the Teſt-Act.

Sir,

'I believe every Gentleman that hears me may eaſily judge, with what View I have deſired this Act to be read to you. It is, Sir, with a Deſign to have ſome Part of it repealed, and another Part ſo amended and explained, as to make it conſiſtent with that Charity and good Nature which every Member of the Chriſtian Religion ought to ſhew to another.

'The Motion I am now to make, Sir, proceeds chiefly from theſe three Conſiderations: That I am, and I hope ſhall always be, an utter Enemy to all manner of Perſecution; That I have a great Reverence for that ſolemn Inſtitution called the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and That I ſhall always be for every thing which I think may tend towards eſtabliſhing and preſerving the Unity, Peace, and Trade of my Country. Theſe are Conſiderations which I am perſuaded are of as great Weight with every Gentleman of this Houſe as they are with me; and therefore, if I can ſhew that there is any Thing in this Act that looks like Perſecution, any Thing that brings a Contempt upon that holy Inſtitution of our Religion, or any Thing inconſiſtent with the Unity and Peace of our People, or with the Trade of our Country, I make no Doubt of having the unanimous Aſſent of this Houſe to what I am to propoſe; and, in my Opinion, it would contribute greatly to the Glory of this Generation, as well as the Honour of this Houſe of Commons, to have it agreed to *Nemine contradicente*.

'I hope, Sir, it will be granted me, that the ſubjecting a Man to a great Penalty if he refuſed to ſubſcribe to an Opinion which he thought inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian Religion, or to join in any Ceremonies of publick Worſhip which he thought ſinful or perhaps idolatrous, would be a very heavy Perſecution; and I hope it will likewiſe be granted, that to render a Man upon any ſuch Account incapable of holding a Land-Eſtate, or of ſucceeding to any

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.

Eſtate as next Heir or next of Kin, would alſo amount to a high Degree of Perſecution: Now in this Statute which has been read to you, there is one Clauſe which enacts, 'That all Perſons that ſhall bear Office, Civil or Military, or receive any Salary or Wages by any Grant from the King, or ſhall have Command or Place of Truſt from or under him, or ſhall be in his Navy or Houſhold, in England, Wales, Berwick, Jerſey, or Guernſey, ſhall not only take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, in the next Term, or at the Quarter Seſſions, within three Months after their Admittance, but ſhall receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Uſage of the Church of England, of which they are to deliver a Certificate, and make Proof, at the Time of their taking the ſaid Oaths; in Failure of which they are *ipſo Facto* diſabled to enjoy the ſaid Offices or Employments, or any Profit thereby:' And by another Clauſe, 'Perſons beyond the Seas or under any of the other Impediments there mentioned, are to receive the Sacrament and take the ſaid Oaths, within four Months after ſuch Impediment removed.' By this Regulation it is evident, that no Man can hold or enjoy an Office or Employment, Civil or Military, without declaring himſelf a Member of the Church of England as by Law eſtabliſhed; and as there are great Numbers of faithful Subjects, who have the Misfortune of believing that ſome of the Opinions eſtabliſhed by our Church are not entirely conſiſtent with Chriſtianity, and that ſome of our religious Ceremonies tend towards Idolatry, ſuch Men cannot ſincerely communicate with the eſtabliſhed Church; upon which Account, and upon that only, they may therefore be ſubjected to Penalties, or deprived of a yearly Revenue, according to the Nature of the Office they may be named or entitled to; for if the Poſt or Office be ſuch a one as is attended with Trouble only, there is generally a Penalty upon a Man's refuſing to ſerve it; which Penalty every Man muſt pay who is not a Member of the Church of England; becauſe by this Clauſe he is debarred from ſerving the Office; whereas if it were not for this Incapacity he is laid under, he might probably chuſe to ſerve the Office rather than pay the Penalty; and I would be glad to know the Difference between ſubjecting a Man directly to a Penalty for refuſing to join in any religious Opinion or Ceremony, and this indirect Manner of ſubjecting him to it, by tacking to an Office, in itſelf meerly temporal, a moſt ſolemn Approbation of all the religious Doctrines and Ceremonies of the eſtabliſhed Church.

'Again, Sir, if the Poſt or Office to which a Man is named or intitled, be one of thoſe to which a yearly Salary or Revenue is annexed, from the Day of his Nomination

as good a Right to receive the Profits of that Of- Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735-36.
any Man has, or can have, to his Anceſtor's Eſtate,
ing both founded chiefly upon the Law of the Land;
often happens, that the Perſon named to any Poſt or
has by long and faithful Services fully deſerved that
ation; and this I take to be a more meritorious
than the Title any Man can have to the Eſtate of
ceſtor or next Relation. Suppoſe we ſhould have a
reign War of ten Years Duration, as we had in the
een's Reign; ſuppoſe a Gentleman of the Diſſenting
ion ſhould in the Beginning of that War go abroad
t in one of our Marching Regiments, and in Confi-
n of much Blood loſt, and many brave Services per-
in the Cauſe of his Country, ſhould be at laſt made
of a Regiment, would not ſuch a Man be fully
to the Profits of his Commiſſion, during the Time
jeſty ſhould think fit to continue him in Command?
it not be downright Perſecution to turn him out of
mmiſſion, and reduce him to a ſtarving Condition,
for the ſake of a Scruple of Conſcience? Yet the
ould be ſo, if this Law ſhould be then in Force:
the firſt Return of the Regiment to England, he
be obliged, within four Months to give up his Re-
, or receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ac-
to the Uſage of our Eſtabliſhed Church, which his
ioe would not permit him to do, if he ſhould hap-
be a ſincere Diſſenter: Therefore I muſt look upon
a much higher Degree of Perſecution, than it would
nder a Man, on Account of any religious Opinion,
le of holding a Land-Eſtate, or of ſucceeding to any
s next of Kin.

um what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will appear that
high Degree of Perſecution lurks under the incapa-
Clauſes I have mentioned, and therefore, in my Mo-
r the Repeal of them, I hope I ſhall have the Con-
e of all thoſe who are real Enemies to that Anti-
n Practice; but when I conſider the Reverence due
Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper; a ſacred Myſtery
one ought to approach, without having firſt diligent-
ined themſelves, and to which all are to be invited,
e to be compelled, I am ſurpriſed that it ſhould ever
en turned to ſuch a prophane Uſe, as that of qua-
a Man for being an Adjutant to a Regiment, or the
f a little Borough. This, Sir, is perverting it to
for which I am ſure it was never intended, and this
on has already produced, and will always produce,
nd great Abominations. It is well known how many
come unworthy Partakers of the Holy Communion,

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for the ſake only of intitling themſelves to ſome lucrative Poſt or Employment; it is well known what terrible Indecencies ſome have been guilty of, upon ſuch Occaſions, and what a Scandal has often been thereby given to all thoſe who are truly devout. This is ſo generally known that it is now the common Practice in all the Churches of England, for the Curate to deſire the legal Communicants if any there be, I mean thoſe who come there in Obedience to that Statute, to divide themſelves from thoſe who come there purely for the Sake of Devotion; and, indeed, it were to be wiſhed that none of the former ſhould ever be allowed to Communicate in the Preſence of, much leſs at the ſame Table with any of the latter; for the former are often ſo well and ſo generally known to be unworthy Partakers, that their being admitted upon any Pretence whatſoever, gives great Offence to the truly Religious, and tends to ſubvert the Morals of the Vulgar, by leſſening that Eſteem which they ought to have for the eſtabliſhed Religion of their Country, and which wiſe Magiſtrates will always cultivate with all poſſible Care; but this by long and general Experience we know, is not to be done by Penal Laws. On the contrary, ſuch Guarantees for the eſtabliſhed Religion of any Country, have always produced Pride, Ignorance, Luxury, and Oppreſſion, among thoſe of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and invincible, nay, often victorious Enthuſiaſm, among thoſe of the contrary Religion. Even in this Kingdom, we know, that Penal Laws and Perſecution raiſed ſo high the Torrent of Enthuſiaſm among us, that our Eſtabliſhed Church was at laſt quite overwhelmed by the diſſenting Intereſt; and happy was it for our Church that thoſe Enthuſiaſts deſtroyed our Conſtitution, as well as our eſtabliſhed Religion; for if they had preſerved the former, I am afraid the latter had never been reſtored. Since the Repeal of moſt of our perſecuting Laws, the diſſenting Intereſt has daily decreaſed; and I am convinced thoſe Remains of it that are now among us, are chiefly owing to the Act now under our Conſideration, and one other Act of much the ſame Nature.

'With regard to the Peace and Unity of our People, I muſt ſay, Sir, it is Matter of great Surpriſe to me, how the Legiſlature of any Country could be prevailed on to annex temporal Rewards or Puniſhments to ſpeculative Opinions in Religion. I can eaſily conceive how Doctors might differ in ſpeculative Points of Divinity, as well as in ſpeculative Points of Law, Phyſick, or Philoſophy; and I know with what Vehemence a learned Doctor in either of thoſe Sciences maintains his own Opinion, and with what Envy, Malice, and Rage, he purſues his Adverſaries; but I cannot eaſily

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ly conceive what Reaſons the Lawgivers of any Country
uld have, to adopt and eſtabliſh ſpeculative Opinions of
particular Doctor in Divinity, while at the ſame Time
ſhewed a very great Indifference, with regard to the ſpe-
ive Opinions of the Doctors in all other Branches of
erature: The Cauſe of this different Behaviour in our
ent Lawgivers, I ſay, I cannot well comprehend; but
atever may have been the Cauſe, if they thereby inten-
to eſtabliſh an Uniformity of Opinion with reſpect to
gious Matters, Experience has ſhewn that they have been
egregiouſly miſtaken; for the annexing of temporal
wards and Puniſhments to ſpeculative Opinions, has been
r from reconciling Men's Minds, and making them agree
one Opinion, that it has rendered thoſe of different
ions in Religion, not only implacable, but moſt cruel
barbarous Enemies to one another; an Effect which has
been produced by Difference of Opinion in any other
ence. In Law, in Phyſick, in Philoſophy, there are, and
have been, Doctors of different Opinions; and among
too there have always been, I believe, ſome who would
gladly confuted their Adverſaries by Fire and Faggot,
cially when they found themſelves overcome by fair Rea-
ing; but as the Law of no Country has as yet thought
to interpoſe in thoſe Diſputes, we find the Followers of
ſe Doctors have generally argued the Matter very coolly,
when the Diſpute was over have parted as good Friends
they met. This has hitherto been the Caſe in all Sciences
ept Divinity; but if we ſhould make a Law for puniſh-
thoſe who did not agree with the Newtonian Syſtem of
loſophy, or for rendering all ſuch incapable to hold any
or Office in our Government, I am perſuaded we ſhould
e, in a few Years, great Numbers of our People who
uld be ready to ſacrifice Life and Fortune in Defence of
Ariſtotelian or the Carteſian Syſtem: Nay, if any ſuch
were made againſt all thoſe who did not believe that
three Angles of every Triangle, are equal to two right
gles, I make no doubt but that this plain Demonſtration
uld be moſt violently oppoſed by great Numbers of Men
the Kingdom; for when the Paſſions of Men are ſtirred
by temporal Rewards and Puniſhments, the moſt reaſon-
Opinions are rejected with Indignation, the moſt ridi-
ous are embraced with a frantick Sort of Zeal. There-
, Sir, if we have a Mind to eſtabliſh Peace among our
ple, we muſt allow Men to judge freely in Matters of
gion, and to embrace that Opinion they think right,
hout any Hopes of temporal Rewards, and without any
s of temporal Puniſhment.

' As

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'As to our Trade, Sir, the Advantages we have reaped in that reſpect by the Toleration Act are ſo apparent, that I ſhall not take up your Time with enlarging upon that Subject; but in order to retain thoſe Advantages, and to improve them as much as poſſible, I ſhall beg Leave to move, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill to repeal ſo much of the ſaid Act paſſed in the 25th of Charles II. intitled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*, as obliges all Perſons, who are admitted to any Office, Civil or Military, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, within a Time limited by the ſaid Act, and for explaining and amending ſo much of the ſaid Act, as relates to the Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation.'

Debate thereon.

Sir Wilf. Lawſon.

Ld Noel Somerſet.
Ld Tyrconnel.
Mr Danvers.
Mr Shippen.
Sir R. Walpole.

Mr Plumer being ſeconded by Sir Wilfrid Lawſon; the ſame was oppos'd by Lord Noel Somerſet, Lord Viſcount Tyrconnell, Mr Danvers, Mr Shippen, and Sir Robert Walpole, who urged the following Arguments againſt the Motion.

Sir,

'As I have hitherto appeared to be an utter Enemy to all Perſecution, I hope my diſagreeing with this Motion will not be looked on as any Sign of my having changed my Opinion, or of my having any Intention to alter my Conduct for the future: So far otherwiſe, Sir, I have ſtill, and I hope ſhall always have, as tender a Regard for the Diſſenters of all Denominations, as any Man can have, who is a true Member of the Church eſtabliſhed by Law. As a ſincere Member of the Church of England I muſt, and I do wiſh that all the Diſſenters in the Kingdom could be gained over to the Eſtabliſhed Church; but though I wiſh for this happy Event, yet I ſhall never be for attempting the Accompliſhment of that Wiſh by any Methods that have the leaſt Tendency towards Perſecution, or towards doing a real Injury to any Man whoſe Conſcience will not allow him to embrace the Eſtabliſhed Religion of his Country: For all ſuch I ſhall continue to have a real Concern; becauſe I think this Difference of Opinion is a Man's Misfortune, and not his Crime.

'But, Sir, the Word *Perſecution* has, in my Opinion, been very much miſtaken by the honourable Gentleman who made you this Motion; for according to the Meaning he has put upon the Words, there could be no eſtabliſhed Church, or eſtabliſhed Religion in the World, but what muſt be deemed guilty of perſecuting all thoſe who differ from it; and yet thoſe Gentlemen will, I believe, grant, that in every Society there ought to be an eſtabliſhed Religion, or a certain Form of publick Worſhip eſtabliſhed by the Laws of that Society; therefore we muſt find out a Meaning

ach more happy and powerful, I believe it will like-
granted, that it is the Duty of all ſuch Men to en-
, in a peaceable Way, at leaſt, to bring about an
on. Theſe two Duties therefore being altogether
eat, nay, even deſtructive of one another, it is abſo-
impoſſible for the one Set of Men to do their Duty,
laying the other Set under ſome Hardſhips: When
ardſhips are no greater than what are abſolutely ne-
for the End intended, they are juſt and reaſonable,
h as thoſe who are ſubjected to them, ought not to
n of; but when they are greater than what are ne-
they then begin to take and to deſerve the Name
reſſion, and according to the Degrees of this Exceſs,
grees of Oppreſſion are always to be computed. In
gdom we know there is a Set of Men who think it
ty to endeavour to bring about an Alteration of our
happy Eſtabliſhment, I mean our Nonjurors; who
very Reaſon are excluded from all Poſts and Places
Government, which is certainly a Hardſhip upon
but I am ſure it cannot be called an Oppreſſion;
this Excluſion with Reſpect to them be called a
ent.

I if there be a Set of Men in this Kingdom who
he Doctrines of the eſtabliſhed Church inconſiſtent
riſtianity, or the Ceremonies of our publick Wor-
atrous, it is their Duty as Chriſtians to attempt to
bout an Alteration in our eſtabliſhed Religion, and
tainly will attempt it as ſoon as it is in their Power;
th all Deference to the honourable Gentlemen who
oke upon the other ſide of the Queſtion, for all of
have the greateſt Eſteem, I muſt look upon this very

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Hands, they would very probably get the Legiſlative Part likewiſe, from which Time it would be in vain to think of preventing, in a peaceable Manner, their doing whatever they had a Mind; and it muſt be preſumed they would do what they thought themſelves in Duty bound to do. To exclude a Man from a profitable Poſt or Employment, I ſhall admit to be a Hardſhip upon the Man ſo excluded; but as it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our eſtabliſhed Church, to exclude thoſe, who think it their Duty to deſtroy it, from any Share in the executive Part of our Government; therefore this Excluſion can no more be called Perſecution, than it can be called Oppreſſion, to exclude Nonjurors from any Share of our Government Executive or Legiſlative, nor can ſuch Excluſion be deemed a Puniſhment in the one Caſe any more than in the other.

'In the ſuppoſed Caſe of a brave Diſſenter's being advanced to the Command of a Regiment, I ſhall grant that it would be a great Hardſhip upon him to be turned out of his Command, and to be expoſed to a ſtarving Condition, upon his return to his Native Country; but the ſame Caſe may be ſuppoſed with reſpect to a Roman Catholick Gentleman; yet there would be no Perſecution in either Caſe; becauſe the excluding of all ſuch Men from any Command in our Army, eſpecially here at Home, is, I think, abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution in the happy State it is in at preſent: Nor could ſuch an Excluſion be called a Puniſhment upon the Man ſo excluded, no more than it can be called a Puniſhment upon a Man of five Foot and a Half to be excluded from being a Soldier in the Guards; for neither of theſe Excluſions proceeds from any Crime or Fault in the Man, it being as impoſſible for a Man to alter his Opinion when he has a Mind, as it is to add two or three Inches to his Stature when he has Occaſion for it; but as the latter becomes neceſſary for the Sake of preſerving the Beauty and Symmetry of a Regiment, ſo the former becomes neceſſary for the Sake of preſerving the Beauty and Symmetry of a Society.

'The Argument raiſed from the ſuppoſed Abuſe of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is founded upon a Fact which I cannot admit; for as there is nothing in this Law that can compel the Admiſſion of an unworthy Perſon; as the Miniſters of our Church may refuſe to admit any Perſon to that Sacrament, who does not devoutly and humbly deſire it, or for any other lawful Cauſe, [*See Statute 1 Edward* VI. *Chap.* 1.] I muſt preſume no unworthy Perſons are admitted; or at leaſt, if there be, it does not proceed from any Fault in this or any other of our Statutes, but

m the criminal and irreligious Neglect of the Mini- Anno 9. Geo. II. 1735 36.
o admits them.
to the Unity and Peace of our People, I am per-
Sir, the Repeal of this Law, and another which I
is likewiſe intended, would raiſe moſt terrible Di-
ces and Confuſions; for with Reſpect to all Poſts and
yments that go by Election, we ſhould have all the Diſ-
combining cloſely together to bring in their Friends,
would of courſe breed many Riots and Tumults. And
ur Trade, it depends ſo much upon the Peace and
ility of the Nation, that if we have a Mind to pre-
t, we ought not to make any new Regulation or re-
y old, if by ſo doing we run the Riſque of raiſing
urnings and Jealouſies among our People.
his it was replied by Lord Polwarth, Mr Heathcote, Lord Polwarth. Mr Heathcote. Mr Holden.
Holden, as follows:

r,
hall take up very little of your Time in replying to
s been ſaid; for in my Opinion, the Arguments for
tion have been enforced by what has been ſaid by
Anſwer to them.
he Hardſhips impoſed upon the Diſſenters, by the Law
ur Conſideration, are greater than what are abſolutely
y for preventing its being in their Power to deſtroy
bliſhed Church, it muſt be granted, from what has
d of the other Side of the Queſtion, that this Law is
ting Law: Now, Sir, to determine this Queſtion
ffirmative, we need have Recourſe to no other Na-
Scotland: With regard to that Nation, we know
Presbyterian Religion, which is here one of our Diſ-
Religions, is there the Eſtabliſhed Church, and what
ur Eſtabliſh'd Church, is there a Diſſenting Religion;
Eſtabliſhed Church in Scotland have never thought it
y, nor does it appear to be neceſſary, for their Pre-
n, to exclude their Diſſenters from all Poſts and Em-
ts in the executive Part of their Government, nor
y any Law for ſuch a Purpoſe; but on the contrary
their Judges and Magiſtrates, and many of thoſe in
d Employments in that Kingdom, go openly, and in
ſolemn Manner, to the Epiſcopal or Church of Eng-
eting-Houſes; and tho' this Practice or Indulgence
a continued for many Years, and continues to this
t the Eſtabliſhed Church in that Country is ſo far
ing in any Danger of being overturned by what is
e diſſenting Intereſt, that the former is daily gaining
upon the latter; which evidently ſhews the great
and Effect of a legal Eſtabliſhment, with reſpect to
, when the Minds of Men are not irritated by any

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unneceſſary Hardſhips put upon them. I could likewiſe inſtance Holland, and ſeveral other Proteſtant Countries, to ſhew that rendering Diſſenters incapable of ſerving the Crown in any Poſt of Honour, Truſt, or Profit, is a Hardſhip put upon them, which is ſo far from being abſolutely neceſſary, that it is not at all neceſſary for preſerving the Eſtabliſhed Religion of any Country; and therefore this Hardſhip muſt in the ſtricteſt Senſe be called Perſecution, even according to the Meaning put upon it by the honourable Gentlemen, who have ſpoke on the other Side of the Queſtion.

'With reſpect to Nonjurors and Roman-Catholicks, the Hardſhips put upon them are not for the Sake of a Scruple of Conſcience in any Matter of a religious Concern, but becauſe they are Enemies to the State, and to the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; but I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid that the rendering of them, or the Diſſenters, incapable of holding any Poſt of Honour, Truſt, or Profit under the Crown, is no Puniſhment, when I conſider that that very Puniſhment has often been inflicted by Parliament, as one of the greateſt Puniſhments they could inflict upon Crimes of a very high Nature: Surely this legal Incapacity muſt be looked on as a Puniſhment upon both, but with this Difference, that upon Nonjurors or Roman Catholicks, it is with great Juſtice inflicted, but upon Diſſenters it is inflicted without any Occaſion, no Party among the latter having ever yet been ſuſpected of being Enemies to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, unleſs the rejecting of this Motion ſhould make them ſo. I am ſure every Gentleman that hears me muſt grant, that there is ſome Difference between a Capacity of being a Soldier in the Guards, and a Capacity of holding any Poſt or Preferment under the Crown: The Guards are the King's own Servants, and every Man may chuſe what ſort of Servants he has a mind; therefore no Man has a Title to any Capacity of being a Soldier in the Guards; but every Subject has a Title to a Capacity at leaſt of ſharing in the Honours and Preferments of his Country, and that Capacity ought not to be taken from him, but by way of Puniſhment for ſome very high Crime or Miſdemeanour; for it is a Puniſhment ſo diſhonourable and ſevere, that we never find it inflicted by our Laws upon Crimes of an ordinary Nature.

'I ſhall grant, Sir, that a Miniſter of the Eſtabliſhed Church is not, by any expreſs Words in this Act, ordered or compelled to adminiſter the Sacrament to an unworthy Perſon, who deſires it only for the Sake of enabling himſelf to hold a beneficial Employment; but if a Miniſter of the Church of England ſhould refuſe to adminiſter the Sacrament to any Perſon, upon ſuch Occaſion, and that Perſon ſhould by means of ſuch Refuſal loſe his Poſt, or only a Year's

a Year's Salary, he might bring his Action at Common Law upon the Statute of King Edward VI. againſt ſuch Miniſter, and would recover great Damages, if the Court ſhould not approve of the Miniſter's Reaſon for refuſing to adminiſter the Sacrament to the Plaintiff: Whereas, before the receiving of the Sacrament was made a Qualification for a civil Employment, no ſuch Plaintiff could have recovered any conſiderable Damage; nay, I doubt if he could have recovered any Damage at all; for he could not probably have proved any temporal Damage by his not receiving the Sacrament when he deſired it; and I do not ſee how a Jury could pretend to put a Value upon the ſpiritual Damage he might pretend to have received. Thoſe Laws therefore, which have made the receiving the Sacrament a Qualification for a civil Employment, have ſubjected all the Clergymen of the Church of England to a very great Difficulty; becauſe they are by thoſe Laws, and by thoſe only, ſubjected to the Danger of having ſuch Damages given againſt them as may ruin them and their Families for ever, in Caſe they refuſe to adminiſter the Sacrament to a Perſon, whom they know to be a moſt profligate and impenitent Sinner; for this a Miniſter of our Church may be fully convinced of, and yet it may be impoſſible for him to make the ſame appear to a Jury.

'To pretend, Sir, that if thoſe incapacitating Laws were repealed, the Diſſenters would combine cloſely together in all Elections, and that theſe Combinations would occaſion terrible Diſturbances, is contradicted by Experiences, is contradicted by Experience in England as well as Scotland; for tho' many of the Diſſenters in England do communicate ſometimes with the Eſtabliſhed Church, and in Conſequence thereof become Candidates, from Time to Time, for almoſt every elective Civil Poſt in the Kingdom; and tho' the Diſſenters do generally join pretty unanimouſly upon ſuch Occaſions, I believe more unanimouſly than they would do if theſe Laws were repealed, yet we find it never produces any Diſturbances. And in Scotland, where the Diſſenters from their Eſtabliſhed Church are under no incapacitating Laws, we find that the Diſputes about Elections never produce any Diſturbances between the two religious Parties in that Kingdom; altho' it muſt be granted that the People of that Country are as violent in all their Deſires, as bold and enterpriſing in their Deſigns, and as turbulent under Diſappointments, as the People in any Country, I believe, upon the Face of the Earth. We muſt therefore from Experience conclude, that the Repeal of thoſe perſecuting Laws, which, to our Misfortune, are ſtill in Force in this Kingdom, would confirm rather than diſturb our preſent

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Tranquility; and it would certainly increaſe our Trade, becauſe it is not to be queſtioned but that a great many more rich foreign Merchants would come over and ſettle among us, if they could enjoy all the Priviledges of Engliſhmen without changing their Religion: Whereas, while thoſe Laws remain unrepealed, a few foreign Tradeſmen and Mechanicks may perhaps come over; but rich and opulent foreign Merchants will neither come nor ſtay to ſettle their Families in this Kingdom, when they conſider that neither they nor their Poſterity can aſpire to any Honour or Preferment, unleſs they make a Sacrifice of the Religion of their Anceſtors.'

The Motion for repealing the Teſt-Act, paſſes in the Negative.

The Debate being over, the Queſtion was put, and upon a Diviſion, it was carried in the Negative by 251 againſt 123.

Sir R. Walpole's Propoſals, that the Loſs the Civil Liſt might ſuſtain by the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, might be made good by ſome other Fund, and all the Duties on Spirituous Liquors appropriated to the Sinking Fund.

March 17. The Houſe being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, Sir Robert Walpole acquainted the Houſe, 'That the Share the Civil Liſt only had in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, had for ſeveral Years laſt paſt amounted to at leaſt 70,000 l. yearly, one Year with another; and as a great Part of this Annuity would be loſt to the Crown, it was neceſſary to make it good from ſome other Fund; therefore he propoſed appropriating all the Duties on Spirituous Liquors to the Aggregate Fund, which makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, and charging that Fund with all the Annuities and Payments formerly payable out of thoſe Duties.'

Debate thereon.

But this was oppos'd by ſeveral Members, who ſtrongly inſiſted, That the Civil Liſt, inſtead of being a Loſer, would be a Gainer by leſſening the Conſumption of Spirits, becauſe the Conſumption of Beer and Ale, and of Wine, and the Produce of the Duties on Wine-Licences, &c. would be thereby greatly increaſed; ſo that the Loſs the Crown might ſuſtain by leſſening the Produce of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors, would be much more than made good by the Increaſe of almoſt all the other Revenues appropriated to the Civil Liſt; particularly that upon Beer and Ale.

To this the Courtiers anſwer'd, 'That there might probably be an Increaſe in the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale; but as what the Amount of that Increaſe might be, was uncertain, and as the Amount of the Loſs the Crown was to ſuſtain was certain, therefore that Loſs ought then to be made good out of ſome certain Produce; and if there did really happen any Increaſe in the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, they might call for an Account of it in two or three Years after, in order that the ſame might be appropriated to the Aggregate Fund, for making good what was propoſed to be taken from that Fund.

After

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Two Reſolutions in purſuance thereof.

the two following Reſolutions were agreed to
iviſion, I. That the Duty and Revenues, which
by Licences for vending Brandy or Spirits, as
ent Duties on Low Wines, Strong-waters, Bran-
Arrack, and all other Spirits whether Foreign or
ſuch Duties as ſhould ariſe by retailing the ſame,
ited to, and made Part of the general or Ag-
d eſtabliſhed by the Act of the firſt of King
nd ſhould be iſſued and applied to the Uſes to
ſaid Fund is, or ſhould be made applicable.
l the ſeveral Annuities, Payments, and Appro-
hich were then charged upon, and payable out
ſeveral Duties on Strong-waters, Brandy, Rum,
any other Spirits, ſhould be charged upon, and
e out of the ſaid Aggregate Fund.

The Quaker's Bill order'd to be printed.

Day the Quaker's Bill was read the firſt Time,
a ſecond Reading: It was likewiſe order'd to be

A Bill order'd to be brought in, relating to Spirituous Liquors.

. The Reſolutions of the 8th and 17th in the
f Supply, relating to Spirituous Liquors being
re agreed to by the Houſe; and then a Motion
That the Reſolutions reported from the Commit-
hole Houſe, who were appointed to conſider of
of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for Mid-
eir general Quarter-Seſſion aſſembled, and agreed
ouſe upon the 24th of February, might be read;
being read accordingly, it was ordered, That a
ht in upon the Reſolutions then laſt read, and
Reſolutions that Day reported from the Com-
e whole Houſe, to whom it was referred, to
er of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply
his Majeſty, and agreed to by the Houſe; and
ph Jekyll, Sir Charles Turner, Sir Robert Wal-
ddington, Sir George Oxenden, and Mr Win-
ald prepare and bring in the ſame.

Debate on a Motion for an Account of the Produce of the Exciſe, from 1710 to 1726.

. A Motion was made, That the Commiſſioners
ſhould lay before the Houſe an Account of the
of the Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe from
1716, to Midſummer 1726, diſtinguiſhing each
he Produce of the ſeveral Duties belonging to
iſe.

on of calling for the ſaid Account of the Net
he Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe, was in
might afterwards from thence appear what In-
riſen in the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, by the
r leſſening the Conſumption of Spirituous Li-
In order that the Increaſe might be appropriated
gate Fund, by the Bill which was then to be
brought

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brought in: But upon putting the Queſtion, a Debate, it was carried in the Negative, by 182 t

Petitions from the Clergy againſt the Quaker's Bill.

March 26. A Petition of the Clergy of Mid preſented to the Houſe, and read, alledging, Th depending in that Houſe, to enlarge, amend, a more effectual the Laws in Being, for the more very of Tythes, Church Rates, Oblations, and o ſiaſtical Dues from the People called Quakers, the Petitioners conceived, if paſſed into a Law, be prejudicial to themſelves and Brethren, excluding the Benefit of the Laws then in being for the R Tythes and other Dues, and thereby putting the the Eſtabliſhed Church upon a worſe Foot than his Majeſty's Subjects; and therefore deſiring to b their Counſel upon the Subject Matter of the ſai

This Petition was ordered to lie upon the Tab Bill ſhould be read a ſecond Time; and that the I if they thought fit, ſhould be then heard by th againſt it: It was alſo ordered that Counſel be for the Bill. The Clergy from all Parts of th ſent up Petitions to the ſame Purpoſe.

Sir Joſeph Jekyll preſents to the Houſe the Bill a gainſt Spirituous Liquors;

March 29. Sir Joſeph Jekyll preſented to the cording to Order, *A Bill for laying a Duty up tailers of Spirituous Liquors, and for licenſing th thereof*; and the ſame being received, Sir Robe ſtood up, and by his Majeſty's Command acq Houſe, "That, as the Alterations propoſed to a "that Bill in the Duties charged upon all Spi "quors, might, in a great Degree, affect ſome "Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenues, ariſing from the "Majeſty, for the Sake of remedying ſo great "was intended by that Bill to be prevented, "accept any other Revenue of equal Value, in "and appropriated in lieu of his Intereſt in the ſa

The Bill was then read the firſt Time, and or read a ſecond Time: After which a Motion That the ſaid Bill be printed; but the Queſtion it was carried in the Negative.

[illegible]

March 31. The ſaid Bill was read a ſecond committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

[illegible]

The ſame Day the Bill for limiting the Numb cers in the Houſe of Commons, was read a ſec and a Motion being made for committing the ſam Queſtion being put, it was carried in the Negat to 177. [*See Vol.* III. *p.* 122.]

[illegible]

April 6. A Petition of the Merchants and Plan to and intereſted in the Britiſh Sugar-Colonies i was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting f

he Reſolutions which the Houſe had come to for granting o his Majeſty a Duty of 20 s. *per* Gallon for all Spirituous Liquors ſold by Retail, and for the Payment of the Sum of 01. Yearly to his Majeſty by every Perſon retailing the ame, would bring, as the Petitioners apprehended, unavoid-ble Ruin on the Sugar-Colonies, tho' the Evil complained f did not ariſe from the Conſumption of the Commodities mported from the ſaid Colonies; and repreſenting to the Houſe a State of their Caſe, with regard to the Conſump-ion of Sugar, Moloſſes and Rum, as it would be affected y the Bill brought in upon the ſaid Reſolutions; in full Aſ-urance, that the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature would find Means effectually to ſuppreſs the Evils occaſioned by the ex-ceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, without deſtroying the Sugar-Trade, upon which the Subſiſtence of ſo many Thou-ſands of his Majeſty's Subjects depended; and therefore praying that the Petitioners might be heard by themſelves, or their Counſel, againſt ſo much of the ſaid Bill, as they conceived might extend to their Prejudice, or affect the Bri-tiſh Sugar-Trade.

After the Reading of this Petition, a Motion was made, That the ſaid Petition be referred to the Conſideration of the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the ſaid Bill was committed; and that the Petitioners be heard by themſelves, or their Counſel before the ſaid Committee; but it being alledged, that it was contrary to the Method of Proceeding in that Houſe, to hear Counſel or Parties upon any Peti-tion againſt a Money-Bill, [*See* VOL. II. *p.* 371.] the Mem-bers, who had made and ſeconded the Motion, deſired that ſeveral Journals relating to the receiving Petitions againſt Money-Bills, might be read, viz. 1. The Journal of the Houſe, June 1. in the 10th of King William. 2. The Journal of the Houſe of April 15. in the 11th of King William. 3. The Journal of the Houſe of May 5. in the 13th of King William. 4. The Journal of the Houſe of April 3. in the 8th of King William. 5. The Journal of the Houſe of April 7. following. 6. The Committee-Book of the Committee of the whole Houſe, in relation to the Proceedings of April 9, 1696. 7. The Journal of the Houſe of May 9. in the 13th of King William. 8. The Journal of the Houſe of March 20. in the 1ſt of Queen Anne. Theſe being accordingly read, the Members who were for the Motion urg'd,

Debate thereon.

'That with reſpect to thoſe Money-Bills which were brought in for anſwering the current Service of the enſuing Year, there was ſome Reaſon for not admitting Petitioners to be heard againſt them; becauſe ſuch Services required an Immediate Supply; they could not be carried on without Money,

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Money, and they generally could not admit of any Delay; therefore the publick Safety made it often neceſſary to paſs ſuch Bills with the utmoſt Diſpatch, and for that Reaſon the Houſe had laid it down as a Rule not to admit Petitioners to be heard againſt them; but even in ſuch Caſes the Rule was not without Exception, as appeared from the firſt of the above Journals, viz. June 1. in the 10th of King William, relating to ſeveral Petitions of the Bailiffs, Wardens, and Commonality of the Occupation, Art, and Myſtery of Weavers, within the City of London, and of the Wardens and Aſſiſtants of the Company of Worſted Weavers in the City of Norwich, and to the ſeveral Orders of the Houſe thereupon; and to the Order of the Houſe for referring the Conſideration of the Petition of the Eaſt-India Company to the Committee of the whole Houſe, to whom the Bill for raiſing a Sum not exceeding two Millions, for ſettling a perpetual Fund or Payment of certain Annuities after the Rate of 8 l. *per Cent. per Annum* for every 100 l. and for farther Advantage therein mentioned, redeemable by Parliament, was committed, and for hearing the ſaid Company by their Counſel upon the ſaid Bill before the ſaid Committee; where the Petitioners were admitted to be heard againſt that Bill, notwithſtanding the great Sum that was thereby to be raiſed, and notwithſtanding the greateſt Part of that Sum was deſigned, and was abſolutely neceſſary for the Support of our Civil Government, and of our Land and Sea-Services, as appeared by the Clauſe of Appropriation contained in that Act; and conſidering the precarious Situation the Affairs of Europe were then in, it could not be denied but that the Demands for thoſe Services were then as preſſing, and required as much Diſpatch as could almoſt at any one Time be ſuppoſed.

'That with reſpect to the Bill then before them, it could not properly be called a Money-Bill: There were, 'twas true, ſome Taxes to be impoſed by the Bill, but thoſe Taxes were not deſigned as Supplies for anſwering the current Service of the Year; they were deſigned only for putting an End to an Abuſe which had lately crept in among our People, and therefore the Rule for not admitting Petitioners to be heard againſt a Money-Bill, could in no Manner of Way be applied to the Bill then before them.

'That with reſpect to any Trade in which the Subjects of this Nation had no Rival, the Legiſlature might pretty freely make ſuch Regulations as they had a Mind, but with reſpect to any Trade in which our Subjects were rivalled by Foreign Powers, we ought to be extremely cautious in making any new Regulation; becauſe in ſuch a Caſe the ſmalleſt Diſcouragement might give Foreigners ſuch an Advantage

over us, as might enable them to turn us entirely the Trade; which might very probably be the Caſe ſpect to the Sugar-Trade; for in that Trade it was own we had a moſt powerful and a moſt dangerous and for us to make a new Regulation which might hat Trade, without ſo much as hearing what our own , who were engaged in the Trade, had to ſay againſt egulation, was ſhewing ſuch a Diſregard to the Sub- nd to the Trade and Commerce of Great Britain, as oped would never in any Caſe be ſhewn by that

his it was anſwered by the Courtiers, 'That every which any Tax was levied upon the Subject was a Bill, and had always been underſtood as ſuch by that and therefore the Bill then before them was as Money-Bill as any other. That with reſpect to the not hearing Petitioners againſt ſuch Bills, it muſt be to have had a Beginning, as all ſuch Rules have; efore before that Rule came to be fully eſtabliſhed as for directing the future Proceedings of that Houſe, recedents might be quoted againſt the obſerving of le, becauſe it was from thoſe very Precedents that e took its Riſe: It had been obſerved, that as ſoon Bill was brought in for laying a Tax or Duty upon t of Goods, the Dealers in ſuch Goods always peti- and deſired to be heard by themſelves or their Coun- inſt the Bill, and always under a Pretence, that the of ſuch a Bill would injure the Trade of the Nation; n hearing what they had to ſay, it was generally that all their Arguments proceeded from private or that they had nothing to offer but what had been der the Conſideration of the Houſe; ſo that it almoſt ppeared, that the Hearing of ſuch Petitioners by rs or their Counſel, was taking up a great deal of e of the Houſe to no Purpoſe: For this Reaſon the me at laſt to eſtabliſh it as a Rule not to be depart- not to admit Petitioners to be heard by themſelves Counſel againſt any ſuch Bill; which Rule had then violably obſerved for many Years, and the Reaſon ving it was as ſtrong with reſpect to the Bill then em, as with reſpect to any other.

t they ought, without Doubt, to be extremely cau- making any Regulation which might diſcourage our rade, or our Sugar-Colonies, but neither that Trade of thoſe Colonies could be of any Weight, when e Ballance againſt the Health and the Happineſs of le of Great Britain; and if, for the Preſervation of th and the Morals of the People of Great Britain,

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they found themſelves under a Neceſſity of making a Regulation which might leſſen the Conſumption of Sugar among the People of this Iſland, they muſt fall upon ſome Way of giving an Encouragement to that Trade with reſpect to Foreign Markets, which would be a greater Advantage to the Nation, and would prevent the Ruin of our own People. But that for this Purpoſe they had no Occaſion for hearing the Petitioners by themſelves or their Counſel; becauſe as every one of them had a Repreſentative in that Houſe, they might communicate their Thoughts upon that Subject to their ſeveral Repreſentatives, [*See* VOL. II. *p.* 309.] by which Means the Houſe would be as fully informed of what they had to ſay, as if they were to be heard by themſelves or their Counſel at the Bar; and therefore, as the granting them any ſuch Hearing would be taking up the Time of the Houſe to no Purpoſe, they could not but be againſt it.'

The Queſtion was then put upon the Motion, and carried in the Negative without a Diviſion: Whereupon the Petition was ordered to lie upon the Table.

A Petition of the Briſtol Merchants againſt the Bill laying a Duty upon Spirituous Liquors.

Immediately after this a Petition of the Maſter, Wardens, Aſſiſtants, and Commonalty of the Society of Merchants Adventurers within the City of Briſtol, under their common Seal, was preſented to the Houſe and read; ſetting forth, that the Bill then depending before the Houſe, to lay a Duty of 20 s. a Gallon on all Spirituous Liquors ſold by Retail, and a Sum of 50 l. yearly to be paid by every Retailer of the ſame, would, if enacted, be deſtructive to the Petitioners, and many Thouſands more of his Majeſty's Subjects, as well in the Sugar-Colonies, as in the adjacent Parts of the ſaid City; and therefore imploring the Houſe to conſider the great Loſs, which muſt immediately thereafter enſue to the Revenue, Navigation, Traders, and others concerned in Sugar and Rum, and what Advantage Foreigners might make thereof; and to afford ſuch Relief therein, as to the Houſe ſhould ſeem meet; for that in their humble Opinion, a proper Relief might be granted to them, without preventing the Evil complained of in the Bill from being effectually ſuppreſſed.

This Petition was likewiſe ordered to lie upon the Table.

And from the Liverpool Merchants to the ſame Purpoſe.

April 8. A Petition of the Merchants and Owners of Ships trading from the Port of Leverpoole in the County Palatine of Lancaſter, to and from the Britiſh Sugar-Colonies in America, was preſented to the Houſe, and read; ſetting forth, that the greateſt and principal Branch of their Trade conſiſted in the Exportation of Manufactures, the Produce of Great Britain, to our Colonies in America, and bringing Muſcovado Sugars in Return for the ſame, three fourth Parts of which Sugars, could not be conſumed without being firſt refined.

nd two fifth Parts when refined were drawn into whereof near two thirds were diſtilled into Spirits; if the Bill brought in upon ſeveral Reſolutions of , in order to lay a Duty of 20 s. a Gallon upon of Spirituous Liquors retailed within this King- m from his Majeſty's Plantations not excepted, s into a Law, the greateſt Conſumption of refined ould be entirely loſt, and Rum which is near a rt in Value of the Produce of our Sugar-Colonies, o be rendered of little or no Value, and two thirds oloſſes produced from refined Sugars, muſt become o the inevitable Ruin of our Sugar Plantations, and on of the two moſt valuable Branches of our foreign o the Britiſh Colonies and the Coaſt of Africa; and expreſſing their Hope, that the Legiſlature would d ſo beneficial a Trade, to cure an Evil, that never ve happened from Rum, or any other Liquor of ue, but would be able to find Means effectually to the ſame, without extending ſuch Means to any of rs that were diſtilled from the Produce of our own s; and praying, that the Houſe would be pleaſed their Caſe into Conſideration, and give ſuch Relief s the Houſe ſhould find moſt meet.

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Petition was likewiſe ordered to be upon the Table.

. The Order of the Houſe being read, for the reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, er farther of the ſaid Bill, it was ordered, That it an Inſtruction to the ſaid Committee to have Power e a Clauſe for enabling ſuch Perſons as had exerciſed eſs of Diſtillation for a Time to be limited, or had r were then bound as Apprentices to ſuch Buſineſs, any other Trade or Buſineſs in any City, Town, in England.

Diſtillers enabled to follow any other Sort of Buſineſs in any Corporation in England.

this the Houſe reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Commit- when they came to that Clauſe by which it was en- That the Duties and Revenues which ſhould ariſe ences for vending Brandy or Spirits, as alſo the pre- uties on Low Wines, Strong Waters, Brandy, Rum, , and all other Spirits, whether Foreign or Britiſh, ch Duties as ſhould ariſe by retailing the ſame, from and after the 29th of September 1736, be to, and made Part of the general or Aggregate eſtabliſhed by the Act of the firſt Year of the Reign late Majeſty King George I. and ſhould be iſſued plied to the Uſes to which the ſaid Fund was, or be made applicable.'

Farther Debate concerning the Application of the Revenues ariſing by the Retailing of ſpirituous Liquors.

ame was oppoſed by ſeveral Members, as being un- , becauſe, tho' the Produce of thoſe Duties was ap-

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propriated to the Payment of ſeveral Annuities and other particular Uſes, and tho' that Produce might perhaps be leſs in Time to come than it had been for ſome Years paſt, yet they did not believe that by the Regulation made by that Bill, the Produce of thoſe Duties would be ſo much reduced, as to be under what it was when thoſe Appropriations were made; and if that ſhould be the Caſe, any ſmall Deficiency that might happen, might be provided for by next Seſſion of Parliament, when the Amount of that Deficiency would be aſcertained: But it being inſiſted on, That the future Produce of thoſe Duties could not near anſwer the Ends to which it was appropriated, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the Sake of publick Credit, to grant a new Fund to the Creditors of the Publick, by the ſame Bill by which they took away or diminiſhed their old, the Clauſe was agreed to without a Diviſion.

Debate concerning what Sum ſhould be granted to the King for ſupplying ſuch Deficiency as ſhould happen in the Civil Liſt by altering the Duties on Spirituous Liquors.

Then the next Clauſe was read, as follows, 'And whereas the ſaid Duties upon Low Wines, Strong Waters, Brandy, Rum, Arrack, and all other Spirits whether Foreign or Britiſh, are amongſt other Duties and Revenues charged with, and liable to pay ſeveral Sums of Money, as well for the Support of his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, as for Payment of Annuities and other Payments to ſeveral Corporations, and to other Perſons intitled thereunto; and it may ſo happen, that by making the Alterations aforeſaid in the ſaid Duties, the Funds charged with the Payments aforeſaid may prove deficient: And whereas by a Medium of eight Years, computed from the Time of his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne to Midſummer laſt paſt, the Sum of is taken to be the Medium of the annual Produce of what has been applied of the Duties aforeſaid to the Service of his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family: To the End therefore, that neither his Majeſty, nor any other Perſon or Perſons, Bodies Politick or Corporate, who is or are intitled to any Part, Share, or Intereſt, in the Money ariſing by the ſaid Duties, may be Loſers, or receive any Prejudice by the Alterations aforeſaid, be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That from and after the ſaid 29th Day of September, 1736, there ſhall be paid to his Majeſty during his natural Life, (which God long preſerve) out of the Monies of the ſaid general or Aggregate Fund, the Sum of *per Annum*, being the aforeſaid Medium of what has been annually applied of the Duties aforeſaid, towards the Service of his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, and other his Expences and Occaſions, from his happy Acceſſion to the Throne, to Midſummer laſt paſt.'

After

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'After which a Motion was made by ſome of the Members concerned in the drawing up of the Bill, to fill up the Blank with the Sum of 70,000l. that Sum, as they ſaid, being the Medium of what had been annually applied of the aforeſaid Duties, towards the Civil Liſt, from his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, to Midſummer laſt paſt: Whereupon the Members who oppoſed the former Clauſe declared, that they were likewiſe againſt this whole Clauſe, and that they would afterwards take the Liberty to give their Reaſons; but as it was neceſſary in Point of Form, to fill up the Blank before any Thing could be ſaid either for or againſt the Clauſe, therefore they would propoſe that the Blank ſhould be filled up with the Sum of 43,000l. which being the leſſer Sum, the Queſtion was of Courſe to be firſt put for filling up the Blank with this leſſer Sum, and as this was oppoſed by the Gentlemen who had propoſed the Sum of 70,000l. it brought on a long Debate, in which the chief Arguments in Favour of the leſſer Sum were as follows:

Sir,

Argument for granting 43,000l. only for that Purpoſe.

'I am of Opinion that the Civil Liſt cannot be any Loſer by diminiſhing the Conſumption of ſpirituous Liquors, becauſe, whatever may be thereby loſt to the Civil Liſt, will be much more than made good by the Increaſe of the Conſumption of other Liquors, of the Duties upon which the Civil Liſt has a much larger Share than it has of thoſe Duties payable upon ſpirituous Liquors; therefore whatever Sum this Blank may be filled up with, I muſt look upon every Shilling of it, not as a Compenſation, but as a new Addition to the Civil Liſt Revenue, and ſince I do not think that the Crown has Occaſion for any new Addition to that Revenue, I muſt look upon this whole Sum as a real Loſs to the People: I muſt look upon the Whole, Sir, as a Sort of Purchaſe Money we are to pay for the Bill now before us; and ſince we muſt pay a Price for preſerving the Health and Morals of the People, ſurely if we are good Merchants, if we are honeſt Truſtees for the People, we ſhould endeavour to bring down that Price as much as we can. But ſuppoſing, Sir, that the Loſs the Civil Liſt may ſuſtain by diminiſhing the Conſumption of ſpirituous Liquors, were not to be made good by the Increaſe which that Diminution will naturally produce in ſome of the other Branches of that Revenue; the yearly Sum to be given to the Civil Liſt in Lieu of that Loſs, ought not to be calculated from a Medium of eight Years after his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, but from a Medium of eight Years immediately preceding his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne; for when the Parliament, which eſtabliſhed the pre-

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preſent Civil Liſt, were conſidering what Duties would be ſufficient for raiſing that Revenue, which they thought was neceſſary for ſupporting his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, they could not have under their Conſideration the Produce of thoſe Duties in time to come; and much leſs could they have under their Conſideration an Increaſe which might ariſe by an Abuſe, ſo as to put it out of the Power of Parliament to rectify that Abuſe, without making good to the Civil Liſt the increaſed Revenue it had acquired by that Abuſe: They could have nothing under their Conſideration but the Produce of thoſe Duties for Years paſt, and for this Reaſon the Clauſe, now before us, ought to have been drawn up in a quite different Manner from what it is; or at leaſt it ought to have been left to the Committee to determine, whether they would take the eight Years before, or the eight Years after his Majeſty's Acceſſion; in which Caſe it ought to have been in theſe Terms: 'And 'whereas by a Medium of Years computed from 'to the the Sum of is taken to 'be the Medium of the annual Produce of that Part of the 'Duties aforeſaid, appropriated to the Service of his Ma'jeſty's Houſhold and Family.'

'This, Sir, was, in my Opinion, the only proper and regular Method in which this Clauſe could have been brought in: If it had been brought in according to this Method, the Committee, where only it is proper to determine ſuch Things, would have been left at full *Liberty* to chuſe the Medium of any Number of Years after, or the Medium of any Number of Years before his Majeſty's Acceſſion; and if we had choſe the Medium of eight Years before his Majeſty's Acceſſion, which we certainly ought to have done, the Medium would not have amounted to the Sum now under our Conſideration; becauſe the Abuſe with reſpect to the Conſumption of home made Spirits was not near ſo great in the eight Years preceding his Majeſty's Acceſſion, as it has been in the eight Years ſince: and every one knows how greatly the Produce of the Duties upon foreign Spirits increaſed after that miraculous Tide which opened the Port of Dunkirk, and which brought in upon us an Inundation of French Brandies under the Name of Flemiſh; inſomuch that in the Year 1723, which was the Year after that prodigious Tide, and but two Years after a very remarkable Change in our Adminiſtration, the Duties on foreign Brandies and Spirits amounted to above 70,000 l. whereas in the Year 1721. they did not amount to 25,000 l. and we likewiſe know, that, ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion, this Inundation has rather increaſed than diminiſhed.

'But again, Sir, ſuppoſing we were to take this Matter

in the beſt Light we can for the Crown, and in the worſt Light for the People: Suppoſing thatwe ought to calculate the Loſs which the Civil Liſt may ſuſtain, by diminiſhing the Conſumption of ſpirituous Liquors, from a Medium of eight Years to be computed from the Time of his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne to Midſummer laſt; yet ſurely the extraordinary Increaſe that happened in the Duties upon foreign Brandies and Spirits in the Year 1733, ought not to be brought into that Calculation; for in that Year, we may remember we reaſſumed our Deſire to encourage our own Diſtillery, and for that Reaſon French Brandies being wanted, as was pretended, to mix up with and rectify our own Spirits, as well as for the Love and Eſteem we bore the French, a Law was paſſed, for lowering the Duties upon French Brandies, and for making all foreign Brandies pay an equal Duty with them: This of courſe gave the Alarm to our old Friends at Dunkirk, who foreſaw that they could no longer import French Brandies upon us under the Name of Flemiſh, and therefore, before that Act took Place, they brought in ſuch large Quantities of Brandy, that the Duties on foreign Brandies and Spirits, for that Year only amounted to near 318,000 l. which was near 200,000 l. more than was uſual in any one Year; yet this extraordinary and caſual Produce ſeems now intended to be brought in, for magnifying the Loſs which the Civil Liſt may ſuſtain by diminiſhing the Conſumption of ſpirituous Liquors, and for increaſing the Sum, with which the People are to be loaded for making good that pretended Loſs. I ſay pretended Loſs, Sir, becauſe I am convinced the whole will appear to be ſo, and therefore I am now for filling up the Blank with the ſmalleſt Sum I have here propoſed; but when the Queſtion comes to be put upon the Clauſe in general, I ſhall give my Negative to the Whole, and for that Reaſon I ſhall give myſelf very little Concern about the Sum with which it is now to be filled up.'

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

To this it was anſwered as follows, viz.

Sir,

'I ſhall not take up your Time with endeavouring to ſhew, that the Loſs which the Crown may ſuſtain, by leſſening the Conſumption of ſpirituous Liquors, cannot be made good by the Increaſe that muſt thereby be occaſioned in the Conſumption of other Liquors; becauſe I do not take it to be the Queſtion now before us: It is evident from the Accounts upon our Table, that his Majeſty's Share of the Duties upon ſpirituous Liquors has for theſe eight Years laſt paſt amounted yearly to about 70,000 l. one Year with another, therefore if the whole of theſe Duties be for the future appropriated and made payable to the Aggregate Fund,

Argument for granting 70,000 l. on that Account.

it

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

it is evident, and I think admitted on both Sides, that his Majeſty will by ſuch Appropriations loſe a yearly Revenue of 70,000 l. which he has enjoyed ever ſince his happy Acceſſion to the Throne; and that that Loſs ought to be made good to his Majeſty is a Queſtion that ſeems to me to have been already determined by this Houſe, when we agreed to thoſe Reſolutions upon which this Bill was founded: Therefore the only Queſtion now before us, is, to determine how much his Majeſty will really loſe, in order that the ſame may be for the future made good to his Majeſty, out of that Fund to which we have already appropriated thoſe Duties, which formerly belonged to his Majeſty's Civil Liſt. This, in my Opinion, is no more than doing that Juſtice to his Majeſty, which every man in a private Capacity would in ſuch a Caſe moſt reaſonably expect from another: If I ſurrender a Part of my Eſtate to my Neighbour for his Conveniency, it is but reaſonable he ſhould make good to me the Damage I may ſuſtain by ſuch Surrender. Whether the Loſs his Majeſty will moſt certainly ſuſtain, by taking from him thoſe Duties which formerly belonged to him, may be made good by the Increaſe of ſome of the other Duties appropriated to the Civil Liſt, is a Queſtion of a different Nature: I am certain it cannot now be determined whether there be any ſuch Increaſe or not; and if any ſuch Increaſe ſhould hereafter appear, then it will be Time enough to determine how that Increaſe ought to be diſpoſed of.

'Now, Sir, with Reſpect to the Loſs his Majeſty may ſuſtain, and the Method by which the *Quantum* of that Loſs is to be determined, it ſeems a little odd to me, that, in order to put a Value upon a Loſs which his Majeſty muſt ſuſtain, by taking from him a Revenue which he has enjoyed, Gentlemen ſhould propoſe to put a Value upon that Loſs, by computing the Produce of a Revenue which his Majeſty never enjoyed: This Method of Computation appears to me ſo very extraordinary, that I think I need only put it in its true Light, in order to ſhew that it is a Method we ought not to take. But it is ſaid that when the Parliament, which eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue, were conſidering what Duties would be ſufficient for raiſing the Revenue, which they thought was neceſſary for ſupporting his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, they could not have under their Conſideration the Produce of thoſe Duties in Time to come. In this, Sir, I happen to be of a very different Opinion; for as they were conſidering what Duties would be ſufficient to raiſe a future Revenue, I think they could conſider only a future Produce; and the Method in which that Revenue was eſtabliſhed ſhews, that they had under

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ther their View only the future Produce of thoſe Duties, which they appropriated to the raiſing of that Revenue: They conſidered that 800,000 l. a Year was the leaſt that was neceſſary for ſupporting his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain; and therefore, if the future Produce of thoſe Duties, which were then appropriated towards raiſing that Sum yearly, ſhould fall ſhort, they obliged themſelves to make it good: The yearly Sum of 800,000 l. I ſay, they conſidered the leaſt that was neceſſary for the Purpoſes intended; but then they conſidered, that even a large Sum might be beneficially applied to the ſame Purpoſes, and therefore, in Caſe the future Produce of thoſe Duties ſhould amount to more than 800,000 l. a Year, thoſe Surpluſſes by them were likewiſe appropriated to the Civil Liſt, and his Majeſty has as good a Right to thoſe Surpluſſes, if any has ariſen, or ſhould ariſe, as he has to any Part of the 800,000 l. a Year.

From this Conſideration, Sir, every Gentleman muſt ſee, that, if by any new Regulation we diminiſh the Produce of any of thoſe Duties appropriated to the Civil Liſt, we are in Juſtice to his Majeſty obliged to make good the Loſs which the Civil Liſt may thereby ſuſtain; for I hope no Parliament of Great Britain will never act ſo childiſh a Part as to make a Grant in one Year, and to take back that Grant, or any Part of that Grant in the next: We may be obliged, for the Sake of the publick Good, to make ſome Alterations in the Grants we have made, or may hereafter make; but it is to be hoped we never ſhall make any ſuch Alterations without the Conſent of all thoſe intereſted therein, or without making good the Loſs they may ſuſtain. The Grant of the Civil Liſt, as it now ſtands eſtabliſhed, I muſt look upon in the ſame Way as if one Gentleman, for Favour and Affection, or ſome other Conſideration, ſhould make a Grant or a Preſent to another of a Ticket in the preſent Lottery with this Condition, that if it came up a Blank, he would give him 5 l. in Lieu thereof, but if it came up a large Prize, the Whole ſhould belong to the Grantee. Now if, after ſuch a Grant made in the moſt ſolemn Manner, the Ticket ſhould come up a large Prize, I ſhould think the Granter both very childiſh and very unjuſt, if he inſiſted upon having any Share in that Prize, or upon taking any Part of it from the Grantee, without giving him an adequate Conſideration. We are not now to inquire whether the Duties granted to the Civil Liſt produce more than 800,000 l. a Year, or not; but if they actually produce more, that Surplus is a Sort of Prize we have already granted to his Majeſty, and we neither can nor ought to take any Part of that Surplus from him, or

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to make any Alteration by which that Surplus may be diminiſhed, without making good the Loſs in ſome other Way; and that Loſs ought certainly to be computed from the Produce of the Grant ſince it was made, for before the Grant was made, there could be no ſuch Produce.

'Having now, Sir, ſhewn that it would be a moſt prepoſterous Method of Computation, to compute the Loſs his Majeſty may ſuſtain, from a Medium of the Produce of any Number of Years before his Acceſſion, I think I need not take any Notice of thoſe Alterations which happened in the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors, or any other Duties, before that happy Period; but give me Leave to take ſome Notice of that Alteration or Increaſe, which happened in the Year 1733, with reſpect to the Duties on foreign Brandies and Spirits; and give me Leave to ſay, that from the very Nature of that Increaſe, it appears to me evident, that it ought to be taken into the Calculation, in order to increaſe the Medium of the Produce of the eight Years ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion; becauſe the large Quantities of Flemiſh and Dutch Brandies, that were then imported, were not all brought hither to be conſumed within that Year, there having been in that Year no greater Conſumption, I believe, of ſuch Liquors than in former Years: No, Sir, they were imported, in order to avoid paying that high Duty which was ſoon after to take Place, and were to be lodged here as a Stock in Hand, in order to ſupply the Conſumption for ſeveral Years then to come, therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that that Stock, which was then thrown in upon us, has leſſened the Importation of ſuch Liquors, and conſequently the Produce of the Duties upon them ever ſince; ſo that to exclude that Increaſe from our preſent Computation, would be doing a manifeſt Injury to his Majeſty, becauſe it would be taking from him the Advantage which appears upon one Side of the Account, without making any Allowance for the Loſs, with which that Advantage is balanced upon the other Side of the Account.

'From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I am convinced that 70,000 l. is the leaſt Sum the Crown can loſe, by taking from the Civil Liſt that Share it formerly had of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors; and as we cannot now have any Certainty that any Part of this Loſs will be made good, by the Increaſe of the Duties on other Liquors, therefore I ſhall give my Negative to the preſent Queſtion, in order that the Queſtion may be next put for filling up the Blank in this Clauſe with the Sum of 70,000 l. to which I ſhall moſt heartily give my Affirmative.'

To this it was replied by the Members, who were for granting only 43,000 l. for the ſaid Deficiency, as follows:

Sir,

Sir;

Anno 9. G. 1736.

Farther Arg. for granting more than 4

' Tho' the proper Queſtion now before us be not, whether the Civil Liſt may be a Loſer or a Gainer by diminiſhing the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors, yet we find from what has been ſaid on both Sides, that it is impoſſible to argue upon the preſent Queſtion, without touching a little what belongs to the other; and when we do come to the other, I hope to make it as plain as Figures can make it, that without any Allowance from the Aggregate Fund, as is propoſed by this Clauſe, the Civil Liſt will be a Gainer by the Diminution, or rather Prohibition of the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors by Retail: But in conſidering this Queſtion, we ought to diſtinguiſh moſt accurately what the Gentlemen of the other Side ſeem moſt induſtriouſly to confound: We ought to diſtinguiſh between this Queſtion, Whether the Civil Liſt will be a Loſer by taking from it the Share it formerly had in the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors? And the other Queſtion, Whether the Civil Liſt will upon the Whole be a Loſer by diminiſhing the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors?

' With Regard to the firſt of theſe Queſtions, Sir, it is what we have nothing to do with; for no Man ever doubted, but that the Civil Liſt will be a Loſer by taking from it that Share of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, which formerly belonged to it: But with Regard to the other Queſtion, *If the Loſs the Civil Liſt may ſuſtain by diminiſhing the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors, or even by taking from it the Share it had formerly in the Duties upon ſuch Liquors, if this Loſs, I ſay, be made good to the Civil Liſt, by the Increaſe that will thereby be occaſioned in its Share of the Duties upon Beer and Ale and all other Sorts of Liquors, are we then bound, either in Juſtice or Honour, to make that Loſs a ſecond Time good to the Civil Liſt, out of that Fund which is appropriated to the Payment of our Debts, and to the Relief of our People from the heavy Taxes they groan under?* I ſay, No, Sir; both Honour and Juſtice are, in my Opinion, ſtaked upon the other Side of the Queſtion, and I hope this Houſe will always be upon that Side, where they are at Stake.

' It is true, Sir, that by the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Civil Liſt there are a great many Duties appropriated towards the raiſing of that Revenue, with the Proviſo, that if they do not produce 800,000 l. yearly, if there happens a Deficiency, we are to make it good; but if there happens an Increaſe or Surplus, the Whole ſhall belong to his Majeſty. This, I grant, is the preſent Eſtabliſhment of that Revenue, but this Day's Debate ſhew us the Inconvenience of making ſuch Eſtabliſhments; and I am very ſure, that

9. Geo. II. 1736.

neither his Majeſty nor the Parliament ever thought, or ever intended, that any of thoſe Surpluſſes ſhould be increaſed by any Thing that might tend to the Deſtruction of the People in general; nor was it ever intended, that the Parliament ſhould not have it in its Power to prevent, or to put a Stop to a pernicious Conſumption, without making good to the Civil Liſt the Surplus that had ariſen from that very pernicious Conſumption. It may as well be pretended, that if the Plague ſhould ſpread itſelf over Spain and Portugal, we could not prohibit Commerce with them, or prevent the Importation of their Wines, without making good to the Civil Liſt its Share in the Duties upon thoſe Wines, at a Medium to be computed for eight Years paſt: Whereas in ſuch a Caſe, I believe, it will be granted, that the higheſt Obligation we could lye under, would be to make the Civil Liſt good 800,000 l. a Year, in Caſe the Produce of the other Duties appropriated for that Purpoſe ſhould fall ſhort of that Sum.

'But, Sir, the Caſe now under our Conſideration ſtands in a much ſtronger Light; for if all the Duties appropriated to the Civil Liſt now produce a Million Sterling yearly, the Regulation we are to make, tho' it may intirely take away one Branch of that Revenue, or very much diminiſh it, yet it will increaſe ſome of the others ſo much, that altogether they will ſtill produce at leaſt a Million yearly; and the utmoſt that can be pretended is, that the Parliament ſhall not by any new Regulation diminiſh the general Produce, or general Surplus of the Civil Liſt Revenue, as it ſtands at preſent, or may ſtand at any future Period of Time. Nay, even with Reſpect to this general Produce of the whole Duties appropriated to the Civil Liſt, we ought to diſtinguiſh between thoſe Regulations, which may proceed from accidental Misfortunes or the Nature of Things, and thoſe Regulations which may proceed meerly from the Will and Authority of Parliament; becauſe his Majeſty's unaccountable Right to this general Produce muſt remain ſubject to the former, tho' perhaps not to the latter: If the Parliament ſhould diſcharge or give up any of the Duties now appropriated to the Civil Liſt, or apply them to ſome other Uſe, it might perhaps be ſaid that we ſhould be obliged to make the Loſs good to his Majeſty, even tho' it ſhould be made appear, that the remaining Duties would produce more than 800,000 l. a Year: This, I ſay, might be ſaid, tho' I am far from thinking ſo; but if a War, or a Plague, or any ſuch Misfortune ſhould oblige us to make a Regulation, by which the Produce of any one of the Duties now appropriated to the Civil Liſt ſhould be intirely annihilated, or very much diminiſhed, I am ſure it could not be ſaid, that

we

ıe obliged to make the Loſs good to the Civil ng as the remaining Duties produced the full Sum ɔl. a Year; and the Reaſon is plain, becauſe Misfortune incident to the Duty when granted, ɔre the Grant of that Duty muſt ſtill remain li- ı Misfortune.

Sir, in the preſent Caſe, if inſtead of the high this Bill propoſed, we had made a ſevere Law unkenneſs, and had inflicted high Penalties upon ho ſhould have got drunk, or ſhould have allowed to get drunk in any of their Houſes, after Mi- ext; and had by ſuch Means put an effectual Stop nicious Practice of drinking to Exceſs, would not tary Law have much diminiſhed the Produce of ioſe Duties appropriated to the Civil Liſt? In : I would gladly aſk the Gentlemen of the other ıe Queſtion, If they would, or could with any re inſiſted, that we were obliged to make the Loſs ı Majeſty, even tho' the remaining Produce ſhould mounted to above 800,000 l. a Year? And again ſk them, Wherein the Difference lyes between a prohibiting Drunkenneſs, and a Law for laying Duties upon Liquors, as to prevent its being in of moſt Men to purchaſe a Quantity ſufficient for ıem drunk?

I agree with the honourable Gentleman, Sir, that der a Part of my Eſtate to my Neighbour for his cy, it is moſt reaſonable he ſhould make good to mage I may ſuſtain by ſuch Surrender: But how icable to the preſent Caſe? We do not deſire any we deſire that the Duties may ſtand appropriated : at preſent; and we inſiſt upon it, that no Damage ı to his Majeſty by what we propoſe: It is the of the other Side of the Queſtion who inſiſt upon Surrender, and tho' they know they can ſuſtain e by that Surrender, yet they inſiſt upon our pay- what Price they pleaſe to ſet upon it. We have ren a Lottery Ticket, and I believe that Ticket to be a Benefit Ticket: We do not deſire to take Part of that Benefit; but we find, that the very ı which that Benefit is to ariſe, is in Danger; and deſire, that thoſe to whom we gave this Benefit ould join with us in Meaſures for preſerving that ıis is but reaſonable; and ſince this can no way he Benefit they are entitled to, it is not rea- ey ſhould inſiſt upon our giving them another Be- t for joining with us in a Meaſure, which appears ſary for our mutual Preſervation.

' From

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

'From what I have ſaid, Sir, I think it is evident, that altho' the Civil Liſt were to ſuffer by diminiſhing the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors, we are not obliged to make good the Loſs: But as the Blank in the Clauſe now before us muſt be fill'd up with ſome one Sum or another, I ſhall now conſider what has been ſaid with reſpect to the Method of calculating the Sum, with which that Blank is to be filled up; and as upon the preſent Occaſion the Eſtabliſhment of the Civil Liſt has been repreſented to us as a Grant from the Parliament to the Crown, which ought not to be touched or in the leaſt diminiſhed, even for the Safety and Preſervation of the People, I muſt take Notice of one Rule obſerved by all Courts of Equity in the World, and that is, to explain the doubtful Meaning of a Grant, by that which may be preſumed to have been the Meaning of the Grantor at the Time the Grant was made. Suppoſe then, Sir, we had had at that Time a Prophet amongſt us, and that Prophet had informed the Parliament, that in a few Years after, the Duties on Spirituous Liquors would increaſe conſiderably, and that our People would begin to drink ſo exceſſively of ſuch Liquors, that for the Preſervation of the People it would become neceſſary to put a Stop to that Exceſs: Suppoſe, that upon ſuch Information a Queſtion had ariſen in that Parliament, for obliging any future Parliament that might find it neceſſary to put a Stop to that Exceſs, to make good to the Civil Liſt its Share in thoſe Duties according to the Value it ſhould ariſe to by that Exceſs, and according to a Computation to be made at the very Time when that Exceſs was to be at its higheſt Pitch. Can we imagine that ſuch a Queſtion would have met with any Reception in that Parliament, or in any Parliament? And if we cannot ſuppoſe it would, can we preſume, that that Parliament meant or intended to give his Majeſty ſuch an indelible Right to the Increaſe, that might happen by the Extravagance of the People in any of thoſe Duties then appropriated to the Civil Liſt, that it ſhould not be in the Power of any future Parliament to put a Stop to the Extravagance of the People, without making good to his Majeſty's Civil Liſt the Increaſe that had ariſen by that Extravagance?

'To illuſtrate this Matter ſtill a little more clearly, ſuppoſe, Sir, that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the Civil Liſt had laid a Duty upon Laudanum, and had appropriated that Duty to the Civil Liſt: Suppoſe that in a few Years after, the Uſe of Laudanum ſhould have become more general and more exceſſive in this Nation than ever it was in Turkey, inſomuch that Multitudes of our People ſhould have been every Day found in the Streets murdered by the exceſſive Uſe of that Poyſon: and that by this general and exceſſive Conſumption

tion the Duties upon it ſhould have occaſioned a Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.
eaſe in his Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue, will any
n pretend, that the Parliament could not make
ulation for preventing the Abuſe of that Poyſon,
making good to his Majeſty the Increaſe in the
Revenue, that had been occaſioned by that Abuſe?
n the very Caſe with reſpect to Spirituous Liquors?
re I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, that we cannot put
, or prevent the Abuſe of ſuch Liquors, without
good to his Majeſty the Increaſe in the Civil Liſt
that has been occaſioned by that very Abuſe?
n, Sir, I think I have fully ſhewn what could not
leaning or Intention of the Parliament, when they
n his Majeſty the whole Produce of thoſe Duties
ropriated to the Civil Liſt; but now let us inquire a
at may be preſumed to have been their Intention:
own Part, I believe the only Meaning or Intention
, was a good natured one, to give his Majeſty's
a little more Latitude in the Diſpoſal of the Civil
enue, and to prevent their being put to the Trouble
the Accounts of that Revenue yearly before Par-
But ſuppoſe they meant to grant his Majeſty a
the whole Produce of thoſe Duties, as it then ſtood
to the Calculations they had made, which is the
at can be ſuppoſed they meant; upon this Suppo-
order to know what his Majeſty has a Right to by
nt, we muſt examine into the Calculations they may
n ſuppoſed to have made for aſcertaining, or at leaſt
t, the Value of what they were about to grant. In
we are told, that as they were conſidering what
would be ſufficient to raiſe a future Revenue, they
re under their Conſideration only a future Produce.
y, Sir, to hear ſuch a Manner of arguing in a
f ſuch Conſequence: For the raiſing of a future
, to be ſure a future Produce muſt be applied, but
ple are conſidering and calculating what the Amount
ture Produce may be, and whether it will be ſuf-
raiſe ſuch a future Revenue, ſurely their Calcula-
t be founded upon their Experience of what is paſt,
their Knowledge of what is then preſent: If it is
uty, they found their Calculations on what is then
to be the Quantity or the Value of the Goods,
le to that new Duty; and if it is an old Duty,
ys conſider the Produce of that Duty for ſuch a
of Years paſt, and from thence calculate what it
uce in Time to come; therefore we cannot ſuppoſe
Parliament which eſtabliſhed the Civil Liſt, granted,
d to grant, any more than a Share of the Produce

of

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of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors, at a Medium calculated for ſeven or eight Years before his Majeſty's Acceſſion; and for this Reaſon, ſuppoſing that we are obliged to make that Grant good to his Majeſty, which I am far from thinking, the Sum we are now to give to the Civil Liſt for making that Grant good, ought to be taken from a Medium calculated for ſeven or eight Years before his Majeſty's Acceſſion, and not from a Medium ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion, which has been greatly increaſed by the very Abuſe we are now about to rectify.

'It has likewiſe been ſaid, Sir, that it ſeems a little odd, for Gentlemen to propoſe putting a Value upon the Loſs his Majeſty may ſuſtain by taking from him a Revenue which he has enjoyed, by computing the Produce of a Revenue he never enjoyed. Surely every Gentleman muſt ſee the Fallacy of this Argument: We do not deſire to take any Revenue from his Majeſty, and therefore we are not to compute the Loſs he may ſuſtain by the taking of any Revenue from him; but if any Revenue be taken from him, the Parliament we ſay is obliged to make it good only according to that Value which was put upon it by the Parliament that granted it, and not according to the increaſed Value it may ſince have ariſen to, by an Abuſe which ought, long before this Time, to have been effectually prevented.

'With Reſpect, Sir, to the great Increaſe of Foreign Brandies and Spirits, that happened in the Year 1733, by the great Importation of French Brandies under the Name of Flemiſh, I ſhall readily grant that they were not imported for immediate Conſumption, but in order to remain, and be kept here as a Stock in Hand; nay, I muſt go farther, I muſt ſuppoſe, that all or moſt of them ſtill remain here as a Stock in Hand; I cannot ſuppoſe that any great Quantity of them has yet been conſumed, becauſe the Duties upon Foreign Brandies have been as high in the Year 1734, and 1735, as they were in any two Years before 1733. And the Reaſon of this may be eaſily aſſigned; for as the Merchants at Dunkirk were obliged to make their Importations in 1733, in a great Hurry, they had not Time to ſend to Nantz and other Places of France for old Brandies, therefore they run in upon us all the new Brandies they had in their Cellars at Dunkirk; but as theſe new Brandies could not be fit to be drank in the Year 1734, or 1735, our Conſumption for the two Years was ſupplied by new Importations of old Brandies from France: From whence we muſt reckon, that the great Importation in the Year 1733 has no ways leſſened the Duties upon Foreign Brandies or Spirits for theſe laſt two Years, but may very probably do

ſo

two or three Years to come; and therefore we muſt that to include the Increaſe of thoſe Duties in the 1733 in our preſent Computation, is reckoning all the ıtage, which happened by that caſual Importation, to the ınt of the Civil Liſt, in order to bring a double Loſs the Sinking Fund; for that ſacred Fund is to be charg-ith near 4000 l. a Year, during his Majeſty's Life, than it would have been charged with, if no ſuch ex-linary Importation had ever happened; and by that rdinary Importation, and the Decreaſe in the Duties reign Brandies, which muſt thereby be occaſioned for l Years to come, that Fund to which thoſe Duties are o be appropriated muſt loſe a very conſiderable Sum.'

In a Committee of the whole Houſe 70,000 l. is Voted, for making good the Deficiencies, that may happen in the Civil Liſt, by the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors.

en the Queſtion being put for filling up the Blank with ım of 43,000 l. it was upon a Diviſion carried in the ive, by 211 to 109; and then the Queſtion being put ling up the Blank with the Sum of 70,000 l. it was in the Affirmative without a Diviſion.

Counſel heard for and againſt the Quaker's Bill,

il 12. The Counſel for and againſt the Quaker's Bill alled in, and the Bill being then read a ſecond Time, e ſeveral Petitions againſt it being alſo read, the Counſel Petitioners of the Province of Canterbury were heard; ſwer to whom the Counſel for the Bill were heard; and he Counſel for the Petitioners of the Province of York eard by way of Reply: After which the Counſel be-ithdrawn, Mr Speaker opened the Bill to the Houſe; Motion being made, that the 14th Section of an ade in the 22d and 23d of King Charles II. intitled, *for the better Settlement of the Maintenance of Par-Vicars, and Curates in the Pariſhes of the City of , burnt by the dreadful Fire there*, might be read, the as read accordingly. By a Clauſe in the Bill, even hen ſtood, it was propoſed to be enacted thus, 'That e annual Value of ſuch Tythes, Oblations, and other eſiaſtical Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates re-mentioned, doth not, nor ſhall not exceed the Sum in ſuch Caſe no Quaker or Quakers ſhall be or proſecuted, for or on Account of the ſame, in any r Manner, than as before directed, or in any other rt; neither ſhall any ſuch Tythes, Oblations, or other eſiaſtical Dues, Rights, Payments, or Church Rates, exceeding the ſaid yearly Value of be reco-ble againſt Quakers in any other Court whatſoever, in any other Manner, than as by this Act is directed, s the Title of ſuch Tythes be in Queſtion.' This , in all the Petitions preſented by the Clergy againſt , was called, 'An Excluding them from the Benefit he Laws then in being for the Recovery of Tythes

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'and other Dues, and thereby putting the Clergy of the 'Eſtabliſhed Church upon a worſe Foot than the reſt of his 'Majeſty's Subjects;' therefore the ſaid Section was read, to ſhew, That the aſſigning of a proper Method for the Recovery of any Right, and excluding the Perſons intitled, from any other Remedy, was not a putting of ſuch Perſons upon a worſe Foot than the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects, nor was it without Precedent; for by the aforeſaid Act of King Charles II. all Suits for the recovering of Church-Rates or Aſſeſſments, within the City of London, are to be brought before the Lord Mayor, or upon his Neglect to execute the Powers thereby granted, before the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, or two Barons of the Exchequer; and, by the ſaid 14th Section, it is enacted, 'That no 'Court or Judge ſhall hold Plea of Money due by Virtue of 'that Act, other than the Perſons thereby authorized;' and yet the Clergy of London never had complained, nor could complain, that they were excluded from the Benefit of the Laws of their Country, or that they were put upon a worſe Foot than the reſt of his Majeſty's Subjects.'

Which is committed.

After reading the above Section, a Motion being made for committing the Bill; and the Queſtion being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 221 to 84; after which it was reſolved that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

Debate upon the Report of the Reſolution of the Committee for granting the above Sum of 70,000 l.

April 14. The Amendments made by the Committee to the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors were reported to the Houſe, and read a firſt Time, after which moſt of them were agreed to by the Houſe, without any Debate; but upon Reading the Clauſe for giving 70,000 l. to the Civil Liſt, a Propoſition was made for altering that Clauſe, and for ſettling it in ſuch a Manner, that if the whole Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe ſhould, in any one Year after that Time, fall ſhort of what it had produced upon a Medium to be computed from his Majeſty's Acceſſion to that Time, the Deficiency ſhould be made good by the very next Seſſion of Parliament.

This occaſioned a freſh Debate, in which the Arguments for the above Propoſition, and againſt that Clauſe, were as follows, viz.

Sir,

Arguments againſt that Reſolution.

'By the Clauſe as it ſtands at preſent, we are to make a new Grant to the Civil Liſt of 70,000 l. a Year during his Majeſty's Life: Now there can be but two Reaſons for our making this new Grant: It muſt be either, becauſe we ſuppoſe that the preſent Amount of the Civil Liſt Revenue will be diminiſhed in a Sum equal to 70,000 l. a Year, by the Regulation we are about to make; or it muſt be becauſe

we ſuppoſe that the preſent Amount of the Civil Liſt Revenue, is not ſufficient for ſupporting his Majeſty's Houſhold and Family, and that therefore we ought to grant an Addition of 70,000 l. a Year to that Revenue. Theſe are the only two Reaſons that can be aſſigned, and if both of them appear to be without any Foundation, we cannot ſurely agree to this Clauſe as it now ſtands. Anno 9. G. 1736

'To ſuppoſe that the preſent Amount of the Civil Liſt Revenue, will be diminiſhed in a Sum equal to 70,000 l. by the Regulation we are about to make, is contrary to Fact, and contrary to Experience: For ſuppoſing the Civil Liſt's Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, upon a juſt Computation, does amount to 70,000 l. yearly, yet we may be convinced by Experience, that the Conſumption of Beer and Ale will always increaſe in Proportion as the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors decreaſes; and as the Civil Liſt has a much greater Share of the Duties on Beer and Ale, than it has of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, it is, in my Opinion, certain, that the Civil Liſt will get an Increaſe of more than 70,000 l. a Year by that Increaſe in the Duties upon Beer and Ale, which will be occaſioned by the Regulation propoſed by this Bill.

'To confirm what I have ſaid, Sir, Let us look into the Accounts that are upon our Table, and from them we ſhall find, that the Amount of the Duties upon Beer and Ale has conſtantly and regularly decreaſed, as the Amount of the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors has increaſed for theſe ſeveral Years backwards. In the Year ending at Midſummer 1725, the Exciſe on Beer and Ale produced 1,094,953 l. in the ſame Year the Duties on home-made Spirits produced but 88,622 l. From that Time to Midſummer 1729, half a Year before the late Gin-Act took place, the Duties on home-made Spirits gradually increaſed, and accordingly the Exciſe on Beer and Ale gradually decreaſed, ſo that in the Year ending at Midſummer 1729, the former produced 104,373 l. whereas the latter produced but 963,763 l. which was 131,190 l. leſs than it produced in the Year ending at Midſummer 1725.

'In the Year 1729, the late famous Act againſt Geneva, and other Compound Spirits, was paſſed; and tho' that Act was evaded by the Sale of a new Sort of Spirit call'd *Parliament-Brandy*, yet, ineffectual as it was, it diminiſhed a little the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors, and conſequently the Produce of the Duties on ſuch Liquors; ſo that in the Year ending at Midſummer 1732, they produced but 100,025 l. which was 4348 l. leſs than they produced in 1729. But as to the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale, what was the Conſequence? As ſoon as that Act paſſed, that Exciſe

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ciſe began to increaſe, ſo that in the Year ended at Midſummer 1732, it produced 1,071,240 l. which is 107,477 l. more than it produced in 1729.

'Again, Sir, upon the Repeal of the late Gin-Act, the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors began to increaſe, and conſequently the Produce of the Duties on ſuch Liquors, ſo that in the Year ended at Midſummer laſt they produced 154,094 l. and the Conſequence with reſpect to the Exciſe on Beer and Ale we find to be the ſame; for in the Year ended at Midſummer laſt, it produced but 1,021,370 l. which is 49,870 l. leſs than it produced in 1732. From all which, Sir, I think it is as plain as Figures can make it, that the Conſumption of Beer and Ale has hitherto always decreaſed or increaſed, as the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors has increaſed or decreaſed; and as that has been the Caſe in all Time paſt, we muſt ſuppoſe it will be the Caſe in all Time to come.

'This then being laid down as a Maxim confirmed by Experience, let us conſider how greatly, I may almoſt ſay how entirely, the Conſumption, not only of home-made Spirits, but of all Spirits, will be diminiſhed by the Bill now before us, and what an Increaſe that will make in the Conſumption of Beer and Ale; but that I may not be accuſed of any extravagant Calculations, I ſhall ſuppoſe that the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors may hereafter be but one Third leſs than it was before; the natural Inference from thence is, that the Conſumption of Beer and Ale will be one Third more than it was, and conſequently that the Exciſe on Beer and Ale will, from the Time this Bill takes place, produce about one Third more yearly, than it produced in the Year ended at Midſummer laſt, which is 340,456 l. I ſhall farther ſuppoſe, that upon the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors growing leſs by one Third, the Conſumption of Beer and Ale ſhould increaſe but one Sixth more than it was before; even by this Suppoſition there muſt be a yearly Increaſe in the Exciſe on Beer and Ale, of one Sixth more than it produced in the Year ended at Midſummer laſt, which is 170,228 l. yearly; and as very near one Half of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale, ſtands appropriated to the Civil Liſt, conſequently one Half of this Increaſe in the Exciſe on Beer and Ale, being 85,114 l. yearly, muſt accrue to the Civil Liſt, which is 15,114 l. a Year more than it can be ſuppoſed to loſe, by taking from it the Share it formerly had in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors.

'From theſe Calculations, Sir, which are all taken from Accounts lying upon your Table, I think it is evident, even to a Demonſtration, that the preſent Amount of the Civil Liſt Revenue will not be diminiſhed; but on the contrary, that

be a Gather at leaſt 15,114 l. by the Regula-
now about to make. I know it may be ſaid,
alculations are founded upon Facts which are in
uncertain; and that, tho' they have formerly
the Manner I have repreſented, we cannot be
falling out in the ſame Manner hereafter; yet
ll be granted, there is a ſtrong Probability of
out in the ſame Manner hereafter, as they have
fore: The ſame Cauſes generally produce the
; and unleſs we have really a Mind to grant a
al Revenue to the Civil Liſt, this Probability
a prevailing Argument with us, at leaſt, to
Propoſition now made; for tho' it has been
hat the Parliament may hereafter call for an
d diſpoſe of the Increaſe that may ariſe in the
eer and Ale, we know, and the Caſe now in
nvince us, how difficult it is for the Parliament
ny Revenue, or any Part of any Revenue, that
ce granted to, and eſtabliſhed as a Part of the
If it ſhould hereafter appear, that the Civil-Liſt
,000 l. a Year, or perhaps 200,000 l. a Year,
probably be the Caſe, by the Increaſe of the
er and Ale, occaſioned by this Bill, I am very
agree to this Clauſe as it now ſtands, the Par-
never be able to lay hold of any Part of that
order to apply it to the Aggregate Fund, for
the 70,000 l. a Year, to be taken from that
Clauſe; nay, I queſtion much if any future
ill be able to reaſſume that 70,000 l. a Year,
ge the Aggregate Fund from the future Pay-
tho' it ſhould then be made appear, that the
ctually increaſed, as plainly as I have now made
at it probably will.

ficulty, Sir, may be prevented by our agreeing
ſition now made to us; and by our ſettling the
e Manner propoſed, the Civil Liſt may be a
it is impoſſible it can be a Loſer, even with
e Surplus it may now have above 800,000 l. a
Surplus, we have been told, the Civil Liſt
Right to, as it has to any Part of the 800,000 l.
I widely differ from the honourable Gentleman
o [*Sir Robert Walpole*]; for if the Duties ap-
the Civil Liſt now produce a Million Yearly,
ties ſhould by any Accident produce hereafter
yearly, the Parliament, according to the pre-
ment of the Civil Liſt, would not be obliged
d ſo much as One Shilling of that Decreaſe;
ey ſhould hereafter produce but 750,000 l.
yearly,

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yearly, or any Sum leſs than 800,000 l. the Parlia
obliged to make good whatever they may prod
leſs than that 800,000 l. ſo that there is at leaſt
rence between the 800,000 l. Eſtabliſhment, and th
Surplus, that the Parliament now ſtands oblige
good the 800,000 l. Eſtabliſhment, but does not
obliged to make good One Shilling of the 200,
plus; therefore it can by no Means at preſent be
the Civil Liſt has as good a Right to the Surplu
to the Eſtabliſhment: But, Sir, if we agree to t
tion now made, the Civil Liſt will then really ha
a Right to the preſent Surplus, whatever it ma
has to the Eſtabliſhment of 800,000 l. yearly;
Reaſon, if this Propoſition be not agreed to, I
clude, that the 70,000 l. appropriated to the Ci
the Clauſe as it ſtands at preſent, is deſigned as a
tional Revenue to the Civil Liſt, and not as a Co
for the Loſs it may ſuſtain by the Regulation w
to make.

'This, Sir, leads me naturally to the next, an
other Reaſon that can be aſſigned or ſuppoſed, for
ing to the Clauſe as it now ſtands, which is,
ſuppoſe, that the preſent Amount of the Civil Li
is not ſufficient for ſupporting his Majeſty's Ho
Family, and that therefore we ought to grant a
of 70,000 l. a Year to that Revenue, during hi
Life at leaſt, but I may ſay in all Time to come
not find an Inſtance, where leſs has been grante
ceſſor, than had been formerly enjoy'd by his An

'Now, Sir, as to this Reaſon, whatever the
who are immediately concerned in the Diſpoſal o
Liſt Revenue, may ſuppoſe, I am very certain
does not ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing: becauſe, if h
would certainly have communicated the ſame to
ment, either by a Speech from the Throne, or b
Meſſage, and would have deſired ſuch an Addi
thought neceſſary. There is no other Way by
Majeſty can communicate any ſuch Want to his P
and until he does it in this Manner, no Gentl
Member of this Houſe, can ſuppoſe, nay, as a
the People he is bound not to ſuppoſe, that his Ma
in need of any Addition to his Civil Liſt Revenue
other Revenue. This therefore can be no Reaſon
Members of this Houſe, to agree to the Clauſe
now before us; and I hope this Houſe will neve
very ſtrong and publick Reaſons, take ſuch a la
Money from that Fund which is appropriated f

ur Debts, and for freeing the People from that
d of Taxes they now groan under.'
it was anſwer'd by the Courtiers as follows:

Argument in Favour of the above Reſolution of the Committee.

Queſtion now before us, has been already ſo fully
nd ſet in ſo clear a Light, that I am ſurpriſed to
new Difficulties ſtarted. The true and the only
r our agreeing to the Clauſe as it now ſtands is,
e very preceding Clauſe we are to take from the
and appropriate to the Aggregate Fund, a Reve-
, upon a Medium ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion,
t in 70,000 l. a Year: This being the true State
aſe, is it not evident that the Civil Liſt will
ſt, 70,000 l. a Year by the Regulation we are
to make? And as we are to take that yearly Sum
Civil Liſt, and appropriate it to the Aggregate
it not moſt juſt and reaſonable, that we ſhould
Aggregate Fund with the Payment of that Sum
the Civil Liſt? 'Tis true, as the Produce of the
on Spirituous Liquors will certainly be very much
by this new Regulation, the Aggregate Fund
erhaps receive ſo much yearly by the Share the
formerly had in thoſe Duties; but this ſignifies
the preſent Queſtion, for if we were to take off
r Taxes now appropriated to the Civil Liſt, or to
nt of the Intereſt growing due upon any of our
ſhould be obliged to charge the Aggregate Fund,
rt of the Sinking Fund, with the Deficiency thereby
, tho' that Fund ſhould get nothing to anſwer the
ge laid upon it.

e are told, Sir, That if the Civil Liſt be a Loſer
from it its Share in the Duties on Spirituous Li-
t Loſs will be fully made good by the Increaſe in
on Beer and Ale, which will naturally be occa-
the new Regulation we are now about to make.
ver Increaſe may happen hereafter in the Exciſe
d Ale, the Civil Liſt has a Right to its Share of
aſe without any new Grant from us, nor can we
Right from it without doing a manifeſt Injuſtice;
appears to me a little extraordinary to ſay, that the
at Right the Civil Liſt now has to a Share of the
Spirituous Liquors, will be compenſed, or made
another Right it was before intitled to, and which
could give nor take from it.

Sir, to wave this Argument for the preſent, and to
at a Right which we do not give, may be a Com-
for a Right which we actually take away, I cannot
uld be juſt in us to take from the Civil Liſt a
certain

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certain Revenue of 70,000l. a Year, and give nothing in Return but an uncertain Produce, which may for what we know be worth little or nothing; for even by the very Calculations that have been mentioned of the other Side, it appears that the Exciſe on Beer and Ale does not always increaſe, or decreaſe, in Proportion as the Duties on Spirituous Liquors decreaſe or increaſe. In the Year 1729, the Duties on the latter produced but 104,373l. whereas in the Year 1735, they produced 154,094l. from whence we ought to conclude, that the Produce of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale was much higher in the Year 1729, than it was in the Year 1735, yet we find that in 1729, the Exciſe produced but 963,763l. and that in the Year ended at Midſummer laſt, 1735, it produced 1,021,370l. which is 57,607l. more than it produced in 1729.

'This ſhews, Sir, that the Proportion between the Increaſe or Decreaſe of the one, and the Decreaſe or Increaſe of the other, does not always hold; and in Fact it has certainly always been, and will always be ſo: The Increaſe or Decreaſe of the Exciſe upon Beer or Ale, as well as the Increaſe or Decreaſe of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, depend upon ſo many other Accidents, that they cannot depend entirely upon one another, nor can any Man gueſs at the Increaſe of the one, from any Knowledge he may have of the Decreaſe of the other. I ſhall mention only one Accident, which was, I believe, the chief Reaſon of the Decreaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale in the Year 1729. It happened in that Year, the Price of all Sorts of Corn, eſpecially Malt, was much higher than it was for ſeveral Years before or ſince, and for this Reaſon we may ſuppoſe none of our Brewers brewed any more Beer or Ale in that Year, than what was abſolutely neceſſary for the immediate Conſumption; none of them brewed any large Quantity for Staling, as they call it; whereas, in a Year when the Price is low, they all brew great Quantities, which they keep by them as a Stock in Hand, to be ready to anſwer any future Demand. This is more particularly the Caſe with reſpect to thoſe Sorts of Strong Beer or Ale, which the Brewer may keep ſeveral Years in his Cellars, and is generally the better, the longer it is kept; and to this Accident, I believe, we ought chiefly to aſcribe the great Decreaſe in the Exciſe on Beer and Ale in the Year 1729.

'Sir, I am ſo far from thinking, that the Increaſe or Decreaſe in the Conſumption of Beer and Ale, depends upon the Decreaſe or Increaſe in the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors, that I believe they generally increaſe or decreaſe together; it is not the Conſumption of either of the Liquors, neceſſary for the Support of Nature, which raiſes the Exciſe

to its preſent Height: It is the Conſumption occaſioned by the Debauches and Extravagancies of the People, and theſe depend upon ſo many Accidents, that it is impoſſible to account for them in Time paſt, or to gueſs at the Conſumption that may be in Time to come. But I am perſuaded that nothing will tend more to the rendering our People ſober, frugal, and induſtrious, than the removing out of their Way the many Temptations they are now expoſed to, by the great Number of Gin-Shops, and other Places for the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for before a Man becomes fluſtered with Beer or Ale, he has Time to reflect, and to conſider the many Misfortunes to which he expoſes himſelf and his Family, by idling away his Time at an Alehouſe; whereas any Spirituous Liquor in a Moment deprives him of all Reflection, ſo that he either gets quite drunk at the Gin-Shop, or runs to the Alehouſe, and there finiſhes his Debauch. From hence, Sir, I think it moſt natural to conclude, that the Bill now under our Conſideration, if paſſed into a Law, will diminiſh the Conſumption of Beer and Ale; and conſequently the Produce of the Exciſe on thoſe Liquors, as well as the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors, and the Produce of the Duty on them. Anno 9 Geo. II. 1736.

'I come now, Sir, to the Propoſition this Day made to us, which I muſt ſay I look on as a very extraordinary one; becauſe it would entirely alter the very Nature of that Grant of the Civil Liſt, which was made to his Majeſty in the firſt Year of his Reign; and I wonder how Gentlemen can propoſe making any ſuch Alteration in that Grant without his Majeſty's Conſent: I think they ſhould, at leaſt, in Decency have uſhered it in with a Motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty, humbly to pray that he would give his Conſent to their making ſuch an Alteration; for by the Eſtabliſhment of the Civil Liſt as it ſtands at preſent, and as it was granted to his Majeſty in the firſt Year of his Reign, he is to have during his Life the Produce of all thoſe Duties then appropriated to that Revenue without any Account; yet now it is modeſtly propoſed, that he ſhould from henceforth be obliged to give an Account, every Year, to Parliament of the Produce of every one of thoſe Duties, or otherwiſe to loſe, at leaſt, a Part of the Benefit of that Eſtabliſhment which was intended, and was then actually granted to him by Parliament.

'Having thus, Sir, put this Propoſition in a true Light, I am convinced that we cannot come to any ſuch Reſolution, or agree to ſuch a Clauſe in any Bill, without his Majeſty's Conſent; and as I have ſhewn that there is no Certainty, that the Civil Liſt will be a Gainer by the Increaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale; but on the contrary, that there is a Probability

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

bability that it will be a Loſer by the Decreaſe of that Exciſe, I think there ariſes from thence a ſufficient Reaſon for our making good to his Majeſty the Loſs he muſt ſuſtain, by taking from the Civil Liſt its Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, therefore I ſhall add no more, but declare that I am moſt heartily for agreeing to the Clauſe as it now ſtands.'

Reply to the Arguments in Favour of the Reſolutions of the Committee.

To this it was replied by the Members who oppoſed the Grant of 70,000 l.

Sir,

'From ſome of the Arguments now made uſe of, I think we may already begin to ſee the Truth of what was foretold in the Beginning of this Debate. We were then foretold, Sir, that if it ſhould hereafter appear, that the Civil Liſt had got 200,000 l. a Year, additional Revenue, by the Increaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale occaſioned by this Bill, the Parliament would never be able to lay hold of any Part of that Increaſe, or even to re-aſſume the 70,000 l. Annuity, we are now to grant, upon a Suppoſition that the Civil Liſt will get nothing by ſuch Increaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale. The Truth of this, I ſay, Sir, begins already to appear; for the honourable Gentleman [*Sir Robert Walpole*] has told us, that by increaſing the Conſumption of Beer and Ale, and conſequently the Exciſe on thoſe Liquors, we give nothing to the Civil Liſt but what it had before a Right to; whereas by diminiſhing, or taking from the Civil Liſt its Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors, we take from it what it had formerly a Right to, and that therefore we cannot pretend to compenſate a Right which we actually take away, by a Right which we do not give. If this can be admitted as an Argument for our agreeing to this Clauſe, it muſt always be a much ſtronger againſt the Parliament's ever pretending to take any Part of the Increaſe, that may be occaſioned in the Exciſe, or to re-aſſume the 70,000 l. Annuity we are now to eſtabliſh.

'Altho' I have never yet admitted, nor can admit, that the Civil Liſt's Share in the Duties on Spirituous Liquors ought to be computed at 70,000 l. yet now, Sir, I ſhall take it for granted, becauſe it ſignifies nothing to the preſent Diſpute; for the principal Queſtion now in Diſpute I take to be, Whether the Civil Liſt has ſuch an abſolute Right to that Share, that we can make no Regulations whereby the Value of that Share may be diminiſhed, without granting a Compenſation from ſome other Fund? And the next Queſtion I take to be, Whether, if by the ſame Regulation the Value of the Civil Liſt's Share in ſome other Duties or Exciſes be increaſed, we may not in Juſtice and Equity inſiſt upon it, that the Advantage occaſioned in the one Caſe may

be

be admitted, ſo far as it will amount, as a Compenſation for the Loſs in the other. Anno 9. Geo 1736.

'As to the firſt Queſtion, Sir, 'tis true, the Crown has a Right to the whole Produce of certain Duties appropriated to the Civil Liſt, but that Right is to be conſidered in a twofold Reſpect. The Crown has a Right to the whole Produce of all thoſe Duties, ſo far as may amount to 800,000 l. Eſtabliſhment, without being ſubject to any Accident or Contingency whatſoever, becauſe if the Produce ſhould not amount to that Sum yearly, the Parliament ſtands obliged to make it good; and if the whole Produce of thoſe Duties ſhall amount to more than 800,000 l. the Crown has likewiſe a Right to the Surplus: But that Right is ſubject to all Accidents and Contingencies, becauſe if that Surplus ſhould be by any Accident diminiſhed, the Parliament is not obliged to make it good. Now, Sir, among the many Accidents to which that Surplus in its own Nature remains liable, ſurely this is one, That it may hereafter become neceſſary for the Welfare, perhaps for the Preſervation of the Nation, to prevent or put a Stop to the Conſumption of ſome Commodities, the Duties upon which contribute towards the producing of this Surplus: Would the Parliament be obliged in ſuch a Caſe to make that Surplus good; or to eſtabliſh any other Fund for compenſating the Loſs the Civil Liſt might ſuſtain by ſuch an Accident? No, Sir, it certainly would not; unleſs that Loſs ſhould become ſo heavy, as to reduce the Surplus, and even diminiſh the Eſtabliſhment; then indeed a Demand would ariſe upon the Parliament, and we ſhould be obliged to make the Eſtabliſhment good.

'Suppoſe, Sir, that France, Spain, Portugal, and the greateſt Part of Italy, ſhould be united in an Alliance againſt us, which by our late Management may happen to be the Caſe; would it not then be abſolutely neceſſary for us to prohibit the Importation or Conſumption of all French, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and Italian Wines? Would not this very probably almoſt quite annihilate the Whole of what I have called the Surplus of the Civil Liſt? Yet will any Gentleman ſay that the Parliament could not prohibit the Importation or Conſumption of thoſe Wines, without making good to the Civil Liſt its Share in the Duties upon them, to be computed at a Medium of the Produce for the preceeding ſeven or eight Years, when perhaps the Conſumption of them was at a higher Pitch than was conſiſtent with the good of the Nation, or Health of the People? Surely, Sir, no Man will pretend to ſay any ſuch Thing; the Parliament would not be obliged to make good any Part of the Loſs the Civil Liſt ſhould ſuſtain by ſuch Prohibition, unleſs the Produce of the Duties appropriated to that Revenue ſhould be ſo far

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

reduced as not to amount to 800,000 l. yearly: And even in that Caſe, the Parliament would be obliged only to make the 800,000 l. good, they would not be obliged to make good any Part of that Surplus, which the Crown had formerly received and enjoyed by Means of the Duties upon thoſe Wines.

'Is not the Caſe now before us the very ſame? Our People have by Accident lately taken ſuch a Turn, that it is become neceſſary for their Preſervation, to prohibit the Conſumption of Spirituous Liquors by Retaile. Is not this, as well as the one I have mentioned, one of thoſe Accidents, to which the Crown's Right to the Surplus of the Civil Liſt Revenue always was, and ſtill is ſubjected? And can any Gentleman with Reaſon ſay, that we cannot prohibit the Retail of ſuch Liquors, without making good to the Civil Liſt the whole Surplus that has accrued to it, computed at a Medium of the Produce of thoſe very Years, when the Abuſe of thoſe Liquors was at its higheſt Pitch?

'The other Queſtion, Sir, is, Whether, if by the ſame Regulation by which the Civil Liſt's Share in ſome Duties is diminiſhed, its Share in other Duties be increaſed, the Advantage occaſioned by that Regulation in one Caſe, ought not in Juſtice and Honour to be admitted, ſo far as it will amount, as a Compenſation for the Damage occaſioned in the other? This, Sir, is a fair and a true State of the Queſtion, without that Diſguiſe of compenſating a Right which we actually take away, by a Right which we do not give. Having thus ſtated the Queſtion in its proper Light, I ſhall make uſe only of a familiar Parallel in private Life, for ſhewing that it ought to be reſolved in the Affirmative. Suppoſe a Gentleman in my Neighbourhood has a very large Marſh in his Eſtate, every Year increaſing ſo as to threaten his Eſtate with almoſt entire Ruin, and that the Water from that Marſh, after running through a Part of his Eſtate, falls upon a Part of mine, and there makes a new Marſh, by which a great Part of my Eſtate is rendered uſeleſs, and the whole brought into Danger: Suppoſe that upon ſurveying my Neighbour's Marſh, and the ſeveral Fields round it, I find that, by a Cut through another Part of his Eſtate and a Part of mine, his Marſh may be thoroughly drained; and that the Water, by being carried into a new Channel, will be prevented from overflowing any Part of my Eſtate, and will very much improve my Neighbour's: Suppoſe again, that upon a fair and juſt Survey, it appears that the Rents of his Eſtate will, by the Cut or Water drain to be made, be diminiſhed to the Value of 20 l. a Year, but that by the draining of his Marſh, and rendering it good Paſture or arable Land, the Rents of his Eſtate will be augmented

to

to the Value of 50 l. a Year, ſo that upon the whole he will be a Gainer to the Amount of 30 l. a Year. In this Caſe I muſt aſk every Country-Gentleman that hears me, if my Neighbour ought, in Prudence, to prevent my making that Cut or Water-drain through his Eſtate at my own Expence; or if he could either in Juſtice or Honour pretend, that I ought to give him 20 l. a Year out of my Eſtate, in Compenſation for the 20 l. a Year, he pretends he is to loſe, by making the Cut or Water-drain through his Eſtate? I believe no Gentleman will ſay he could in Prudence refuſe the one, or in Juſtice inſiſt upon the other: Yet, in this Caſe, the Compenſation he receives for the Right I take away from him, ariſes from a Right I do not give, a Right he was intitled to before I took the other from him. Anno 9. G. 1736

'Having now, I think, Sir, demonſtrated, that, if the Loſs the Civil Liſt may ſuſtain by the preſent Regulation, be made good by the Increaſe in the Exciſe on Beer and Ale occaſioned by the preſent Regulation, we are neither in Juſtice nor Honour obliged to give any other Compenſation. I may give up the other Queſtion, and admit, that we are obliged to grant a Compenſation, in caſe the Loſs is not made good by the Increaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale, becauſe, notwithſtanding what the honourable Gentleman has ſaid, I am ſtill of Opinion, that it is not only probable, but apparent, that the Loſs in one Way will be ſufficiently made good by the Advantage in the other. The very Nature of the Thing is to me a ſufficient Proof; for granting, that the greateſt Part of the preſent Amount of the Exciſe proceeds from the Debauches and Extravagancies of the People, it is well known, that thoſe who once get into the Way of committing Debauches in Gin, can have no Reliſh even for the ſtrongeſt Malt Liquors; and I am convinced there are very few Inſtances, if any, that ever a Club of exceſſive Gin-drinkers went from a Gin-ſhop, to finiſh their Debauch at an Ale-houſe; becauſe even to quench their Thirſt they generally take ſmall Beer or Water, and mix it up with Gin; and many of them continue at the Gin-ſhop till they cannot find the Way to an Ale-houſe, or even to their own Beds, if they have any, but content themſelves with the clean Straw, which at ſome of thoſe Places they have for nothing: So that even from the Nature of the Thing we muſt conclude, that thoſe who have once taken to the exceſſive drinking of Gin, give over almoſt entirely drinking of Beer or Ale; and if we can lay thoſe People under a Neceſſity of returning to the drinking of ſtrong Beer or Ale, we muſt neceſſarily very much increaſe the Conſumption.

'By

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

' By the Report, Sir, of his Majeſty's Juſ
Peace at Hick's-hall in the Month of January la
there were then within Weſtminſter, Holborn, t
and Finſbury Diviſion (excluſive of London and
7044 Houſes and Shops, wherein Geneva and
tuous Liquors were publickly ſold by Retail, of
had got an Account, and that they believed it w
ſhort of the true Number: From hence, Sir, if
London, Southwark, and the other Places withi
of Mortality, I may modeſtly compute there
Houſes and Shops within the Bills of Mortal
Geneva and other Spirituous Liquors are ſold
and tho' the People within the Bills of Mortali
puted to be but a fifth, or a ſixth Part of th
England, yet I ſhall reckon but 20,000 Houſe
in all the other Parts of England, where Spi
quors are ſold by Retail, the Whole being 40,
to each of theſe Houſes I ſhall allow but ten
who are exceſſive Drinkers of Gin, ſuch I call
may drink about half a Pint a Day, one Day wit
and ten Cuſtomers who are moderate Drinkers
quor, ſuch I call thoſe who do not drink above
tern a Day, one Day with another. This makes
400,000 exceſſive Drinkers, and 400,000 modera
of Spirituous Liquors; and conſidering how uni
Cuſtom of drinking ſuch Liquors has got in amo
mon People, Men, Women and Children, I
Number will not be reckon'd too large.

' Let us next ſuppoſe, Sir, that if the Re
Liquors were entirely prohibited, and theſe Drin
ſhould return to the Uſe of Malt Liquors, that
exceſſive Drinkers of Gin would for the future d
of Strong Beer a Day, one Day with another
each of the moderate Drinkers of Gin would fo
drink half a Pint of Strong Beer a Day, one w
more than they drink at preſent; we may from
how greatly the Conſumption of Beer and Al
hereby increaſed; for 400,000 Pints, and 400,00
makes 600,000 Pints, or 75,000 Gallons a D
makes 27,375,000 Gallons, or 805,147 Barrels
The Exciſe at 4s. 6d. *per* Barrel upon this Incr
Conſumption, would produce an Increaſe in the
Beer and Ale of 181,158l. yearly, one half of
90,579l. would belong to the Civil Liſt; ſo tha
to all the Ways of Computation, the Civil L
more by the Increaſe in the Exciſe upon Beer an
it can be ſuppoſed to loſe, according to the high
tation, by taking from it the Duties on Spirituo

and that my Computation of Gin-drinkers is within Bounds, appears from hence; that the ſuppoſed 400,000 exceſſive Drinkers at half a Pint a Day, and the 400,000 moderate Drinkers at half a Quartern a Day, according to this Computation, conſume but 31,250 Gallons a Day, which is 11,406,250 Gallons in a Year, the Duties upon which, at 3 d. a Gallon, amount to but 142,578 l. *per Annum*; whereas the Duties upon theſe Liquors for this laſt Year, amounted to 154,094 l. and we cannot ſuppoſe but that there are ſome Frauds, with reſpect to the collecting of theſe Duties, as well as in moſt others.

'I have choſen this new Method of Calculation, Sir, not becauſe I think the other falſe or deceitful, but to ſhew, that whatever Method we chooſe, and from the moſt modeſt Calculations we can make, this general Truth will always appear, That by prohibiting the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, the Civil Liſt will get more by the Increaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale, than it can loſe by the Decreaſe of the Duties upon ſuch Liquors: And now with reſpect to the Obſervations made upon the other Method, I muſt ſay, that the Gentlemen of the other Side treat us, as Free-thinkers are treated by ſome of their Antagoniſts: They ſtate a weak or a falſe Argument for us, anſwer it, and then triumph in the Victory they have obtained. I have never heard it ſaid, Sir, in this Houſe, nor in any any other Place, that as the Duties upon Spirituous Liquors decreaſe or increaſe, the Exciſe upon Beer and Ale muſt always increaſe or decreaſe in an exact Proportion: That if the Duties upon the former decreaſe or increaſe one fifth, one ſixth, or one tenth, the other muſt increaſe or decreaſe exactly one fifth, one ſixth, or one tenth, and neither more nor leſs. No, Sir, there are many other Accidents may contribute to the Increaſe or Decreaſe of the Exciſe on Beer and Ale, and therefore this Proportion cannot be exact: Yet I cannot allow, that the Accident mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, could have any great Influence upon the Exciſe in 1729; for the Price of Malt was not, ſo far as I remember, ſo high that Year, as to put our Brewers out of the common Way of Brewing; and beſides, we know that the Strong Drink brewed for common Draught, from whence the greateſt Part of the Exciſe is raiſed, is never deſigned to be kept a great many Years; ſo that in ſuch Sort of Drink the Brewers never think of laying up a great Stock to provide for a Year of Scarcity: But I ſhall mention one Accident, which, I will take upon me to ſay, has greatly contributed to keep up the Exciſe theſe laſt two Years, and yet has contributed nothing towards raiſing the Produce of the Duties, at leaſt, on Home-made Spirits; I mean, Sir, the late general Election

for

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

for this Parliament, and the many very extraordinary disputed Elections that have been ſince; for it is certain that theſe Elections and Diſputes have added greatly to the Conſumption of Beer and Ale, tho' I have never yet heard of a Candidate, who treated his Voters or Witneſſes with *Gin*.

'And laſtly, Sir, with reſpect to the Propoſition this Day made to us, I am ſurpriſed to hear the honourable Gentleman ſay, that it alters the Nature of the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Civil Liſt; for upon the contrary, it purſues exactly the Nature of that Eſtabliſhment: With reſpect to the preſent Civil Liſt, ſo far as the Parliament ſtands obliged to make it good, his Majeſty is accountable; for he cannot make any Demand upon the Parliament, till he has laid an Account of the Civil Liſt Revenues before them, in order to ſhew them the Deficiency: By the Propoſition now before us, we are to enlarge that Eſtabliſhment, we are to oblige ourſelves to make a future Sum yearly good to his Majeſty; and I hope the honourable Gentleman would not have us lay ourſelves under ſuch an Obligation, and at the ſame Time put it in the Power of any future Miniſter to come and tell us, whenever he pleaſes, that there was a Deficiency as to that further Sum; and that therefore he inſiſted upon our making it good, without laying any Account before us from whence that Deficiency might appear.

'To conclude, Sir, from the whole that has been ſaid upon this Subject, it appears evident to me, that if the Surplus of the Civil Liſt ſhould be diminiſhed by what we are now about, we are not obliged to make it good: That if we were obliged to make the Loſs good, it ought not to be computed at 70,000 l. *per Annum*: That if it ſhould be computed at 70,000 l. *per Annum*, it is apparent that it will be made good by the Increaſe of the Exciſe: That if this were not apparent, the Propoſition now made to us will fully anſwer that Uncertainty: That the Propoſition now made to us is exactly conformable to the Nature of the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Civil Liſt; and that if it were not, it is become neceſſary, by the Demand now made upon us in favour of the Civil Liſt; ſo that in no Caſe can I find any Reaſon for taking ſuch a Sum as 70,000 l. a Year from the Sinking Fund: And therefore I cannot agree that this Clauſe, in the preſent Form, ſhould ſtand Part of the Bill.'

The Houſe reſolve to agree with the Committee in their Vote of Supply for the Civil Liſt.

The Queſtion being then put, to agree with the Committee in the Amendments made to this Clauſe, it was, upon a Diviſion, carried in the Affirmative, by 183 to 110.

April 6. The Houſe reſumed the Conſideration of the Report from the Committee on the Bill for preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, when the following Clauſe was offer'd for excepting Punch; viz. 'Provided always, that nothing

'nothing in this Act contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued 'to extend, to charge with any of the Duties directed to 'be paid, levied, or collected, by this Act, any Spirits or 'Strong Waters, to be made into the Liquor commonly 'called Punch, to be retailed and conſumed in the Houſe, 'or Houſes, of any Perſon, or Perſons, keeping a publick 'Inn, Coffee-houſe, Victualling-houſe, or Ale-houſe, who 'ſhall have been firſt licenſed to ſell Wine, Beer, Ale, or 'other Liquors, or to ſubject the Makers, or Retailers of 'the ſaid Liquor called Punch, to take out Licences from 'the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, as herein before directed for 'Retailers of Spirituous Liquors, or Strong Waters. Pro-'vided the ſaid Liquor called Punch, ſo to be retailed and 'conſumed as aforeſaid, be made or mixed with two third 'Parts Water at the leaſt, in the Preſence of the Buyer, 'and that the Spirit with which the ſaid Liquor is to be 'made, be not ſold, or retailed, in a leſs Quantity than one 'Pint, or at a leſs Price than after the Rate of 5 s. *per* 'Gallon; and all and every Perſon, or Perſons, acting con-'trary hereto, ſhall forfeit the Sum of 5 l. for every Of-'fence, one Moiety thereof to the Informer, or Proſecutor, 'that ſhall inform or proſecute for the ſame, the other 'Moiety to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors: And the 'Proof that the ſame was ſo mixed and ſold at ſuch Price 'as aforeſaid, ſhall lye on the Vender or Seller thereof, 'and not on the Informer or Proſecutor.'

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

A Clauſe offer'd for excepting Punch out of the Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors.

The Arguments in Favour of the ſaid Clauſe were as follows:

Arguments in favour of that Clauſe.

Sir,

'As the Complaint, which occaſioned the bringing in of this Bill was chiefly aim'd againſt the exceſſive Uſe of Home-made Spirits among the common People, which proceeded entirely from the low Price, and from the Liberty many Perſons took to retail them without a Licence, I have always been of Opinion, that the Evil complained of might have been cured, without laying on ſuch heavy Duties as will amount to a Prohibition of the Retail of all diſtilled Spirituous Liquors: However, as the Conſumption of Rum, when made into Punch, has never occaſioned the leaſt Complaint, and as that Conſumption is of very great Conſequence to this Nation, I muſt beg Leave to offer a few Words in favour of the Clauſe propos'd.

'I believe, Sir, no Gentleman in this Houſe is ignorant of the preſent declining State of our Sugar-Colonies: Their Circumſtances have been of late ſo fully laid before Parliament, and every Man who has a Regard for his Fellow Subject, or for the Good of his Country, muſt be ſenſibly touched with their *juſt Complaints*. Their Rivals in the Sugar-

An. 9. Geo. II. 1736.

Trade enjoy a new, rich, and fertile Soil, which produces plentifully without great Labour or Expence. Their Rivals live almoſt quite free from Taxes, and without being at the Expence of making any Preſents to their Governors, or even of maintaining and repairing their own Forts and Garriſons; while They are heavily loaded with Taxes upon Exports as well as Imports, and obliged to pay large Salaries to their Governors, and to maintain and repair their own Fortifications: Their Rivals have a Liberty of exporting their Sugars directly to any Market in Europe, while They remain under a Neceſſity of landing every Ounce in Britain, and are thereby obliged to pay double Freight, double Commiſſion, and a great many other unneceſſary Charges. Theſe Diſadvantages have already, I am afraid, made us loſe the Benefit of ſupplying any Foreign Market with Sugars; and in ſuch Circumſtances can it be expected, that the Parliament of Great Britain will, without any Neceſſity, make a Regulation for taking from our Sugar-Colonies the only Market they have left?

'I muſt confeſs, Sir, I little expected to have ſeen, in this Seſſion of Parliament, any new Diſcouragement given to our Sugar-Colonies; on the contrary, I expected to have ſeen the moſt vigorous, and the beſt concerted Meaſures taken for relieving them from all the Diſadvantages they at preſent labour under; and for putting them, at leaſt, upon an equal Footing with their Rivals in the Sugar-Trade: Such Meaſures might have perhaps enabled us to regain the Benefit we have loſt, of ſupplying Foreign Markets with that Commodity; but if we diminiſh the Sale of their Sugars or their Rum in Great Britain, without enabling them to ſend it to Foreign Markets, by removing the Diſadvantages they are now ſubjected to, their Rivals may be ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in the Trade, that it will be impoſſible for us to regain it: nay, the very Iſlands where our Sugars are now produced may be abandoned; and then inſtead of ſupplying Foreigners, it will be impoſſible for us to ſupply ourſelves, either with Sugars or Rum, which muſt of courſe be attended with an infinite Loſs to the Nation.

'Let us conſider, Sir, what vaſt Quantities of Manufactures of all Kinds are yearly ſent from Great Britain to our ſeveral Sugar-Iſlands, and from thence we muſt ſee how greatly the Value of our Exports muſt be diminiſhed. This of itſelf would be an infinite Loſs to the Nation; but then, if we could have no Sugars or Rum from thoſe Iſlands for ſupplying our Home-Conſumption, our Loſs would be redoubled; for that Conſumption would then be ſupplied from the French Iſlands: So that the Value of our Imports from Foreign Countries would be conſiderably increaſed, at the

ſame

ſame Time that the Value of our Exports would be greatly diminiſhed; and how this would affect our Balance of Trade, as well as our Manufactures here at Home, I leave every Gentleman to judge. Anno 9 Geo 1710.

'The Duties upon Sugars conſumed in Great Britain are ſaid to amount to near 130,000 l. a Year, and as theſe Sugars pay but 3 s. 6 d. *per* hundred Weight, we muſt from thence conclude, that the Sugars conſumed yearly in this Iſland muſt amount to above 700,000 hundred Weight; ſo that if we were obliged to purchaſe from France all the Sugars neceſſary for our Home-Conſumption at the Rate of 6 d. *per* Pound, which would probably be the Caſe, that Conſumption only would carry yearly out of this Kingdom near two Millions Sterling: To this let us add the Money that muſt neceſſarily be carried out of the Nation yearly for Rum; and the vaſt Sums that muſt yearly be carried out of Ireland, and our Northern Colonies, for the Sugars and Rum they ſtand in need of; and from theſe two Conſiderations only, we muſt, I think, conclude, that by the Loſs of the Sugar-Trade only, the Balance of Trade would be entirely turned againſt us. Then let us conſider what vaſt Numbers of our People are now employed, at Home and Abroad, in the Production and Manufacture of our Sugars; what vaſt Numbers of our Manufacturers of all Kinds are concern'd in providing Neceſſaries and Utenſils for them; and what a Number of our Seamen are yearly employed in tranſporting our Sugars and Rum to Great Britain; and from thence we may ſee how greatly the Number of our People, eſpecially our Seamen, muſt be diminiſhed, and conſequently how conſiderably the Power, and Naval Force, of this Nation muſt be reduced by the Loſs of the Sugar-Trade: But what is ſtill of worſe Conſequence, and I beg of Gentlemen to conſider it, all the Riches, all the Power, and all the Naval Force we may in this Caſe loſe, muſt neceſſarily be added to that Kingdom from which we muſt always have the moſt to fear.

'Having now, Sir, repreſented to you the fatal Conſequences, with which the Loſs of the Sugar-Trade muſt be attended, I ſhall next conſider how that Trade may be affected by the Bill before us. I believe it will be granted, by every Man who underſtands any Thing of our Sugar-Plantations, that conſidering the Diſadvantages they lie under at preſent, it would be impoſſible for them to carry on the Trade, or to produce any Sugars, if they had not a ready Sale for their Rum at the Price it now bears; therefore every Thing, that tends towards leſſening that Price, muſt be a Step towards the Ruin of our Sugar-Trade. Now if the Conſumption of any Commodity be leſſened, the Quantity

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brought to Market muſt be leſſened, or the Price will fall of Courſe; and as the Conſumption of Rum will certainly be very much diminiſhed by this Bill as it now ſtands, we muſt conclude that our Sugar-Planters cannot have a ready Sale for their Rum at the Price it now bears, if they continue to produce as much as they do at preſent: And we alſo know, that our Sugar-Iſlands are not fit for producing any Thing that can turn to Account but Sugars and Rum; ſo that if we put it out of their Power to get a Sale for them, at ſuch a Price as they may ſubſiſt by, a great Number of them muſt neceſſarily leave our Iſlands and ſettle among the French in Hiſpaniola or St Lucia, where there is Ground ſufficient for them all, and where they will without Doubt meet with Encouragement. The few Sugar-Planters left upon our own Iſlands may then, perhaps, get a profitable Price for the Sugar and Rum they produce, becauſe we ſhall certainly endeavour, by Prohibitions and high Duties, to prevent the Importation of foreign Sugars, Rum or Brandy; but we cannot in ſuch Caſe propoſe to ſell any at a foreign Market: And even with reſpect to our Home-Conſumption, we know how impoſſible it is to prevent the Importation, or Conſumption, of any foreign Commodity, when there is a great Advantage to be got by running it upon us.

'We know, Sir, that in none but our own Markets our Sugar-Planters can ſell any great Quantity of their Rum they produce, which is at preſent equal in Value to one 4th Part of all their other Products: If then by the Bill now before us, we diminiſh by one half the preſent Conſumption of Rum, as our Sugar-Planters can diſpoſe of it no where elſe, it is abſolutely rendering uſeleſs to them one 8th Part of their whole Produce, which is above twelve *per Cent.* and, I am afraid, is more than any one of our Sugar-Planters can make clear Profit to himſelf. From hence, Sir, we may ſee how dangerous it is, to lay ſuch a Reſtraint upon the Conſumption of Rum as is propoſed by this Bill: Yet this Reſtraint, dangerous as it is, I ſhould have readily agreed to, if the Conſumption of Rum, either by itſelf or in Punch, had ever given Occaſion to any of the Evils now complained of, or even if we could hope thereby to render our People at home more ſober, frugal, or induſtrious; becauſe, in either Caſe, I ſhould have at the ſame Time propoſed the freeing of our Sugar-Planters from all Quit-rents and Taxes, from all Salaries or Preſents to Governors, and even from all Expence of maintaining and repairing their own Fortifications; and at the ſame Time I would have been for giving them Liberty to export their Sugars and Rum directly to any Market in the whole World: But neither of theſe is the Caſe at preſent; for the inferior People never

have

nade, nor can make an exceſſive Uſe of Rum: It is Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.
uſed, either by itſelf, or when made into Punch, but
better Sort; and by taking from them Punch, we
nly throw them into the Way of drinking Wine,
will be a greater Expence to them, and to the Nation.
t, Sir, it is not the Conſumption of Rum only, that
diminiſhed by prohibiting the Retail of Punch, the
nption of Sugar likewiſe will be greatly diminiſhed;
' People may ſtill make uſe of Punch at their own
, we know that our People do not much like Enter-
nts at one another's Houſes: From that Spirit of Li-
ſo natural to them, and which I hope no Miniſter
er be able to root out, they like to be at a Publick-
upon an equal Footing and a fair Club; and therefore
not ſuppoſe that the Conſumption at their own Houſes
ount to near the Quantity formerly conſumed. We
ving the People from the Uſe of a Liquor almoſt
produced by the Induſtry of our own Subjects, to the
a Liquor produced by Foreigners, with whom we
e, I believe, all the Reaſon in the World to be per-
ell ſatisfied.

ſhould have been glad, Sir, to have ſeen this Bill ſo
as to have left our People the free Uſe of Rum;
the Houſe ſeems to be of Opinion that this would
Way for evading the Act; and as the Clauſe is drawn
ach a Manner, as to prevent its being poſſible to draw
any Method of evading the Law; or putting it in
wer of the common People to make an exceſſive Uſe
h; and as no bad Conſequence can accrue from per-
the Uſe of it among the better Sort, I hope the
will agree to it.'

his it was anſwer'd by the Advocates for the Bill, as Arguments againſt that Clauſe.

hough the Complaints, which occaſioned the bringing
e Bill now before us, were chiefly aimed againſt the
Uſe of Home-made Spirits among the common
yet I believe it will be granted, that the Uſe even
h, has of late Years become too exceſſive. It is
own how conſiderably the Number of our Punch-
ave increaſed within theſe few Years, and how much
e been frequented by Perſons of all Degrees, eſpe-
ce the Method of retailing Punch in ſo ſmall Quan-
begun to be practiſed: This we may be aſſured
the Numbers of Advertiſements relating to ſuch
which have daily appeared in our News-Papers for
three Years paſt; and as every ſuch Houſe is a
on thrown in the Way of our People for idling
away

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

away their Time, I am of Opinion that it is now become abſolutely neceſſary to remove them out of the Way, or at leaſt to leſſen the Number of them as much as we can. I do not, Sir, in the leaſt queſtion but this Evil was foreſeen ſeveral Years ago; but, among the many Advantages we enjoy by the Nature of our Conſtitution, we are expoſed to this Inconvenience, that it is ſeldom practicable to prevent an Evil, till it becomes ſo apparent as to be felt almoſt by every Man in the Kingdom; and in the preſent Caſe, though the Evils now complained of were foreſeen a dozen Years ſince, yet it is certain that no Propoſition for preventing them would then have met with any Reception; on the contrary, if any ſuch had then been offered, I believe whoever ſhould have propoſed it, would have been looked on as a Madman: Yet I am convinced it will now be granted, that the paſſing ſuch a Bill would have been of great Service to the Nation; and the Objection of turning a Number of People out of their Way of ſubſiſting their Families, would not then have been ſo ſtrong as it is at preſent. This is the Caſe of every general Nuſance, which always contributes to the Advantage of ſome particular Perſons, who will oppoſe its Removal as long as they can, but when it comes to be ſenſibly felt, they muſt then ſubmit; and the Advantage or Convenience of particular Perſons is not to be regarded.

'I am ſenſible, Sir, of the preſent bad Circumſtances of our Sugar-Colonies, and as deſirous to have the *Hardſhips* they complain of removed, as any Gentleman can be; and therefore I ſhall readily concur with any Meaſures for their Relief, that do not tend to the Ruin of their Mother Country: But for the Sake of encouraging the Sale of their Rum or Sugars, I cannot ſubmit to the Continuance of an Enormity, which will evidently tend to deſtroy the Health and Morals of the People of Great Britain. For this Reaſon I am againſt making any Exceptions to the Bill now before us: The Diſeaſe we are now fully ſenſible of, the Remedy we have in our Hands, do not let us mix that Remedy up with any Palliative which may leſſen, perhaps entirely prevent its Effect. We may find many Methods for giving our Sugar-Colonies a full Compenſation for the Diſadvantage they may be ſubjected to by this Bill; but that cannot be granted by the Bill now before us, it is a Subject of a quite different Nature, and will therefore require a ſeparate Bill. This we may not perhaps be able to accompliſh in the preſent Seſſion, but their Caſe may be fully examined into before the next, and a proper Relief be granted, and in the mean Time their Loſs cannot be very conſiderable.

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Anno 3. Geo. II. 1729.

' I ſhall not, Sir, diſpute the Conſequence of our Sugar-Iſlands to this Kingdom, or its being a Loſs to them to leſſen the Conſumption of their Rum in Great Britain; but I am convinced they might ſell their Rum cheaper, and yet have a conſiderable Profit. If they ſhould lower the Price of their Rum but a very little, they might find a Vent for it in many other Places, a Vent, which would be more than ſufficient for anſwering the ſmall Diminution, that may by this Law be occaſioned in the Conſumption of it in Great Britain; and that Foreign Vent, would be more to the Advantage of their native Country than ſelling the ſame Quantity at double the Price to be conſumed in this Iſland. It is therefore againſt the general Intereſt of this Country, to encourage the Home-Conſumption ſo much, as to enable our Planters to ſell all they can make at a high Price in Great Britain; and on the other Hand it is our Duty to take all poſſible Meaſures for enabling them to ſell it at a cheap Rate to Foreigners; for if the Price of Rum could be ſo much reduced, as that it might be purchaſed cheaper than Brandy or Geneva, vaſt Quantities of it would be conſumed in North America, in Africa, and in the Countries bordering upon the Baltick; and even at Home the Conſumption of French and Flemiſh Brandies would be very much diminiſhed.

' I do not know, Sir, but by prohibiting the Retail of Punch, ſome ſmall Addition may be made to our Conſumption of Wines; but then it will be with reſpect to Port Wines only; and as our Trade with Portugal is, in the main, a very profitable Trade, it is our Intereſt to encourage it as much as we can: However, I rather think moſt of thoſe who uſed to drink Punch, will drink Fine Ale and Strong Beer, or thoſe Home-made Wines which we call Sweets; and it is as much the Intereſt of the Nation to encourage the Conſumption of theſe Liquors, as that of any other. By increaſing the Conſumption of Fine Ale and Strong Beer, we ſhall encourage the Tillage of our Lands in Great Britain; and by increaſing the Conſumption of Home-made Wines, we ſhall encourage the Trade of our Sugar-Iſlands, becauſe in the making ſuch there are great Quantities of Sugar uſed; ſo that if they ſhould become of as general Uſe as Punch is at preſent, our Demand for Sugars muſt neceſſarily be increaſed.

' To conclude, Sir, if you exempt Punch from the Duties to be impoſed by this Bill, you will render it altogether ineffectual; for under the Name of the Liquor exempted, every Sort of Spirituous Liquor will be retailed: Our Brandy-Shops and our Gin-Shops will then be all turned into Punch-Shops, our People will be as much debauched, and our

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736. our Streets as full of Objects of Pity and Contempt as ever. For this Reaſon, Sir, I am for making an Experiment, at leaſt, for one Year, of the Bill as it ſtands at preſent: As it is a very extraordinary Regulation, we ſhall probably in next Seſſion have Occaſion to make ſome Alterations: By that Time we ſhall ſee what Effect the diminiſhing the Retail of Punch will have upon our People; we ſhall likewiſe ſee what Effect it may be like to have upon our Sugar-Colonies. In the mean Time the Prohibition cannot be attended with any extraordinary bad Effect, and therefore I ſhall be againſt adding the Clauſe which the honourable Gentleman has propoſed.'

Further Arguments in Favour of the Clauſe.

To this it was replied by the Members, who were for the Clauſe:

Sir,

'When the honourable Gentleman [*Sir Joſeph Jekyll*] was pleaſed to find Fault with the great Number of our Punch-Houſes, I wiſh he had added Taverns and Alehouſes, for I am convinced the great Number of the latter is as ſenſible a Grievance as the former; and have contrived more Temptations for People to loiter away their Time: But the unbounded Liberty ſo many Years given to ſetting up Publick Houſes of all Kinds, proceeds from an Error in Politicks, by which it was the Intereſt of thoſe to multiply ſuch Houſes, who only had the Power to prevent their Increaſe. This, Sir, is the true Cauſe of that prodigious Number of Houſes of Entertainment ſet up in every Part of this Kingdom; and the Power of thoſe, to whom we had given an Intereſt in ſuch Houſes, has been ſo conſiderable, that it was in vain for any Gentleman to propoſe a Remedy. Notwithſtanding the terrible Outcry, that was univerſally raiſed againſt the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors amongſt the Common People, I doubt much if we could have applied any effectual Remedy, unleſs ſome Perſons had found it their Intereſt to agree to it.

'I ſhall readily agree, Sir, that the preſent Number of our Punch-Houſes is too great; but there is a great Difference between too great a Number, and none at all: By the Propoſition now made, the Retailing of Punch will be confined to Houſes where other ſtrong Liquors are by Licence to be ſold, which will of Courſe very much diminiſh the Number of our Punch-Houſes; and where Men are allowed to drink any other Sort of ſtrong Liquor, I can ſee no Reaſon why they may not be allowed to drink Punch, for I am perſuaded it is as wholeſome a Liquor as can be found at ſuch Houſes. I wiſh, Sir, that effectual Methods had been taken, many Years ſince, for preventing our People from ſupporting their Families by the Retail of Spirituous Liquors: I am convinced,

vinced, that thereby the Labour and Induſtry of all our People has been very much diminiſhed, and therefore I wiſh ſome effectual Reſtraints had been laid upon thoſe, who have the Power of granting ſuch Licences. Though the publick Good certainly requires an immediate Reſtraint upon the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, yet I cannot think that a Prohibition of ſelling any ſuch Liquors by Retail, eſpecially when they are rectified by Water, or made into Punch, can be abſolutely neceſſary: Nay, if ſuch a Prohibition were neceſſary, my Concern for the Numbers of People who now live by that Retail is ſuch, that I ſhould rather be for introducing the Prohibition by Degrees; by which Method a general Diſtreſs would be prevented; becauſe ſome would die in the mean Time, and the reſt would have Time to provide a Livelihood in ſome other Way. Anno 9.

'This Bill would, I believe, have met with very little Succeſs, if it had not been ſupported by another Propoſition which is now made Part of it. I ſhall admit, Sir, that thoſe who find a private Intereſt in any publick Nuſance, generally endeavour to oppoſe its Removal, even although they are fully ſenſible that their Country muſt be ruined by its Continuance. Of ſuch Men, I am afraid we have too many in this Kingdom, but I hope not one in this Houſe.

'With reſpect to our Sugar-Colonies, Sir, I am ſurpriſed to hear ſuch Reaſoning upon that Subject. They may probably be ruined by prohibiting the Retail of their Rum in Great Britain; but Gentlemen ſay, we may give them a full Compenſation the next Seſſion; which to me ſeems the ſame as if I ſhould ſay to a Man, I muſt now knock your Brains out, but next Year I'll do ſomething to bring you to Life again: For God's Sake, Sir, let us conſider the unfortunate Caſe of many of our Sugar-Iſlands, whoſe whole Subſiſtence depends upon the Sale of that Moiety of their Rum, which we are by this Bill to deprive them of: The Produce of their whole preſent Crop of Sugars, and the other Moiety of their Rum, may be neceſſary for defraying the Charge of their next Year's Crop; and if we diſappoint them in the Sale of what they deſigned for ſubſiſting their Families, they muſt break in upon the Stock neceſſary for producing another Crop; by which Means every Sugar-Planter, who is not beforehand with the World, muſt neceſſarily be undone: This I am perſuaded will be the Caſe of moſt of our ſmall Planters, and in them we know the Strength of our Sugar-Iſlands conſiſts; tho' the Regulations we are next Year to make may be a Compenſation to thoſe who can ſtand the Shock. There is no Pretence for ſaying that the Uſe of Rum when made into Punch, for one Year longer, will deſtroy the Health or Morals of the People of Great Britain, therefore

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why ſhould we do an Injury to our Sugar-Planters, 'till we are ready to grant them a proper Redreſs? Why ſhould we prevent the Sale of their Rum in Great Britain, 'till we have made ſuch Regulations as may enable them to ſell it to Advantage at ſome other Market?

'We are told, Sir, that our Sugar-Planters might ſell their Rum much cheaper, and yet have a conſiderable yearly Profit from their ſeveral Plantations; but I wiſh that ſort of Reaſoning had been founded upon Facts known to the Houſe; for I believe, if we were to examine our Sugar-Planters, they would give us ſtrong Reaſons for convincing us, that in their preſent Circumſtances it is impoſſible to ſell their Sugars or Rum cheaper. We all know how dear living it is in our Sugar-Iſlands, what Taxes they pay, and what monſtrous Prices they give for their Slaves, and for every Thing elſe neceſſary for the Production of Sugars: We likewiſe know at what a cheap Rate both Sugars and Rum are ſold upon the Spot where they are produced, and if we compare the Expence and the Profits together, the Impoſſibility of ſelling cheaper will fully appear. It certainly would be an Advantage to the Nation, to enable our Sugar-Planters to ſell their Rum at foreign Markets rather than in Great Britain; but it is not the Price the poor Planters ſell it at, which prevents its being ſold in foreign Markets; it is the wiſe Regulations we have made here at home; for we ſeem to have taken Care to prevent its being in their Power to diſpoſe of their Rum at any foreign Market: In the firſt Place, their Rum muſt be all landed in Great Britain, before it can be carried to any foreign Market in Europe; ſo that it muſt be charged with double Freight and double Commiſſion, beſides Porterage, Wharfage, and ſeveral other ſmall Items upon the Importation and Exportation, all which, upon ſuch a cheap and ſuch a bulky Commodity, muſt amount to more than the Value of the prime Coſt: And in the next Place we know that, in order to make Rum palatable, it muſt be kept in a good Cellar for ſeveral Years, now there are but few of our Planters can ſpare to keep their Rum by them, nor would it be proper to keep it in thoſe hot Climates; and yet by obliging our Merchants at home to pay the high Duties upon it ſoon after its landing, we render it impoſſible for moſt of them to keep it 'till it is fit for any Market; or if ſome of them do, the Intereſt of the Duties upon it at home riſes ſo high, that it becomes impoſſible to ſell it to Advantage at any foreign Market. Both theſe Diſadvantages might be very eaſily removed; and when this is done we may perhaps make free with our Home-Conſumption of that Liquor; but 'till then I am convinced, the putting a Stop to our Home-Conſumption,

tion, will be running the Riſk of ruining intirely our Sugar-Colonies. Anno 9 Geo. 1720.

'It is ſaid, Sir, that upon our prohibiting the Retail of Punch, our People will fall naturally into the drinking of Fine Ale, Strong Beer, and Home-made Wines. I wiſh it may be ſo; and I am convinced the putting a Stop to the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, will increaſe the Conſumption of Beer and Ale, tho' this has been denied, or at leaſt much doubted of, by the ſame Gentlemen in a former Debate on this Bill; but as for moſt of our Punch-Drinkers, they are generally the better Sort of our People, and moſt of them will fall into the drinking of foreign Wines, which Conſumption will not be confined to the Wines of Portugal only; for the Spaniſh and Italian Wines will certainly come in for a Share, as well as French Clarets. As for our Home-made Wines, the Uſe of them will never become ſo general as the Uſe of Punch; and unleſs this happens to be the Caſe, our Sugar-Colonies will ſuffer in the Conſumption of their Sugars as well as their Rum.

'I will allow that by prohibiting the Retail of Punch, ſome little Addition will be made to the Conſumption of our Home-made Wines; but I am convinced the chief Addition will be to the foreign Wines, which muſt neceſſarily be a great Diſadvantage to the Nation, tho' it will be a double Advantage to the Civil Liſt; for that Revenue will be conſiderably increaſed by the great Number of new Wine-Licences, that will of Courſe be taken out, every Shilling of the Duties upon which belongs to the Civil Liſt; and it will beſides get a great deal more by the Conſumption of Wine, than it could have ever got by the Conſumption of Rum made into Punch; for as one Bottle of good Rum made into Punch, will go as far as four Bottles of Wine; and as the Civil Liſt gets at leaſt 16 d. by the Conſumption of four Bottles of Wine, and but 9 d. or 10 d. at moſt by one Bottle of Rum made into Punch, the Civil Liſt will be a double Gainer by this Change of Liquors. 'Tis true, a conſiderable Addition has always been made by Adulteration to foreign Wines after they are imported, ſo that we cannot ſuppoſe the Civil Liſt will get 4 d. by every Bottle hereafter to be conſumed: But then if the drinking of Punch be continued, we cannot reckon that the Civil Liſt could get 9 d. or 10 d. by every Bottle of Rum made uſe of, becauſe great Quantities of Punch have always been made of Rum run in without paying Duty; and the Quantity of Punch, made from ſuch Liquors, will always be at leaſt equal to the Quantity added by our Wine-Coopers to foreign Wines after Importation.

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

'The Clauſe now offered is, in my Opinion, Sir, drawn up ſo cautiouſly, that it is impoſſible to make any Handle of it for evading the Law. The Punch, to be retailed by this Clauſe, muſt be mixed with two third Parts Water at leaſt, in the Preſence of the Buyer, and muſt not be retailed in a leſs Quantity than one Pint, or at a leſs Price than after the Rate of 5 s. *per* Gallon: It will therefore be impoſſible to ſell any ſpirituous Liquor under the Name of Punch, unleſs it be mixed with two third Parts Water; and the not allowing it to be ſold at a leſs Price than 5 s. *per* Gallon, or in a leſs Quantity than one Pint, will prevent Tippling as much as poſſible. To pretend that the Fraud cannot be diſcovered, becauſe the Drinkers will always be Parties to the Evaſion, is an Objection that will hold equally ſtrong againſt every Clauſe in the Bill; for the Drinkers muſt be Parties to every Fraud that can be committed, and yet it is to be preſumed, that they will generally be the Informers: Nay, even with Reſpect to the retailing of Gin, it may ſafely be ſold and drank in a private Corner, without any Danger of Diſcovery, unleſs the Drinkers themſelves become Informers.

'The Bill now before us may indeed, Sir, very properly be called an Experiment: It is, I believe, one of the boldeſt Experiments in Politicks that was ever made in a free Country; and ſeems as if intended to try the Submiſſion and Obedience of our People: Even, tho' the Clauſe now propoſed be added, like Saul, it will ruin its Thouſands; but if this Clauſe be not added, like David, it will ruin its ten Thouſands; and if by this Bill our Sugar-Trade ſhould be deſtroyed, it will ruin the whole Nation at laſt. I truly, Sir, make no Queſtion, but that the Bill will be found to ſtand in need of ſome Amendments in the very next Seſſion; I do not know but a great Part of it may then be repealed; but as for that Part of it which relates to the Civil-Liſt, I doubt much if it will ever be in our Power to get it repealed: I am convinced, that before next Seſſion it will be found neceſſary to alter the whole Scheme of this Bill, and to contrive ſome new Method for preventing the exceſſive Uſe of Spirituous Liquors among our common People; but in the mean time Thouſands of our People abroad and at home will be utterly undone: And as ſuch Perſons cannot be recovered, nor receive any Benefit, by thoſe Alterations we may then think proper to make, I am for preventing the ſpreading of this Deſolation as much as poſſible, and therefore am for adding the Clauſe now propoſed.'

Uſe offer'd ding Punch Bill re- ſpirituous rejected.

The Queſtion was then put, Whether the above Clauſe be added to the Bill; which paſs'd in the Negative, by 203 to 98. And then the Bill was ordered to be engroſs'd.

April

20. The Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors was read ime, and paſs'd without a Diviſion; and Sir Charles as ordered to carry it up to the Lords.

The Bill relating to Spirituous Liquors paſs'd, and ſent up to the Lords.

21. The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee up- uakers Bill, when great Alterations were made to uſe; and it was propoſed to leave to every Perſon o Tythes, an Option to ſue for the Recovery of ther before the Juſtices of the Peace, as directed by or before any of his Majeſty's Courts in Weſtmin- But as this ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the Pre- the Bill, and with the Intention of the whole, it ouſly oppoſed; and upon the Queſtion's being put, on a Diviſion carried in the Negative by 202 to 96.

Farther Debate on the Quaker's Bill.

22. The Houſe proceeded on the Hearing of the Pe- mplaining of an undue Election for the County of n which Affair they had ſat every Tueſday and ſince the preſenting of the ſaid Petition, p. 147.) Counſel for the Petitioner Sir Rowland Winn, ſum- heir Evidence; by which they alledged they had d ſeveral Perſons as not being aſſeſſed to the Pub- s, Church Rates, and Pariſh Duties; Others, as Freehold in the Place where they ſwore that their did lie; and of them ſeveral as having no Eſtate at Curates, Schoolmaſters, Pariſh-Clerks, Hoſpital- aſeholders and Copyholders; Others, as not having of the Value of 40 s. *per Annum*; Others, as be- rs; Others, as having purchaſed their Freeholds e Year before the Election; Others, as having enced to vote by Threats; Others, as having voted pe, as being an Alien; and Others, whoſe Votes upon the Poll, though there were no ſuch Perſons the Place where they ſwore their Freeholds did lie, Places where they ſwore that their Abode was: the farther Hearing of the Affair was adjourned th; when it was farther adjourned to the 4th of

Farther Proceedings on the Yorkſhire Election.

9. A Motion being made for an Addreſs of Con- n to the King, on Account of the Nuptials of the Wales with the Princeſs of Saxe-Gotha, to whom Highneſs was married on the 27th, Mr Lyttleton and ſpoke as follows:

Motion for an Addreſs to the King, on the Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

Mr Lyttleton's Speech on that Occaſion.

Speaker,

gh I have nothing to add to what has been ſaid ſo ther Gentlemen, on this happy and agreeable Occa- as I think, that nobody ſhould be ſilent on a Point nobody can be indifferent, I beg to be indulg'd in rds, to declare with how much Pleaſure I concur tion that has been made you: And indeed he muſt

be

Among Gen. Re. 27.

he void of all Affection to the Safety, Peace, and Liberty of his Country, who does not rejoice in the Increaſe of the Royal Family, on the Support and Continuance of which among us all thoſe Bleſſings immediately depend. But, Sir, there is yet another Reaſon for our Joy on this Occaſion, a Reaſon, which every Gentleman that hears me will allow to be a ſtrong one; I mean, a particular Regard to the Happineſs of the Prince, which can no more be ſeparated from our Duty to his Majeſty, than the Intereſts, or Inclinations of ſo good a Father from thoſe of ſo dutiful a Son.

'There may be ſomething in the Dignity of Perſons rais'd very high above the Rank of other Men, which might ſet them at, perhaps, too great a Diſtance from the Love of their Inferiors; and make us often participate no farther in their Pleaſures, or their Pains, than Duty or Intereſt requires: But he, who in a Station thus exalted above the Wants and Miſeries of Mankind, can feel them with the Tenderneſs of an Equal, while he relieves them with the Beneficence of a Superior; whoſe Heart is as open to the Sentiments of Humanity and Benevolence, as his Mind to the Impreſſions of Truth and Juſtice; ſuch a Prince, in all the Incidents of Life, will find every body ſympathiſe with himſelf; his Grief will be a national Affliction, his Joy the Joy of a whole People.

'Sir, It is right and decent, and agreeable to our Inclinations, to aſcribe every Thing that is done for the publick Good to the paternal Cares and Goodneſs of the King: But in this Inſtance it is peculiarly our Duty; for this is a Merit which muſt belong to him alone: In this, none of his Servants can have a Share: The moſt aſſuming Miniſter could lay no claim to it; it is his own Act; to him we are obliged for it, and to him our Acknowledgments are due. He has heard the Wiſhes of his People, who foreſaw the Dangers they were expoſed to, if his Royal Highneſs, by marrying too late in Life, ſhould, according to the ordinary Courſe of Nature, leave an Heir to the Crown in a Minority; a Minority, which is always a State of Weakneſs, Diſtraction, and Oppreſſion; a Minority, the moſt pernicious of all Governments, becauſe it is the Government of Miniſters. It was therefore the general Deſire of every good Engliſhman, that a Marriage ſo neceſſary to the Publick ſhould no longer be delay'd; and his Majeſty has graciouſly been pleaſed to comply with that Deſire: He has remov'd thoſe uneaſy Apprehenſions; and by ſtrengthening, and increaſing the Royal Family, has added a new Security to our Happineſs, and, we may hope, entail'd it on our Poſterity.

'As our Thanks are due to him for the Marriage, they are no leſs ſo for his Choice of a Daughter-in-Law; a Princeſs

ceſs in whom Piety and Virtue are hereditary Qualities: The eminent Merit of whoſe great Anceſtor in the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, which was then in Germany, as it now is in Great Britain, united to the Cauſe of publick Liberty, has been ſo amply ſet forth by other Gentlemen, particularly the honourable Perſon [*Mr Pulteney*] who made this Motion, whoſe great Abilities are moſt equal to this, or any Subject, that nothing is left for me to add, but an ardent Wiſh that the ſame Virtues may revive again with equal Luſtre, and happier Fortune, in her Poſterity. Anno 9 Geo. II. 1736.

For all theſe Reaſons, for many more, more than the Zeal of my Heart can now ſuggeſt to me, more than the Eloquence of others can expreſs, we ought moſt joyfully to congratulate his Majeſty on an Event, which muſt give him the greateſt Pleaſure, becauſe it does ſo to his People, for the Satisfaction of neither can be perfect but when it is reciprocal. Let us therefore join our Thanks to our Felicitations, and let our Unanimity in doing it, refute the Calumnies of thoſe, who dare to inſinuate out of Doors, that Gentlemen who ſometimes differ here from the Meaſures of the Court, differ at all from thoſe whom they oppoſe, I mean the very Beſt of them, in ſincere Attachment to the Government, and affectionate Regard for the Royal Family.'

Mr Lyttleton was ſeconded by Mr William Pitt, as follows: Mr Will. Pitt.

Mr Speaker,

'I am unable to offer any Thing that has not been ſaid by the honourable Perſons, who made you the Motion, in a Manner much more ſuitable to the Dignity and Importance of this great Occaſion: But, Sir, as I am really affected with the Proſpect of the Bleſſings, to be derived to my Country from this ſo deſireable and ſo long deſired Meaſure, the Marriage of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales; I cannot forbear troubling you with a few Words to expreſs my Joy, and to mingle my humble Offering, inconſiderable as it is, with this great Oblation of Thanks and Congratulation to his Majeſty.

'How great ſoever the Joy of the Publick may be, and very great it certainly is, in receiving this Benefit from his Majeſty, it muſt be inferior to that high Satisfaction which he himſelf enjoys in beſtowing it: And if I may be allowed to ſuppoſe, that to a Royal Mind any thing can tranſcend the Pleaſure of gratifying the impatient Wiſhes of a Loyal People, it can only be the paternal Delight of tenderly indulging the moſt dutiful Application, and moſt humble Requeſt of a ſubmiſſive obedient Son. I mention, Sir, his Royal Highneſs's having aſk'd a Marriage, becauſe ſomething is in Juſtice due to him, for having aſked what we are ſo ſtrongly bound, by all the Ties of Duty and of Gratitude,

to

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

to return his Majeſty our moſt humble Acknowledgments for having granted.

'The Marriage of a Prince of Wales, Sir, has at all Times been a Matter of the higheſt Importance to the Publick Welfare, to preſent and to future Generations; but at no Time has it been a more important, a more deſerving Conſideration, than at this Day; if a Character at once amiable and reſpectable, can embelliſh and even dignify the elevated Rank of a Prince of Wales. Were it not a Sort of Preſumption to follow ſo great a Perſon through his Hours of Retirement, to view him in the milder Light of domeſtick Life, we ſhould find him buſy'd in the noble Exerciſes of Humanity, Benevolence, and of every ſocial Virtue. But, Sir, how pleaſing, how captivating ſoever ſuch a View may be, yet, as it is a private one, I fear I ſhould offend the Delicacy of that Virtue I ſo ardently deſire to do Juſtice to, ſhould I offer it to the Conſideration of this Aſſembly. But, Sir, filial Duty to his Royal Parents, a generous Love for Liberty, and a juſt Reverence for the Britiſh Conſtitution; theſe are publick Virtues, and cannot eſcape the Applauſe and Benedictions of the Publick: They are Virtues, Sir, which render his Royal Highneſs not only a noble Ornament, but a firm Support, if any could poſſibly be neceſſary, of that Throne ſo greatly filled by his Royal Father.

'I have been led to ſay thus much of his Royal Highneſs's Character, becauſe it is the Conſideration of that Character which, above all Things, enforces the Juſtice and Goodneſs of his Majeſty in the Meaſure now before you; a Meaſure which the Nation thought could never come too ſoon, becauſe it brings with it the Promiſe of an additional Strength to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in his Majeſty's Illuſtrious and Royal Houſe: The Spirit of Liberty dictated that Succeſſion, the ſame Spirit now rejoices in the Proſpect of its being perpetuated to lateſt Poſterity: It rejoices in the wiſe and happy Choice, which his Majeſty has been pleaſed to make of a Princeſs ſo amiably diſtinguiſhed in herſelf, ſo illuſtrious in the Merit of her Family; the Glory of whoſe great Anceſtor it is, to have ſacrificed himſelf to the nobleſt Cauſe for which a Prince can draw his Sword, the Cauſe of Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion. Such, Sir, is the Marriage, for which our moſt humble Acknowledgments are due to his Majeſty; and may it afford the Comfort of ſeeing the Royal Family (numerous, as I thank God it is) ſtill growing and riſing up in a third Generation; a Family, Sir, which I moſt ſincerely wiſh may be as immortal as thoſe Liberties, and that Conſtitution which it came to maintain; and therefore I am heartily for the Motion.'

After

After which the Motion was unanimouſly agreed to, and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Addreſs accordingly.

April 30. A Motion being made for engroſſing the Quakers Bill, the ſame was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; but the Queſtion being put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 160 to 60.

The Quakers Bill ordered to be engroſſed.

May 3. A Petition of the Clergy of Surrey was preſented to the Houſe, ſetting forth, That ſince they had been heard by their Counſel, in relation to the Quakers Bill, they had been informed of ſeveral new Clauſes that had been inſerted in the ſaid Bill, which they conceived to be prejudicial to the Rights of themſelves and the other Parochial Clergy; and therefore praying to be heard by their Counſel, in relation to the ſaid new Clauſes, before they received the final Aſſent of that Houſe.

Farther Debate on the Quakers Bill.

This Petition was ordered to lie upon the Table, and then the Bill was read the third Time, when ſeveral new Amendments were made to it; and a Motion being made, That the Bill do paſs, the ſame was oppoſed by Mr Talbot [*of Wilts*] Mr Maiſter [*of Cirenceſter*] Sir William Carew, and others, who urg'd, 'That beſides the many material Reaſons which had been given againſt paſſing the Bill, there was one relating to Form, which was unanſwerable; for the Bill, which was firſt brought in, had been ſo thoroughly and ſo entirely alter'd in the Committee, that it could not now be looked on as the ſame Bill; even the very Title of it had been entirely altered in the Committee, and that Bill which was before called, *A Bill to enlarge, amend, and render more effectual the Laws then in being, &c.* was upon the third Reading to be called, *A Bill for the more eaſy Recovery of Tythes, Church Rates, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dues from the People called Quakers*; which they could not but take to be a very improper Title, for in their Opinion it ought to be called, *A Bill for preventing the Recovery of Tythes, or any Eccleſiaſtical Dues, from the People called Quakers.* That by the Bill as it was at firſt brought in, the Juriſdiction of the Juſtices of Peace was to have been confined to Tythes of a certain Value, which was certainly deſigned to be Tythes of a ſmall Value; the Juſtices were to order and direct the Payment, ſo as the Sum ordered did not exceed * * *; but the Committee, by the Bill they had drawn up, which was then read to them, had given the Juſtices an unlimited Juriſdiction where the Title was not in Queſtion. That this was a Power which they thought no Committee upon a Bill could take; they might perhaps have filled up the Blank with any Sum they pleaſed; they might have filled it up with ſuch a large Sum as would have in Effect been the ſame with granting the

Mr Talbot. Mr Maiſter. Sir Will. Carew.

into p. Geo. II. 1736. Juſtices an unlimited Juriſdiction: But they could not grant a general and unlimited Juriſdiction by a Bill which, when it came before them, was a Bill for granting a particular and confined Juriſdiction; and if the granting of ſuch a Juriſdiction was then thought neceſſary, the only Method they could take, according to the eſtabliſhed Forms of that Houſe, was to order the Bill then before them to be withdrawn, and a new Bill to be brought in; in which Caſe, thoſe who thought they might be aggrieved by any Thing in the new Bill, would have an Opportunity of being heard againſt it, which no Man could ever have, if the Method obſerved in paſſing the Bill then before them ſhould become an uſual Practice; for no Man could know whether he was to be injured by a Bill or not, 'till after it had paſſed thro' the Committee, and then it would be too late for him to apply.'

Mr Glanville. Mr Archer. Mr Hampden. To this it was anſwered by Mr Glanville, Mr Archer, and Mr Hampden, 'That the Bill then before them was in Effect the very ſame with the Bill firſt brought in; many of the Clauſes had, indeed, been altered and amended, but the general Scope and Intention of the Bill was the very ſame; and they did not think the Committee had taken any Liberties with the Bill but what were uſual, and ſuch as they were fully intitled to take; for the Reaſon of their granting an unlimited Power to Juſtices of Peace with reſpect to the Value of the Tythe, was becauſe, upon mature Conſideration, they found, that all Actions and Suits for Tythes, where the Title was not controverted, were for ſmall Sums, for Sums much ſmaller than any Sum that was ever intended to be filled up in that Blank; and ſince it was acknowledged, that the Committee might have filled up the Blank with ſuch a large Sum, as would have in effect been the ſame with granting the Juſtices an unlimited Juriſdiction, they could ſee no Reaſon why the Committee might not do directly and in expreſs Terms, that which they might certainly have done in a hidden or indirect Manner.'

Sir John St Aubin. Hereupon Sir John St Aubin ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

'I think that a Bill of this Conſequence, which affects ſo large a Property, ſhould undergo the wiſeſt Scrutiny of thoſe regular Forms, which have hitherto circumſcribed our Proceedings, and guarded our Conſtitution from any ſudden and diſguis'd Attacks: But this Bill, faulty as it was at firſt, after two Readings in the Houſe and Counſel had been ſolemnly heard againſt it, went avowedly into the Committee to be almoſt intirely alter'd: A new Bill, for ſo I may juſtly call this, ariſes out of the Aſhes of the old One, with the ſame fallacious Title indeed, and leſs formidable than before: However,

However, it is ſtill ſuſpected that there are latent Miſchiefs in it, and againſt thoſe, the Parties who are aggrieved, are deprived of an Opportunity of a freſh Defence. I hope therefore, that the learned Gentleman, who could not have been ſo defective in his firſt Enterprize, if new Inconveniencies were not perpetually to be encountered in the Alteration of ſettled Conſtitutions, will at leaſt be ſo candid as to withdraw his Scheme for the preſent, take Time to conſider afreſh, and not hurry a Bill, thus defective in Form and but half underſtood, in the Concluſion of a Seſſion, when many Gentlemen, quite worn out with a cloſe and tedious Attendance, have been forced to retreat. This cannot long retard the great Work of Reformation which is at Hand: The Delay will be but a few Months only: The ſame favourable Tide will continue, and whatever new Schemes, therefore, the learned Gentleman may have ready to produce, I hope he will indulge us in ſo ſhort a Reſpite. But leſt this Bill ſhould paſs, I hope you will permit me to enter my publick Proteſt againſt it, for I am one of thoſe who think it fundamentally wrong. Anno 9 Geo. 1775.

'There is no one more ready than I am, to give all reaſonable Indulgencies to the ſeveral unhappy Sectaries among us; I think, that in Points of Religious Worſhip, Compulſion ought never to be uſed, but Truth is to have the fair Opportunity of Working by its own Force upon the natural Ingenuity of the Mind, and the Supreme Lawgiver has the only Right to interpoſe in ſuch Matters. But human Authority has certainly a ſecondary Power to reſtrain thoſe wild Exceſſes, which under the falſe Colour of Religion would invade the Order and Diſcipline of Civil Society. In this we are all united, and there is one Medium, one common Reſort of our Laws, for the Protection of our reſpective Rights and Privileges. I am very ſorry therefore, that any of the Diſſenters ſhould now ſee Occaſion to complain of their diſtinct Allowances, and that ſtated Meaſure which muſt be preſerved in our civil Union. Let them look upon the Structure of our Conſtitution in general; are the ſeveral Members well proportioned? Have they a mutual Dependence and regular Connection with each other? And is there one Law of Convenience which runs through the Whole? If this be ſo, and the Preheminence is only maintained by a due Subordination of the inferior Parts; if the Building was erected by the moſt able Hands, and when Architecture was at its Height; I am not for inverting the Order of it, in Compliance with the Gothick Fancy of any Pretenders to that Art.

'Thus our Conſtitution at preſent ſtands, and the Laws of Toleration are in this Senſe become a Part of it; they

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

protect, as they certainly ought, the Eſtabliſhed Religion of our Country, and, at the ſame Time, allow a ſeparate Right in Religious Worſhip: Such, only, have not the Advantage of them, who deny the exterior Forms of our Government, whoſe Conſciences are a civil Nuſance, and therefore forfeit the Condition of this Right. What then is it that the Quakers want? Have not all their moſt intemperate Deſires been from Time to Time complyed with? Are they not exempted even from appealing to the great Author of Truth in their legal Teſtimony? But not contented with all this, by a moſt ſtrange Abuſe of the permiſſive Liberty they enjoy, they ſend circular Exhortations to their Brethren to oppoſe the civil Juriſdiction of our Laws; and having thus cherished and ſtrengthened an Obſtinacy, they approach the Legiſlature itſelf with harſh Revilings, unſupported by Evidence, againſt the Clergy of our Eſtabliſhed Church; denying a conſtitutional Right; begging that the legal Remedies may be abated by which it is to be acquired; and unjuſtly complaining of Severities, which, by their repeated Contumacy, they wilfully draw on themſelves; for the Law in its ordinary and natural Courſe will proceed to an Enforcement of its own Decree. Is this that Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, that mild and charitable Diſpoſition, with which they have been ſo largely complimented? Is this Conſcience, in any true Definition of it? No! it is perverſe Humour, a falſe and deluſive Light, an *Ignis Fatuus*, which ariſes from a Degeneracy and Corruption of the Mind. If this is Conſcience, then all thoſe Riots and Tumults, which at any Time oppoſe the Execution of the Law, and the Authority of the Government, may with equal Juſtice lay Claim to ſuch a Conſcience. Tythes are a diſtinct Property from the Inheritance of the Land, and by the Laws of our Conſtitution are applied to certain Purpoſes. They are then of Civil Right, and no matter to whom they belong, tho' I ſhould think that the Maintenance of our Clergy deſerves ſome favourable Share in our Conſiderations.

'No human Wiſdom can at once foreſee the ſufficient Extent of legal Remedies, but they muſt from Time to Time be proportion'd to the Degrees of Obſtinacy with which they are to contend. At the Time of the Revolution, when our Conſtitution was reſettled, and our ſeveral Rights and Privileges confirmed, the former Remedies were found inſufficient, and, therefore, by the 7th and 8th of King William, a new one was created, but the others were ſuffered to ſubſiſt. The Clergy have now their Option which Method to purſue, and I believe they always follow this, unleſs they ſuſpect an unjuſt Partiality. For they want only their Right, and are undoubtedly willing to come at it the cheapeſt

apeſt and moſt effectual Way; ſo that by this Bill, which ges them to repair to the Juſtices in the firſt Inſtance, you ys them nothing but what is already done; but at the e Time give a new Intereſt to the Quaker in being con- ctious: For I apprehend by the Bill, as it now ſtands, the Quakers ſhould not appear, but ſuffer Judgment to by Default, or ſhould appear and not litigate or gain- that there is a Power given to the Juſtices to ſettle the ount of the Tythes, and the Clergy are hereby deprived ny farther Redreſs. It is the Liberty of avoiding the ces, which is ſome ſort of Controul upon their Judica- ; and it is the Force of the ſeveral ſubſiſting Remedies, h obliges many of the Quakers in ſome Shape or other reſent to ſubmit. For it is not the Punctilio of one Gun (as the learned Counſel ſaid) which the Garriſon wants; when Men are obliged to ſurrender there is no Diſhonour ing it: But they have got unjuſt Poſſeſſion, and would you withdraw your Forces, that they may ſtrengthen Fortification, and make it capable of a ſtouter Reſiſtance. I think the Compariſon has been inverted; that Party Poſſeſſion who have a juſt Title, and they only deſire keep what they have, without extending their Territo- ; and it would be extremely unjuſt to pull down their ces, upon an idle Report that the Enemy would take no antage of it.

As to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the Quakers have been d to produce any Inſtances of their being much troubled ; and indeed they are exceedingly few: Every Thing e Courſe of Time will degenerate from its original In- tion, and undoubtedly there are many Abuſes crept into Courts, which may deſerve our Attention; but then proceed upon fairer Inquiries, and with a Diſpoſition form and not to deſtroy. Theſe Courts, from the ear- Days of our Conſtitution, have had Cognizance of ; and if the chief Argument againſt them is drawn their Defect of Power in giving Redreſs, I am rather plying the Defect, than that their Authority herein be wholly reſcinded.

I would not be thought, by any thing I have ſaid, to be tending the Power of the Clergy; I am for keeping as well as all other Power, within its due Bounds. But, , the Clergy are not to be the only Men in the World, when they are aſſaulted, have not a Liberty to com- , and to fly to this Aſylum for their neceſſary Defence; this is all they now do, and it is very unfair to be induſtriouſly for particular Inſtances of Blame; and chance to take Occaſion of caſting an Odium upon the Function. Thoſe frightful Ideas, therefore, of

Church

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Church Power, upon which ſo many Changes rung of late, I take to be very unneceſſary at this is now at a very low Ebb, and it is very well if its juſt Ground.

'The Miſchief which is growing up is of an and our Liberties are no longer in Danger from which is founded in Religious Pretences; the erected Batteries all round our Conſtitution; Church is the weakeſt Part, it is thought very ad begin the Attack there; and if it ſucceeds, the mount the Breach, and take Poſſeſſion of the who may learn from the fatal Experience of form that Monarchy can only ſubſiſt upon the Und fence of our Civil and Religious Rights. We all Conſtitution, it is highly neceſſary therefore tha are ſincere Lovers of that, ſhould well know, and protect each other; and that the Clergy ſhould wi der, that, as at all Times we are ready to oppo faults upon their Quarter, ſo they are under th Obligations, in the Day of our Need, not to with Aſſiſtance from us in Points of Civil Liberty; that ſhould be their fatal Miſtake, and our Hands by weakened, they will undoubtedly bring their bliſhment into the moſt imminent Danger.

'I ſhall ſay no more, but that I ſhall at all Ti any Innovations, becauſe I think them extremely let us rather guard againſt the intemperate Follies, ry, the Venality and Irreligion of the Age, wh been long gathering like a dark Thunder-Cloud in God only knows how ſoon it may burſt, but w happens, and I fear the Day is at no great Diſtan certainly fall moſt heavily upon us; I am therefor ing up our common Shelters, that we may be pr well as poſſible, againſt this great and impending

The Quakers Bill paſs'd.

Then the Queſtion being put for paſſing the carried in the Affirmative, by 164 to 48, and M was order'd to carry the Bill to the Lords, and Concurrence.

Debate on a Bill for preventing Smuggling.

May 3. Sir Charles Turner preſented to the Bill, *For indemnifying Perſons, who have been g lawfully importing Goods and Merchandize into thi upon the Terms therein mentioned, and for in Laws againſt ſuch Importation for the future*; an was then read the firſt Time, and ordered to be cond Time.

May 4. The ſaid Bill was read a ſecond Time, tion being made for committing the ſame, it was ſeveral Members, who urg'd, 'That it was very

ſee ſuch a Petition followed by ſuch a Bill; The [See p. 160.] was from many Merchants and Shop- complaining of too high a Duty upon a certain Merchandize, and of the Hardſhips they were ſub- by the Laws lately made for collecting that Duty: the Foundation of that Petition, a Bill had been in, which no way diminiſhed the Duty, and inſtead ving the Merchants from any of the Hardſhips they fore expoſed to, laid them under many new Hard- and ſuch as they thought inconſiſtent with the Liberties People: That this was a Method of Proceeding, by the Subject would be terrified from ever making an ation to Parliament, for being relieved againſt thoſe ces they thought they had Reaſon to complain of; Man would ever apply to Parliament for Relief, if d have the leaſt Suſpicion that his Caſe might be more intolerable by ſuch Application.' Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

this it was anſwer'd by Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Ozenden, and Sir William Yonge, 'That the fre- practice of Smuggling was the Grievance which the chiefly complained of; therefore any effectual for preventing that Grievance, was a proper Conſe- of ſuch a Petition: That the Duties complained of, engaged for the Payment of old Debts, or for the of the Government, and could not therefore be , without replacing them by eſtabliſhing ſome new , which could not then be done: And that none of the ties to be inflicted by that Bill, could be any Hardſhip fair Traders, but only upon Smugglers, and the more ties they were expoſed to, the better it would be for Trader.' Sir R. Walpole. Sir G. Ozenden. Sir W. Yonge.

ſome Members objected to a Clauſe in the Bill, by it was enacted, 'That any Ship, not exceeding the of 100 Tons, ſhall be forfeited, if ſhe take in another Veſſel at Sea, within four Leagues of the Coaſts, any Foreign Goods, Wares, or Merchan- , without Payment of the Cuſtoms, unleſs in caſe of rent Neceſſity:' And to another Clauſe by which it acted, 'That all Goods found concealed in any Ship Veſſel, at any Time after the Maſter thereof ſhall have his Report at the Cuſtom-houſe, and which ſhall not comprized or mentioned in the ſaid Report, ſhall be feited.' With regard to the firſt Clauſe, it was ſaid, it would be a moſt terrible Hardſhip upon the Owners Ship, to make them forfeit their Ship, only be- of the Captain's, or perhaps ſome of the Sailors, a Pound of Tea, or an Anchor of Brandy, Rum, wack, from on board another Ship they accidentally Farther Objections to the Bill.

met

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

met with at Sea: That in Penal Laws great Care ought always to be taken, not to ſubject any Man to a Penalty or Forfeiture, except ſuch as were really guilty; but by that Clauſe the Owners of a Ship were to be ſubjected to a great Forfeiture, tho' they neither were, nor could be any way guilty of, or ſo much as privy to, the Crime for which that Forfeiture was inflicted: That the Hardſhip upon them was the greater, becauſe it would be impoſſible for them to guard againſt it; for every one knew, that, for the moſt Part, the Command of Merchant Ships was given to Perſons who had no Fortunes of their own, and therefore could not make good to the Owners the Damage they might ſuſtain by the Forfeiture of their Ship: That the Owners of Ships never looked for any Thing more in a Maſter, but the Character of an honeſt careful Man, and an expert Sailor; but in this Caſe, neither of theſe Qualities could be a Safegard to the Owners, becauſe their Ship might be forfeited and loſt by the Knavery, perhaps by the Treachery, of any common Sailor on board, without any Fault in the Maſter: That the Eſtates veſted in Shipping were already liable to ſo many Penalties and Forfeitures by our Cuſtom-houſe Laws, and were ſubject to ſo many Dangers from other Accidents; and the Employing of any Eſtate in that Way was in itſelf of ſo little Advantage to the Owner, that many Gentlemen had already withdrawn their Fortunes from that Branch of Trade: That if that Clauſe ſhould paſs into a Law, no Man, who had a Regard to his Family, would employ or continue any Part of his Eſtate in that Branch; which would certainly be a great Diſadvantage to our Shipping, and a great Diſcouragement to our Seamen.

'As to the other Clauſe it was alledg'd, That a Merchant might thereby forfeit a valuable Parcel of Goods, by the meer Negligence or Forgetfulneſs of the Maſter of a Ship, whom he had never known or entruſted; and that without its being poſſible for him, by the utmoſt Care and Diligence, to prevent ſuch a Forfeiture; becauſe the Goods might be forfeited before it was poſſible for him to hear of the Arrival of the Ship, or to know that he had ſuch a Parcel of Goods on board ſuch a Ship; for the Maſter always made his Report immediately upon his Arrival, and before he had Time or Opportunity to rummage his Ship, or to ſend to any of the Merchants to come and take Care of their Goods; and as Maſters are generally in a great Hurry at their getting in, when ſmall Parcels of fine Goods are uſually put on board, a Maſter might very probably forget to mention ſome of them in his Report, which by this Clauſe would occaſion a Forfeiture, ſuch Goods being always lodged in Places that would be called concealed; where-the

Law

Law then ſtood, if the Maſter upon rummaging and ſearching his Ship, which every Maſter did before Clearing, or if the Merchant upon hearing of the Ship's Arrival, or receiving Advice of his having ſuch a Parcel of Goods on board, ſhould come to look after his Goods, tho' they had been forgot in the Report, a Poſt-entry might be made, by which all Forfeitures and Penalties would be prevented. That they thought this Bill would be a new Hardſhip upon Merchants, and a new Diſcouragement to Trade, which was before, by our late Statutes relating to the Cuſtoms, ſubjected to ſo great an Expence, and ſo many Difficulties, that it was impoſſible for our Merchants to carry it on at ſo eaſy a Rate as our Neighbours, which was the true Cauſe of our being under-ſold by Foreigners in all Markets of Europe.'

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To this it was anſwered by the Advocates for the Bill, 'That all theſe Hardſhips and Dangers might eaſily be prevented by the Care of Maſters of Ships: That Owners or Merchants who intruſted their Ships or Goods to idle careleſs Men, were certainly in ſome Fault, and therefore deſerved to ſuffer if there were no Neceſſity for making them do ſo: But that in the Caſes then before them, it was abſolutely neceſſary to lay ſome Part of the Penalty upon them, for the very Reaſon that had been given againſt it; becauſe the Maſters imployed by them were often ſo poor, that it was impoſſible to recover any Penalties from them. That with reſpect to the Forfeiture of Ships, as the Clauſe was amended, and confined to Ships not exceeding 100 Tons, it could not much regard any Branch of our foreign Trade, it would chiefly regard our Coaſting Veſſels, and our Holland and French trading Sloops, many of which, they were afraid, were chiefly imployed in Smuggling. That they ſhould be ſorry if any Perſon ſuffered thro' a meer Overſight; but if they gave by Law too great, or, indeed, any Indulgence to Overſights, fraudulent Deſigns would always be cloaked under pretended Overſights, and therefore it was neceſſary to make the Law ſevere, tho' in the Execution of that Law, ſome Indulgence might be ſhewn in any Caſe which appeared clearly to thoſe who had the Execution of the Law, to be but an Overſight. That we had many Cuſtoms and Duties upon Goods imported, and the Laws for collecting them might probably ſubject our Merchants to ſome Inconveniencies, and to ſome Expence; but there was no Country in the World where their Trade was free from Cuſtoms and Duties: That they believed the Merchants of this Kingdom were ſubjected to no greater Inconvenience or Expence on that Account, than the Merchants of our neighbouring Countries; ſo that if Foreigners under-ſold us in *any Market, ſome other Reaſon* was to be aſſigned for their

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ſo doing, and when that Reaſon was aſſigned, if it was poſſible to remove it, they would join in any Meaſure that could be propoſed for that Purpoſe.'

The Bill againſt Smuggling committed.

This Debate being over, the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe.

The ſame Day the Houſe reſum'd the Conſideration of the conteſted Election for the County of York, and after the Counſel for the ſitting Member were heard, who alledged that they would ſoon ſhew, that moſt of the Objections made to their Voters were either falſe or frivolous, and that they would effectually diſqualify a much greater Number of the Voters for Sir Rowland Winn, the Petitioner, than he, or the other Petitioners had pretended to diſqualify of theirs, the Matter was adjourn'd to the 11th, on which Day no Notice being taken of the Affair it was intirely dropt.

The Yorkſhire Petition dropt.

May 11. A Motion was made by Mr Henry Arthur Herbert, for Leave to bring in a Bill, to explain and amend ſo much of an Act made in the ſecond Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign, intitled, *An Act for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament*, as relates to the commencing and carrying on of Proſecutions grounded upon the ſaid Act; which was accordingly granted, and the ſaid Mr Herbert, Mr Richard Lloyd, Mr Knight and Mr More, were ordered to prepare and bring in the ſame: Accordingly a Bill for that Purpoſe was preſented to the Houſe the ſame Day, and read a firſt Time.

Debate on a Bill for explaining the Bribery-Act.

The Reaſon aſſigned for bringing in this Bill was, That by a Clauſe in the above Act it is enacted, 'That no Perſon ſhall be made liable to any Incapacity or Penalty by the ſaid Act impoſed, unleſs Proſecution be commenced within two Years after the Crime committed, nor in Caſe of Proſecution within that Time, unleſs the ſame be carried on without wilful Delay:' But this Limitation was not ſufficiently full and explicit, becauſe the ſuing out of an Original was a Commencement of a Proſecution, which might be done without letting the Party proſecuted know that any ſuch Proſecution was commenced; and the Limitation being ſaved by the ſuing out an Original in this private Manner, Proſecutions upon that Act might be depending privately againſt Men for many Years after the ſuppoſed Offence, which would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, and therefore it was neceſſary to bring in a ſhort Bill for explaining and amending that Clauſe, ſo as to make it neceſſary to give the Party proſecuted Notice of the Proſecution within the two Years.

After

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After the ſecond Reading of this Bill the next Day, Sir John Hind Cotton, took Notice, 'That upon a ſerious Attention to that Bill, he was not at all ſurprized to ſee it brought in ſo late in the Seſſion, and paſſed in ſuch a Hurry; for as it was drawn up with a Retroſpect, it was really an Act of Indemnity for almoſt all the Bribery and Corruption Men might have been guilty of at the laſt general Elections for Members of Parliament, and might very probably be an Injury to ſeveral private Men, who had already done all that was made neceſſary by that Act for intitling themſelves to carry on Proſecutions againſt Offenders; for as the two Years ſince the former Election were then juſt expiring, if a Gentleman had juſt ſued out forty Originals againſt forty different Offenders, and had thereby intitled himſelf to proceed againſt them at his own Conveniency, he would be intirely diſappointed, and loſe the whole Expence he had been at; becauſe the two Years would very probably be expired before he could hear of this Act, and then it would by this new Act be paſt the Time for ſerving even thoſe very Originals, which he had regularly ſued out in the Terms of the former Act; therefore he hoped the Committee would amend the Bill, ſo as to prevent its having a Retroſpect, or doing an Injury to any Gentleman who had been guilty of no wilful Delay or Omiſſion, as the Law then ſtood; for it was very probable that a great Number of Originals had been ſued out, but not ſerved or proſecuted, becauſe the Proſecutors would in common Prudence wait 'till a few Caſes of the ſame Nature had been determined, in order that they might from thence learn how to proceed.' Sir J. H. Cotton.

To this it was anſwered by Mr Lloyd and Mr More: 'That whatever Lawyers might mean by a Proſecution commenced, the Meaning of the Legiſlature when that Law paſſed, certainly was, That no Proſecution ſhould be underſtood to be commenced, unleſs the Perſon proſecuted had Notice of it, within the Time limited, by an Arreſt, Summons, or ſome other legal Method; and as this was the Meaning of the Legiſlature, they believed moſt Gentlemen had taken it in that Senſe, for they had never heard of any Proſecutions commenced in the other Manner, nor could any Gentleman in that Houſe give an Inſtance where a Proſecutor had ſued out a Number of Originals without ſummoning or arreſting the Perſons againſt whom they were ſued out; from whence it was to be preſumed, that if there were any ſuch Inſtances, they were ſo rare as not to deſerve the Notice of that Houſe.' Mr Lloyd. Mr More.

Then the Bill was agreed to without any Amendment, and being read a third Time on the 14th of May, paſſed without Oppoſition. The ſaid Bill paſſed.

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The Bill againſt ſmuggling read a third Time and ſent up to the Lords. Debate on an Amendment made by the Lords.

May 14. The Bill againſt Smuggling was read the third Time, and a Motion being made that the Bill do paſs, the ſame was oppoſed by ſome Members; but the Queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the Affirmative by 88 againſt 39, and * Mr Willes was ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and deſire their Concurrence.

May 20. The ſaid Bill was returned to the Houſe of Commons, when they took into Conſideration an Amendment made by the Lords; and the ſaid Amendment being twice read, Mr Speaker acquainted the Houſe, 'That when any Thing occurred which might any Way look like an Incroachment upon the Privileges of that Houſe, he thought it was his Duty to lay the Caſe impartially before them, and then to leave the Houſe to do in it as they ſhould think fit: That in all Bills by which any Tax or Duty was to be impoſed upon the Subject, it was the undoubted Privilege of that Houſe, and they had always inſiſted upon it, that the other Houſe ſhould not make any the leaſt Amendment to any ſuch Bill; but were in all ſuch Caſes either to paſs the Bill without any Amendment, or to reject it if they thought fit: That as the Taxes and Duties granted by that Houſe, could not be raiſed or collected without preſcribing proper and effectual Methods for that Purpoſe, therefore in all Bills for impoſing any Tax or Duty upon the Subject, certain Methods had been preſcribed for effectually raiſing that Tax or Duty; and if the Methods preſcribed ſhould afterwards by Experience be found ineffectual, new Methods had always been contrived, and proper Bills paſſed for eſtabliſhing thoſe new Methods; which laſt Sort of Bills had generally been looked on as Appendixes to the firſt Bill by which the Tax or Duty was granted; therefore ſuch Bills were looked upon as Bills of the ſame Nature with the firſt, and conſequently that Houſe had generally inſiſted upon it, that the other Houſe could not make any Amendment to this laſt Sort of Bills, no more than they could have done to the Bill by which the Tax or Duty was granted: That as the Bill then before them was for enforcing the Laws made for ſecuring the Revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſe, it was properly to be conſidered as an Appendix to the Laws by which thoſe Revenues were originally eſtabliſhed; and as the other Houſe had made an Amendment to it, he did not know but their making an Amendment to ſuch a Bill, might be looked on as ſome ſort of Incroachment upon the Privileges of that Houſe; for which Reaſon he thought it his Duty to ſtate the Caſe to them, before they proceeded to take the Amendment into their Conſideration. That he had ſearched the

* *Attorney General.*

Journals

s of the Houſe for Caſes of the ſame Nature, and read ſuch of them as he thought moſt applicable to e then before them.'

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n this ſeveral Journals of the Houſe were read, re- n Amendments made by the Lords to Money-Bills, i of the ſame Nature: The reading theſe Journals oc- d a Debate in the Houſe in relation to their Privilege: laſt the Queſtion was put for agreeing to the Amend- which was carried in the Affirmative; and Mr Willes dered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint That the Houſe had agreed to the Amendment.

Which is agreed to and the Bill paſſed.

: ſame Day the King came to the Houſe of Peers; e Commons attending, his Majeſty put an End to the with the following Speech.

ſy Lords and Gentlemen,

HE Diſpatch you have given to the Publick Buſi- neſs, and the advanced Seaſon of the Year, make per to put an End to this Seſſion of Parliament.

The King's Speech at putting an End to the Second Seſſion.

acquainted you, at your firſt Meeting, that Prelimi- Articles had been concluded between the Emperor the moſt Chriſtian King; ſince which Time, a far- Convention, concerning the Execution of them, hath n made, and communicated to Me, by both thoſe rts, and Negociations are carrying on, by the ſeveral ers engaged in the late War, in order to ſettle the eral Pacification.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my Thanks for the Proviſions you have e for the Service of the current Year; you can never er recommend yourſelves to my Eſteem, and to the d Opinion of thoſe you repreſent, than by raiſing the plies neceſſary for the Support of my Government, and the Service of the Publick, in a Manner the moſt eſ- al, and the leaſt burthenſome to my People.

ſy Lords and Gentlemen,

t is a great Concern to Me, to ſee ſuch Seeds of Diſſen- ſown among my good People, as, if not timely pre- ed, may prove very prejudicial to the Peace and Quiet ny Kingdoms; it is my Deſire, and ſhall be my Care, preſerve the preſent Conſtitution in Church and State, y Law eſtabliſhed, perfect and entire, and not to coun- nce any Attempts to the Prejudice of either. Good mony, and mutual Affection, among all the Proteſtants is Nation, have been the great Security of the pre- happy Eſtabliſhment, from the Revolution to this e; by this united Strength they will be able to reſiſt

" the

Anno 9. Geo. II. 1736.

" the ſecret and open Attempts of its common E
" but divided, they may become a Prey to them.
" tection ſhall be impartially diſpenſed to all my Su
" the full Enjoyment of their Religious and Civil R
" it be your Care, by your Conduct, in your ſeve
" ons, to make my Endeavours for your commo
" neſs effectual.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It being neceſſary for Me to viſit my Dom
" Germany again this Year, I have reſolved to ap
" Queen Regent here, during my Abſence. The
" ence you have already had of Her juſt and pru
" miniſtration, will, I doubt not, engage you all,
" the Weight of the Publick Affairs as eaſy to Her
" wiſe Conduct will render the Government agr
" you; and this I recommend to you in a particu
" ner.

The Parliament prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's C
prorogued the Parliament to the 29th of July: T
afterwards farther prorogued to the 1ſt of Februar

SPEEC

NUTES, *&c. of the* THIRD SES-ION, *by way of* Introduction *to, and* Il-ſtration *of, the* DEBATES, *which llow, to the End of the ſaid Seſſion.*

ies of the Proceedings of the Committee on the Supply and Ways and Means.

H E Houſe having reſolved, on Feb. 2. that they would next Morning take into Conſideration the Speech of ords Commiſſioners, appointed by his Majeſty for g that Parliament, to both Houſes of Parliament, they ingly proceeded next Day to take the ſaid Speech into eration; and the ſame being again read by Mr. Speak-lotion was made, That a Supply ſhould be granted to ajeſty; whereupon 'twas reſolved, that the Houſe the next Morning reſolve itſelf into a Committee of hole Houſe, to conſider of the ſaid Motion.

as the Committee of Supply was eſtabliſhed in the uſual , and as that Committee is in every Seſſion one of the Committees, we ſhall give the Hiſtory of it during laſt , before we give an Account of any of the Debates that ed in it; in order that our Readers may have at once, it were at one View, all the Reſolutions agreed to in e.

the 4th, the Order of the Day being read, for the to reſolve itſelf into the ſaid Committee, the ſaid of the Lords Commiſſioners was ordered to be refer-the ſame; and the Houſe having then reſolved itſelf e ſaid Committee, they reſolved, That it was the Opi-f that Committee, that a Supply ſhould be granted to his y; which was on the Monday following reported and to by the Houſe *Nemine Contradicente*.

the 9th, the Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, and came to the following tions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the vis.

t ten thouſand Men ſhould be employed for the Sea-for the Year 1737, beginning from Jan. 1. 1736:

That

17,704 Men, Commiſſion and Non-commiſſi
cluded: That a Sum not exceeding 647,54
ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defrayin
of the ſaid 17,704 Men: That a Sum not exceed
6*s*. 5*d*. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for m
Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the Plantati
and Gibraltar, and for Proviſions for the Gar
polis Royal, Canſo, Placentia, and Gibraltar,
1737. See page 239.

(Page 341) On the 28th, the ſaid Committ
following Reſolutions, which were reported, an
by the Houſe, viz That a Sum, not exceedin
3*d*. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for the
Office of Ordnance for Land Service, for th
That a Sum not exceeding 604*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*. ſho
to his Majeſty, for defraying the extraordina
the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, and
for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceedin
6*d*. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, to make
ficiency of the Grants, for the Service of th
That a Sum, not exceeding 10,043*l*. 3*s*. 10*d*. ſh
ed to his Majeſty, to replace, to the Sinking
Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the
the additional Stamp Duties at Chriſtmas, 173
a Clauſe in an Act of Parliament paſſed in the
Majeſty's Reign, for raiſing 1,200,000*l*. by A
Lottery for the Service of the Year 1731: Th
exceeding 42,187*l*. 10*s*. ſhould be granted to h
Account of the Subſidy payable to the King of
ſuant to the Treaty bearing Date Sept. 10.

ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, for Out-Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, for the Year 1733: That a Sum, not exceeding 56,413*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying ſeveral extraordinary Services and Expences, incurred in the Years 1735 and 1736, and not provided for by Parliament: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hoſpital at Greenwich.

On the 9th, the Houſe reſolv'd itſelf again into the ſaid Committee, and made ſome Progreſs; and on the 11th, being again in the ſaid Committee, they came to the following Reſolution, which was reported, and agreed to by the Houſe, viz. That the Sum of one Million ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the South-Sea Company, as is now commonly called Old South-Sea Annuities. See page 341.

On the 19th, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, viz. That a Sum, not exceeding 20,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards ſettling and ſecuring the Colony of Georgia in America: That a Sum, not exceeding 10,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, to be applied towards the Maintenance of the Britiſh Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African Company of England, on the Coaſt of Africa: That the Sum of 4000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards repairing and finiſhing the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's Weſtminſter: That a Sum, not exceeding 44,685*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* ſhall be granted to his Majeſty, upon Account, for reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 3945*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for paying of Penſions to the Widows of ſuch reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Land Forces and Marines, as died upon the Eſtabliſhment of Half-Pay in Great-Britain, and who were married to them before Dec. 25, 1716, for the Year 1737: That a Sum, not exceeding 50,000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards the Rebuilding and Repairing the Ships of the Royal Navy, for the Year 1737.

This was the laſt Time of the ſaid Committee's Sitting, and by the above-mentioned Reſolutions it appears, that the total Sum granted by this laſt Seſſion of Parliament amounts to 2,025,172*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* beſides the Million granted for redeeming ſo much of the South-Sea Capital.

As ſoon as the Houſe had agreed to the three Reſolutions of the Committee of the Supply, firſt above-mentioned, relating to the Seamen and Navy, which was on Thurſday, Feb. 10, they reſolved, that they would next Morning reſolve themſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider

of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty; and accordingly, next Day the Houſe reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, in which they reſolved, That it was their Opinion, that towards the Supply granted to his Majeſty, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, which, by an Act of Parliament of the 9th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, had Continuance to June 24, 1737, ſhould be further continued, and charged upon Malt which ſhould be made, and all Mum which ſhould be made or imported, and all Cyder and Perry which ſhould be made for Sale, within the Kingdom of Great Britain, from June 23, 1737, to June 24, 1738. Which Reſolution was, according to Order, reported to the Houſe the next Day, and agreed to.

The ſaid Committee was by Order continued from Time to Time, without ſitting, till Monday March 14, when the Houſe reſolved itſelf again into this Committee, and came to the following Reſolution, which was reported and agreed to by the Houſe, viz. That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, the Sum of 2s. in the Pound, and no more, ſhould be raiſed in the Year 1737, upon Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Penſions, Offices, and perſonal Eſtates, in that Part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportional Ceſs, according to the 9th Article of the Treaty of Union, ſhould be laid upon that Part of Great Britain called Scotland.

On the 18th, the ſaid Committee came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and agreed to by the Houſe, but with ſome Amendments to the third, as be.ow-men ioned, viz. That the Duty of 36s. a Barrel on Sweets (See page 480) granted by an Act of the 5th Year of her late Majeſty Queen Anne, for the Term of 96 Years, and ſince made perpetual, ſhould from and after June 24, 1737, ceaſe and determine. That there ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for every Barrel of Sweets made for Sale, from and after June 24, 1737, the Sum of 12s. the ſaid Duties to be paid by the Maker and Makers of the ſaid Sweets, and ſo in Proportion of greater or leſſer Quantities. That the Allowance of 5s. per Barrel on Britiſh made Gun-powder exported, granted by an Act of the 4th Year of his preſent Majeſty's Reign which was to expire the End of that Seſſion of Parliament, ſhould be further continued for ſeven Years. That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, a Duty of 2s. per Buſhel ſhould be laid upon all Apples, which at any Time or Times, from and after June 24, 1737, ſhould be imported and brought into the Kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all Cuſtoms, Subſidies and Duties before impoſed thereon. The Third Reſolution as amended and agreed to by the Houſe was as follows, viz. That the Allowance

. 6*d.* per Barrel on Britiſh-made Gunpowder export-
ed by an Act of the 4th Year of his preſent Majeſ-
n, which was to expire the End of that Seſſion of
t, ſhould be further continued for ſeven Years.
e ſaid March 18, the Order of this Committee was
from Time to Time, 'till Friday, May 6, when
e reſolved itſelf again into the ſaid Committee, and
he following Reſolutions, which were reported to
e on the Monday following, and were as follow,
t 'twas the Opinion of that Committee, that, towards
e Supply granted to his Majeſty, there ſhould be if-
applied the Sum of one Million out of ſuch Monies
iſen, or ſhould or might ariſe of the Surpluſſes, Ex-
Over-plus Monies, commonly called the Sinking
That, for the Encouragement of the Paper Manufac-
is Kingdom, there ſhould not be allowed any Draw-
Repayment of Cuſtoms charged upon foreign Paper,
ould be imported into Great Britain, upon the Ex-
thereof. That, towards raiſing the Supply granted
ajeſty, a further Duty of 9*d.* per Buſhel ſhould be laid
Oyſters imported into Great Britain. Of theſe three
ons the firſt and ſecond were agreed to by the Houſe;
hird was re-committed.
e 17th, the ſaid Committee came to the following
ons, which were reported, and agreed to by the
iz. That the ſeveral Rates and Duties then payable
eign Oyſters imported into this Kingdom, ſhould
after June 24, 1737, ceaſe and determine. That a
7*d.* per Buſhel Strike-Meaſure of the Wincheſter
ſhel, ſhould be laid upon all foreign Oyſters imported
Kingdom, in lieu of all other Rates before impoſed

was the laſt Time of the ſaid Committee's Sitting, and
eir Reſolutions it appears, that the Ways and Means
d for raiſing the Supply for the preſent Year, were (be-
e Million granted out of the Sinking Fund) the Malt
hich is generally ſuppoſed to produce near 700,000*l.*
and the Land-Tax, which, at 2*s.* in the Pound, pro-
ear a Million; and for making good the Deficiency,
jeſty was enabled to borrow any Sum or Sums of Mo-
on the Credit of the Duties laid on Sweets, not ex-
500,000*l.* at an Intereſt of 3 per Cent per Annum.

oſal towards lowering the Intereſt of all the redeem-
National Debts to 3 per Cent. per Ann. and thereby
able the Parliament to give immediate Eaſe to his
eſty's Subjects, by taking off ſome of the Taxes which
moſt burdenſome to the Poor, and eſpecially to the

Manufacturers. As likewiſe to give Eaſe to the People, by leſſening the Annual Taxes for the current Service of Year, viz.

A Propoſal for lowering the Intereſt of the public Debts.

THAT an Offer be made to the Proprietors of the South-Sea Annuities, as well old as new, at ſuch Times as the Transfer Books ſhall be ſhut, in the following manner, viz.

That all Perſons be at Liberty to make their Option for the whole, or any part of their Capital, of one or more of the Particulars under-mentioned; for which Purpoſe, Books to be laid open at the South-Sea Houſe, viz.

All who deſire to be paid their Money, to enter their Names and Sums in one Book.

Thoſe who ſhall chuſe to have Annuities for certain Terms of Years, and the Capital to be annihilated, may ſubſcribe in particular Books for that Purpoſe, at the following Rates: For 47 Years, at 4 per Cent. per Ann. 31 Years, at 5. 23 Years, at 6. 19 Years, at 7. 16 Years, at 8. 13 Years, at 9. 12 Years, at 10.

That the Proprietors of ſo much of the Capital as ſhall not be claim'd in Money, nor ſubſcribed into ſome of the Annuities for Terms of Years, ſhall, for the future, be entitled to the Annuity of 3 per Cent. per Ann. only.

And, for the Encouragement of the Annuitants to accept of 3 per Cent. per Ann. it is propoſed, That they be not ſubject to Redemption or Diminution of their Annuities for the Term of fourteen Years.

And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years be tranſferable at the South-Sea Houſe, without any Charge; as well as the Annuities, which ſhall be continued at 3 per Cent. per Ann.

And that all the Annuities for Terms of Years commence from the Determination of the Annuities of 4 per Cent. without any loſs of Time.

'Tis apprehended, that this Offer will be more beneficial to the Proprietors, than the remaining in their preſent Situation, and receiving a Million at a time, to be divided alternately between the old and new Annuities, which muſt affect them in a very high manner, as it tends generally to reduce their Capital, by continually laying out the Money paid off in new Annuities at advanced Prices.

If the Parliament ſhould be willing to indulge any Perſons, not being Foreigners, who may be advanced in Years, with Annuities for Term of Life; the following Rates are ſubmitted to the Conſideration of Gentlemen who have turned their Thoughts to this Subject, viz. Perſons 44 Years old or upward, 7 per Cent. for Life. 53 —— 8. 59 —— 9. 63 —— 10.

If

ſe Rates for Lives, or any other Rates, ſhould be convenient to be offered.

hen propoſed, that the old and new Annuitants be to ſubſcribe any Part of their Capital, they being e Limitation of Years above expreſſed.

hat none of the Propoſals foregoing, be made for oney; becauſe it is reaſonable, that the preſent Cre- uld have the Preference in any advantageous Offer the Parliament, as this is apprehended to be, ſince ay be raiſed at 3 per Cent. per Ann. with a Liberty ing the ſame at Pleaſure. See the Debate founded ropoſal, page 382.

21. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and Royal Aſſent to (1) The Mutiny Bill. (2) To an act a Duty of Two-Pence Scots upon every Pint of eer vended within the Town of Dunbar, to be ap- the Uſe of the ſaid Town, for neceſſary Buildings irs, and to three private Bills.

22. His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and Royal Aſſent to the following Bills: 1. For granting his Majeſty by a Land-Tax. 2. To make perpetual Geo. II. to prevent the infamous Practice of Stock- 3. For the better repairing and paving the High- reets and Water-Courſes, and for enlightening the nes and Paſſages, and better regulating the Nightly within the City of Saliſbury. 4. For enlarging the repairing ſeveral Roads leading to the City of r, and for reducing the Toll on Sheep and Lambs id Act. 5. For making more effectual two Acts ring the Highways from Old Stratford in North- ire, to Dunchurch, Warwickſhire. 6. To raiſe discharge the Debts incurred on account of Build- al and Court Rooms, for the Uſe of the County of 7. For continuing a Duty of Two-pennies Scots on t of Ale ſold within the Town of Dumfreis, for a Church and making a Harbour there; and for lay- y on the Tonnage of Shipping, &c. for the better of the ſaid Harbour. 8. For making navigable Brook, from Worſley-Mill in Lancaſhire, to the River the ſaid County. And to 10 Private Bills.

Royal Aſſent given to ſeve- ral Bills.

emarkable that in the Land-Tax Bill above-men- Clauſe was fraudulently ſlipp'd in to exempt the Wales from paying the Sixpence in the Pound, call'd Money, which amounted to upwards of 1000*l.*

Clauſe ſlipt into the Land- Tax Bill.

he ſame Day the Bill was paſs'd, a Motion was made nquiry, by what Order or Authority his Royal the Prince of Wales was, by a Clauſe in the Land-

A Motion to enquire by what Autho- rity.

Land-Tax Bill, exempted from paying any Fees f
ſelf and Houſhold; and it being a Point of O
Debate aroſe, whether the Houſe ought not to hav
for an Inſtruction for a Clauſe to authoriſe ſuch Ab

Over-ruled by a Motion for the Order of the Day.

But another Motion being made, that the Order of
be read, and the Queſtion being put on the laſt-mo
tion (the Bill for reducing the Intereſt to 3 per C
Houſe divided, and carry'd it in the Affirmative, an
1ſt Time, and ordered it a 2d Reading that Day Se'n

May 24. A Meſſage was ſent by his Majeſty,
the Commons to ſettle a Jointure of 50,000*l.* per
her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales: A Bill w
mouſly order'd in accordingly.

Royal Aſſent given to ſeveral Acts.

Acts paſſed this Seſſion were as follow, viz. Mar
Malt Bill., 21, The Mutiny Bill. That for layi
of Twopence Scotch on every Scotch Pint of Al
for Sale within the Town of Aberbrothock. An
Bill.

And May 20, The Land-Tax Bill. That for
Two Millions for 1738, and paying the Bank a M
redeeming an Annuity of 40,000*l.* For explaini
for Application of the Forfeited Eſtates of the la
Derwentwater and Charles Radcliffe. An Act to
the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen to ſet a Pr
Coals for one Year. To enforce the Execution o
Act. To ſecure the Payment of Rents, and prevent
Tenants. To indemnify Perſons who have omitte
fy themſelves for Offices, read Prayers, and make
rations and Subſcriptions required within the Tim
by Law, and for allowing further Time for thoſe
For allowing further Time for Enrolment of Deed
made by Papiſts, and for Relief of Proteſtant P
Deviſees and Leſſees. For Relief of ſuch Priſoner
as have by unavoidable Accidents loſt the Benefit
paſſed the laſt Seſſion for the Relief of inſolvent
and for the Indemnity of ſuch Sheriffs and Goale
incurred any Penalties on account of ſuch Priſoner
diſcharged; and for extending the Benefit of the
Creditors, whoſe Debtors were committed to P
Jan. 1. 1730, and were detained there on Jan. 1.
have choſe to continue there. An Act to continue
the better Regulation of Laſtage and Ballaſtage o
Thames. For building a Bridge croſs the Tham
Woolſtaple, Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite Shore.
regulating the Manufacture of Narrow Woollen
the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire. For repairing th
of Dover, and reſtoring that of Rye. For recove

the Harbour of Minehead, Somerſetſhire. For mak-
Dock or Baſon at Liverpool. To two Acts for drain-
rtain Fens in Lincolnſhire, and the Iſle of Ely. For
ing the Pariſh Church of All-Saints in the City of
ſter. For finiſhing the Church of St. Mary Rother-
and purchaſing an additional Burial-Ground. For re-
g the Pariſh Church of Chriſt-Church, Surry. To
e the Duty of Two Pennies Scots on each Pint of Beer
ſold in the Town of Inverneſs in Scotland. To veſt
ate of Hugh Naſh, Eſq; (late eſcaped out of the Fleet)
ees for the Benefit of his Creditors. For the more
al ſecuring the Payment of certain Sums of Money,
d by an Act of Queen Elizabeth, to be paid by the
rers of the Counties of England and Wales, for the Re-
the Priſoners in the King's-Bench and Marſhalſea,
niſhing ſuch as ſhall injure any in their Perſons or Pro-
with intent to hinder the Exportation of Corn. An
explain an Act for rebuilding St. Leonard's Church,
rch. To continue two Acts for encouraging the
of Coffee, and ſecuring the Trade of the Sugar-Co-
in America. For enlightening the Streets, &c. in the
of Chriſt-Church, Middleſex. To amend an Act for
ing Inconveniencies that may happen by Privilege of
ment. To ſecure the Eſtates of Papiſts turning Pro-
againſt Diſabilities, and for the more effectual veſting
two Univerſities the Preſentations of Benefices belong-
Papiſts. To 6 Road Acts, and to 27 private Bills.

For the Hiſtory of the Supply, &c. it is thus ſumm'd
the following Speech, made by the Speaker to the
, the laſt Day of the Seſſion.

gracious Sovereign.

Speaker's Speech at the cloſe of the Seſſion.

OUR Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled, your Majeſty with ſeveral Bills, and with one among eſt for your Royal Aſſent concerning the Supplies d for the public Service of the Year, allowing Three ons Seven Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds, for Maintenance of your Fleets, Armies, and diſcharging on of the National Debt, and other Purpoſes.

ur Commons at firſt made Proviſion but for 10,000 n, they being ſufficient for the common Service; ving ſince been called on, by the Sufferings and Griev- of your Majeſty's Subjects, to ſtrengthen your Hands, nd your Rights, and do them Juſtice againſt the low- wer of the Spaniſh Nation in the Seas of America; your Majeſty's Subjects have, by Nature, and ourre-

'ſtrained

ſtrained by Compact, an equal Right with them, and to not to be ſubject to any Obſtruction or Moleſtation whatſoever in their Paſſage over thoſe free and open Seas; they have readily granted 10,000 more. To ſuffer the Spaniards to rummage our Ships, is to give them a Right to the Sovereignty of thoſe Seas, as it was always deemed by Great Britain; and was never allowed by any of your Majeſty's Predeceſſors.

'These Depredations deſerved the Conſideration of your Commons; and theſe Outrages (if continued) will deſerve your Reſentment. To their Plunder they have added Inſults; and to their Inſults, Cruelties: Inſults the more ſenſibly felt, as they come from a People whoſe Power we always deemed inferior; and whoſe Strength we ever ſubdued when tried. With theſe Sentiments your Commons applied to the Father of their Country for Redreſs; and received ſuch an Anſwer as the Father of their Country ſhould give; for which your faithful Commons make their grateful and dutiful Acknowledgments. Their Application on this Occaſion was on behalf of their Trade, which is the Life and Spirit of this Nation; reſting perſuaded, that by your Interpoſition, you will be able to obtain Juſtice for paſt Injuries, as well as further Security of your trading Subjects, for the Sake of the Dignity of your Majeſty's Imperial Crown, and the Honour of the Britiſh Nation; which they are ſenſible never were, nor ever can be, more ſecure than under your Majeſty's Royal Protection;

'Since your Majeſty's Paternal Care has preſerved this Nation under many Difficulties from the Calamities of War, and every good Man hopes you will be able to accompliſh the great Work before you, without it; yet if the Lot be ſo, that no Satisfaction for our Loſſes and Sufferings can be had, nor Security for the future, nor the Credit of the Britiſh Nation ſupported but by Force of Arms; there's not one Man in the Nation, whoſe Heart and Hand would not be willing to ſupport your Majeſty therein, as your faithful Commons are willing and ready to do.

'To theſe neceſſary Ends, they deſire your Majeſty's Royal Acceptance of the Supplies which they have granted for that Purpoſe; which, with ſeveral other Bills upon the Table, are ready for the Royal Aſſent, and are for the Benefit of the Public; particularly that which reſtrains the Privilege of Parliament; a Work begun before, but now compleat; and which will put an End to a Practice that tended to the Reproach and Diſhonour of Parliament.'

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the THIRD SESSION of the

cond Parliament of King GEORGE II.

BEING

e Eighth Parliament of *Great Britain.*

N the Firſt of February the Parliament being met according to their laſt Prorogation, a Meſſage was brought by Sir Charles Dalton, Gentleman Uſher he Black Rod, from the Lords authoriz'd by his Ma- Commiſſion, (viz. His Royal Highneſs Frederick e of Wales, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Preſident e Council *, the Lord Steward of the Houſehold †, the Chamberlain ††, the Duke of Argyle, the Duke of mond, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Scarborough, the Earl of Iſlay,) deſiring the immediate Attendance e Commons, in the Houſe of Peers, to hear the Com- on read; and Mr Speaker, with the Houſe, going up to Houſe of Peers, the Lord Chancellor ſitting with ſeveral Lords on a Form, between the Throne and the Wool- , ſpoke as follows: *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WE are commanded by his Majeſty to let you know, that as it is not convenient for his Ma- y to be here this Day in his Royal Perſon, he has

* *The Earl of Wilmington.* † *The Duke of Devonſhire.*
†† *The Duke of Grafton.*

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" been pleaſed by Letters-patent under the Great Seal, to
" Authoriſe his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and
" ſeveral Lords therein mentioned, to do every Thing in
" the Name of his Majeſty, which ought to be done on
" the Part of his Majeſty in this Parliament, as may more
" fully appear by the Letters-patent."

The Letters-patent being read, the Lord Chancellor, as one of the Commiſſioners, read the following Speech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'IN Purſuance of the Authority given us by His Majeſty's Commiſſion, under the Great Seal, amongſt other Things, to declare the Cauſes of his holding this Parliament, we are, by his Majeſty's Command, in the firſt Place, to obſerve to you, That his Majeſty acquainted you laſt Year, that he had, in Conjunction with the States General, given his Approbation of certain Preliminary Articles, concerted and agreed upon between the *Emperor* and *France*, for reſtoring the Peace of *Europe*; and that a farther Convention, concerning the Execution of them, had been communicated to Him by both theſe Courts; and that Negotiations were carrying on by the ſeveral Powers engaged in the late War, in order to ſettle the general Pacification.

'We are now commanded by His Majeſty to inform you, that the reſpective Acts of Ceſſion being exchanged, and Orders given for the Evacuation and Poſſeſſion of the ſeveral Countries and Places, by the Powers concerned, according to the Allotment and Diſpoſition of the Preliminary Articles, the great Work of re-eſtabliſhing the general Tranquility is far advanced; however, it is His Majeſty's Opinion, that common Prudence calls upon us to be very attentive to, and obſerve the final Concluſion of this new Settlement of ſuch conſiderable Parts of *Europe*. It is to be hoped, that a general laſting Tranquility will follow this Reſtitution of Peace, and that the Renewal of Friendſhip and Alliances, for the Preſervation of it, among the ſeveral Princes and Powers of *Europe*, will remove all Dangers and Apprehenſions of any new Troubles and Diſorders; but His Majeſty apprehends, that an indolent Security, and too great a Diſregard to future Events, may occaſion Miſchiefs more eaſy to be prevented, than to be remedied; and that it would be very unadviſeable to leave ourſelves

'in

in ſo defenceleſs a Condition, as to encourage any Enterprizes, which the Enemies to the Public Peace may have vainly ſuggeſted and flattered themſelves with the Hopes of.' *Anno* 10. G. I. 1736-7

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

'His Majeſty has ordered the proper Officers to lay before you the Eſtimates for the Service of the current Year; as ſoon as the Circumſtances of the Times would permit, His Majeſty was pleaſed to make ſuch a Reduction of ſome Part of the Public Expences for the Eaſe of his People, as was conſiſtent with the Peace and Safety of his Kingdoms, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation.'

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'His Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to direct us to acquaint you, that He hath ſeen with the greateſt Satisfaction the unwearied Application of this Parliament, in framing good Laws for advancing the Proſperity, and ſecuring the Welfare of His loving Subjects; and that it hath been one of His Majeſty's principal Cares to enforce them by a due Execution, with the ſtricteſt Regard to the Rights and Properties of his People, no Invaſion whereof can with any Colour be ſuggeſted by the moſt malicious Enemies of the preſent Eſtabliſhment. Whilſt this hath been our Condition, His Majeſty cannot but obſerve, that it muſt be matter of the utmoſt Surpriſe and Concern to every true Lover of his Country, to ſee the many Contrivances and Attempts carried on in various Shapes, and in different Parts of the Nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the Execution of the Laws, and to violate the Peace of the Kingdom. Theſe Diſturbers of the public Repoſe, conſcious that the Intereſt of His Majeſty and His People are the ſame, and of the good Harmony, which happily ſubſiſts between Him and His Parliament, have levelled their Sedition againſt both; and in their late Outrages have either directly oppoſed, or at leaſt endeavoured to render ineffectual ſome Acts of the whole Legiſlature. His Majeſty in His great Wiſdom thinks it affords a melancholy Proſpect to conſider to what Height theſe audacious Practices may riſe, if not timely ſuppreſſed, and that it deſerves no ſmall Attention, that they may go on to affect private Perſons in the quiet Enjoyment of their Property, as well as the general Peace, and good Order of the whole. His Majeſty apprehends it to be unneceſſary to enlarge upon a Subject

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of this Nature, and therefore hath commanded me humbly to mention it to you, who, by the conſtant Tenor of your Conduct, have ſhewn, that you conſider the Support of his Government, as inſeparable from the Preſervation of the Public Tranquillity and your own Safety.

The Members being returned to the Houſe, Mr. Speaker reported the Speech from the Lord *Chancellor*, and upon a Motion for an Addreſs of Thanks, the ſame was agreed to, and is as follows.

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

'WE your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain*, in Parliament aſſembled, return your Majeſty our moſt humble Thanks for the Speech delivered by your Majeſty's Command to both Houſes of Parliament.

'We ſee with great Satisfaction, the happy Proſpect of the final Concluſion of the general Pacification of *Europe*, and when we remember your Majeſty's unwearied Endeavours to prevent this Nation from being involved in the Calamities of a deſtructive War, and your conſtant Application in contributing to the utmoſt of your Power towards the great Work of reſtoring Peace, from the tender Care and Concern which your Majeſty has always ſhewn for the future Peace and Proſperity of your People, as well as for the common Welfare of Mankind, we make no doubt, but that your Majeſty will continue to co-operate with your good Allies, that the Concluſion of the Peace may be attended with a general and laſting Tranquillity.

'Duty and Gratitude to your Majeſty, and a due Regard to our own Intereſts and Security will engage us not to neglect any neceſſary Precautions, which may beſt conduce to enable your Majeſty to diſappoint and defeat all groundleſs Hopes and Expectations, which the deluded Enemies of the public Peace may have vainly ſuggeſted and flattered themſelves with.

'And we beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will chearfully and effectually raiſe the Supplies neceſſary for the Service of the Current Year, and ſupport your Majeſty in all ſuch Meaſures as ſhall be found requiſite to preſerve the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the Security of our Commerce, and the Honour and Intereſt of your Majeſty and your Dominions.'

Moſt

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Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

'Your faithful Commons cannot without a juſt Indignation obſerve the Spirit of Faction and Sedition, which has lately manifeſted itſelf in traducing and miſrepreſenting the Legiſlature, in contemning all Authority, and in open Defiance of the Laws of the Land.

'It is with the higheſt Senſe of Duty and Gratitude, we acknowledge your Majeſty's Goodneſs, not only in your ready Concurrence to all ſuch wholeſome Laws as have been from Time to Time prepared by your Parliament, but in your conſtant Care to enforce them by a due Execution, with the ſtricteſt Regard to the Rights and Properties of your People, and without the leaſt Colour or Shadow of any Deſign or Attempt to ſtretch or violate the known Laws of this Realm.

'We cannot ſufficiently expreſs our Abhorrence of the many wicked and deteſtable Practices, which the Diſturbers of the public Repoſe have ſecretly fomented and openly carry'd on in tumultuouſly reſiſting and obſtructing the Execution of the Laws, and violating the Peace of the Kingdom.

'And we your faithful Commons do aſſure your Majeſty, that being fully perſuaded that the Preſervation of the public Tranquility, and our own Safety, are inſeparable from the Security of your Government, we will ſupport your Royal Authority in ſuppreſſing and ſubduing all ſeditious and riotous Attempts that threaten the very Being of our happy Conſtitution, and the utter Subverſion of thoſe Liberties, which have been made the ſpecious Pretence for committing thoſe outrageous Diſorders.'

To this the King return'd the following Anſwer:

The King's Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs.

HIS Majeſty returns this Houſe his Thanks for their moſt Dutiful and Loyal Addreſs, and ſhall always eſteem their Zeal and Affection for his Perſon and Government, as the beſt and moſt acceptable Return for his conſtant Endeavour to render this Nation happy and flouriſhing both at Home and Abroad. His Majeſty relies upon the Wiſdom of his Parliament, to frame ſuch Laws as ſhall be neceſſary to ſtrengthen and ſupport the Authority of his Government, in preſerving the public Tranquility, and ſecuring the Rights and Properties of his People; and his faithful Commons may depend upon him for a juſt and due Execution of them.

A Petition, complaining of an undue Election for the County of Norfolk preſented.

Feb. 2. A Petition of the Freeholders of the County of Norfolk, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the ſaid County, being preſented to the Houſe, and read, it was ordered to be heard at the Bar of the Houſe on the Third of March; and that Liſts, with Reſpect to the ſaid Election, be delivered on the 23d of February.

But is dropt.

March 2. A Motion was made, that the Petitioners might be at Liberty to withdraw their Petition; which was granted; and Mr Speaker was ordered to iſſue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out a new Writ for the ſaid County,

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County, in the Room of William Wodehouſe, Eſq; who had died after his Election, and againſt which the ſaid Petition was preſented.

'Tho' this Election was thus given up, yet there was one Thing relating to it worth Obſervation. . . . . .

The Reſolution of the Houſe relating to the delivering of Liſts of controverted Voters, in Purſuance of which the Liſts, with reſpect to this controverted Election, had been ordered to be delivered, is as follows, viz 'That in all Caſes of controverted 'Elections for Counties in England and Wales, to be heard at the 'Bar of that Houſe, or before the Committee of Privileges and 'Elections, the Petitioners ſhould by themſelves, or by their A-'gents, within a convenient Time, to be appointed either by the 'Houſe or the Committee of Privileges and Elections, as the Mat-'ter to be heard ſhall be before the Houſe, or the ſaid Committee, 'deliver to the ſitting Members, or their Agents, Liſts of the 'Perſons intended by the Petitioners to be objected to, who voted 'for the ſitting Members; giving, in the ſaid Liſts, the ſeveral 'Heads of Objection, and diſtinguiſhing the ſame againſt the 'Names of the Voters excepted to; and that the ſitting Members 'ſhould, by themſelves, or by their Agents, within the ſame 'Time, deliver the like Liſts on their Part, to the Petitioners or 'their Agents.

Reſolution of the Houſe upon Liſts of Electors that are to be objected to.

In Purſuance of this Reſolution, the Petitioners for the County of Norfolk, and the ſitting Member Sir Edmond Bacon, who ſupported the Election of himſelf and the other Member deceas'd, exliver'd Liſts to each other reſpectively, but in the Liſts deliver'd by the Petitioners to the ſitting Member, all the material Heads of Objection that could be made againſt any Voter for a County, were ſet againſt the Name of almoſt every Voter they excepted to; which the ſitting Member thought contrary to the Reſolution, and therefore repreſented, That the Reſolution had been agreed to, in order to ſave Trouble and Expence; and prevent either Party's examining Witneſſes to an Objection he could not fully prove, and then flying from that to another, and thence to a Third, &c. That if either Party thought he had ſeveral Objections to any one Voter, each of which would be of itſelf ſufficient, he ought, by the Reſolution, to fix upon that Objection which he thought he could moſt clearly prove, and diſtinguiſh that Head of Objection only againſt the Name of that Voter; by which Means the other Party might prepare proper Proofs or Materials for ſupporting the Right of his Voter againſt that Objection: But in the Manner the Liſts had been deliver'd to him, it would be vaſtly troubleſome and expenſive to prepare proper Proofs for ſupporting the Right of a Voter againſt every Objection that could be made; and if he prepared to anſwer one Objection only, he might at laſt find himſelf obliged to anſwer another, for which he could not then poſſibly have an Opportunity to prepare: That if the Method in which the Petitioners

Liſts deliver'd in Conſequence of the ſame.

Complaint relating thereto.

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...ners Lists were drawn up should be admitted, it would ...der that Part of the Resolution quite useless, which re... to the distinguishing the Heads of Objection against ... Names of the Voters excepted to; for if all the ...ds of Objection that could possibly be made against any ..., should be set against the Name of every Voter, it ...uld be the very same with making no particular Ob...tion at all, which would leave both Parties as much at ...erty to vex one another, and to take up the Time of ... House unnecessarily, as if no such Resolution had ever ...n made: And lastly, that in the particular Case then ...ore them, it would be a very great Hardship upon him; ...use in the Lists he had delivered to the Petitioners, he ...d strictly conformed to the Resolution of the House, ...ch would give the Petitioners a very great Advantage ...r him; therefore he desired they might be ordered to ...nd their Lists, and to put them in that Method which ... prescribed by the Resolution.

To which 'twas answered, That by the Resolution it was ... intended to limit either the Petitioners or the sitting ...mber to the making but one Objection only against ... Voter excepted to; nor could it be supposed that the ...use meant any such Thing when they agree'd to that ...olution; because it would be doing Injustice to both, to ...it them to the making but one Objection to a Voter ...inst whom they had several material Objections; there... it was to be presumed, the Resolution intended only ...blige each Party to explain and expressly mention the ...eral Objections they were to make against each Voter ...epted to, which was the Method the Petitioners had ...en with respect to the Lists they had delivered; and by ... Method the sitting Member might know what to do, ...d could be put to no greater Expence or Trouble than ... Nature of the Case required; for if he found that any ... of the Objections proposed was well founded, and ...uld probably be sufficiently proved, it would be quite un...essary for him to put himself to any Expence or Trouble ...supporting the Right of a Voter, who, he knew, had no ...ght; nor could the Time of the House be unnecessarily ...en up, because each Party would begin with examining ...nesses as to that Objection which he thought the strongest, ... which he thought he could the most fully prove, and ...he found he had fully proved that Objection, he would ...ceed no further, nor trouble himself or the House with ...ving any other Objection; whereas if his Witnesses for ...ving that Objection should not, in their Examination ...ore the House, come up to that which they had declared

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to him in the Country, which was often the Caſe, it would be Injuſtice to preclude him from proving any other Objection, when he found he neither had nor could fully prove the Objection he had firſt inſiſted on; therefore they did not think themſelves obliged by the Reſolution to amend their Liſts, or to deliver them in any other Manner than what they had done: However, that they might not be thought to intend, and as they did not deſire to take any ſort of Advantage of the ſitting Member, they were willing to amend their Liſts, and to put them in the very ſame Method with thoſe delivered to them by him; ſo that it would be quite unneceſſary for the Houſe to interpoſe in the Affair, or to come to any new Reſolution, or Order, upon that Head.

This Compliance in the Petitioners prevented a Reply, and likewiſe prevented the Houſe's coming to any new Reſolution, or to any Determination, for explaining their former Reſolution; ſo that the Point in diſpute remains undetermined, and, if no new Law be made for regulating the Elections for Counties, it may be the Subject of ſome future Debate.

Upon the ſame Day, *viz. Feb.* 2. and immediately after the proper Orders were made for hearing the Petition from *Norfolk*, as before mentioned, a Petition of Sir *John Glynn*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Flint*, in the County of *Flint*, was preſented to the Houſe and read; and 'twas order'd, That the Matter of the ſaid Petition ſhould be heard upon *Tueſday*, *March* 8, then next; which Order was afterwards put off, to *Thurſday*, *March* 24, when the Houſe proceeded to the Hearing of the Matter of the ſaid Petition; and the Petition, and the laſt Determination of the Houſe, concerning the Right of electing a Burgeſs to ſerve in Parliament for the ſaid Borough, made *May* 21, 1728; and alſo the ſtanding Order of the Houſe, made *Jan.* 16, 1728, for reſtraining the Counſel at the Bar of that Houſe, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, from offering Evidence touching the Legality of Votes for Members to ſerve in Parliament for any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque Port, or Place, contrary to the laſt Determination of the Houſe of Commons; were read.

The Flint Petition.

Then the Counſel for the Petitioner were heard; and the original Poll, taken at the ſaid Election, being produced; and the Title thereof, and the total Number of Votes for each Candidate, being read; they examined ſeveral Witneſſes, touching the Behaviour of the returning Officers at the Time of taking and cloſing the ſaid Poll, and

Counſel heard

and the Declaration of the Numbor of Votes, and of the Majority, and touching a Scrutiny to be had, and the Manner of making the Return, and the Declaration of one of the returning Officers, and the Inſtructions to him given by the ſitting Member previous to the Election, and other Occurrences at and after the Election: After which the ſaid Return, dated *May* 16, 1734, on which Day the Poll was cloſed, being read; the Counſel for the Petitioner were further heard, as to the Merits of the Return; when they inſiſted, that the Counſel for the ſitting Member ſhould proceed to juſtify the Return, before the Merits of the Election ſhould be proceeded upon: As to which Point the Counſel for the ſitting Member were heard by way of Anſwer, and the Counſel for the Petitioner by way of Reply; and then the Counſel on both Sides being, according to Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.* *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736.

That the Counſel for the ſitting Member be directed to proceed, in order to juſtify the Return for the Borough of Flint, *before the Merits of the Election are proceeded upon.* *A Motion.*

Upon this Motion there was a long Debate, and the Queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the Negative, by 205 to 166. *Diviſion.*

After which, the further Hearing of the Matter of the ſaid Petition was ordered to be adjourned to *Tueſday* then next; when the Counſel for the Petitioner proceed in their Evidence; and having propoſed to qualify ſeveral Perſons, whoſe Votes for the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll taken at the ſaid Election, to have been diſallowed by the returning Officers, they examined *Benjamin Hughes*, one of the Church-Wardens of the Pariſh of *Flint*, at and before the Time of the ſaid Election, in order to qualify one of the ſaid Perſons; and a Paper being by the ſaid Witneſs produced, purporting to be the Church and Poor Rate for the Borough of *Flint* in the Year 1733, the Counſel for the ſitting Member (having croſs-examined him, and examined a Witneſs in relation to the ſaid Paper) objected to the admitting of that Paper in Evidence: As to which Objection, the Counſel for the Petitioner were heard by way of Anſwer, and the Counſel for the ſitting Member by way of Reply; and then the Counſel on both Sides being, by Direction, withdrawn, the following Motion was made, *viz.*

That the Paper produced by Benjamin Hughes *be admitted in Evidence, as the Rate for the Church and Poor of the Borough of* Flint *for the Year* 1733.

mined. Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order t
Poll of the Petitioner ſeveral Perſons, who off
for him at the ſaid Election, but were refuſed by
ing Officers; and having propoſed to add to t
Matthias Rogers, by proving that his Landlo
and Lot for the Tenement, in which the ſaid M
gers inhabited, they thereupon acquainted the
they intended to offer the like Proof, as to th
ſons; upon which they were directed to withdra
their being withdrawn, the following Motion wa

A Motion. *That the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Borough*
Rhydland, Caerwys, Caerguerley, *and* Overt
Knolton *and* Overton-Foreign) *renting Lands a*
for which the Landlords thereof only pay Scot and
Right to vote in the Election of a Burgeſs to ſerv
ment for the Borough of Flint *in the County of* Fl

Rejected. Upon this Motion there was alſo a long Deb
previous Queſtion being propoſed, *viz.* W
Queſtion ſhould be then put? It was upon
carried in the Negative by 149 to 115; ſo th
no Queſtion put upon the Motion: After this
were again called in, when they proceeded in
dence, by examining Witneſſes, and producing
order to add to the Poll of the Petitioner the f
Rogers, and ſeveral other Perſons, who offered
the Petitioner at the ſaid Election, and were re
returning Officers.

Next Morning, the Houſe, according to
ceeded to the further hearing of the ſaid Matte
Counſel for the Petitioner examined ſeveral W

the Occaſion of examining upon Oath into the tion of the Electors, and of protecting the Poll; hing the Threats and abuſive Language offered to ning Officers, and an Aſſault upon one of them; Declaration of the Number of Votes, and the of a Scrutiny; and the Manner of declaring the r, and other Tranſactions at and after the Election: Record of *Niſi Prius* upon an Information proſe- ainſt *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the ſaid Aſſault *hn Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, being d; the Verdict of the Jury, by whom the ſaid *Williams* was convicted of the ſaid Aſſault, was fter which the further Hearing was ordered to be d till next Morning. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Adjourned.

Day, and the Day following, the Counſel for the Member examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced e, in order to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, whoſe r the Petitioner appeared, upon the original Poll the ſaid Election, to have been diſallowed by the g Officer, and whom the Petitioner's Counſel had ired to qualify; and in order to diſqualify ſeveral who offered to vote for the Petitioner at the ſaid , and were refuſed by the returning Officers, and he Counſel for the Petitioner had endeavoured to his Poll; and likewiſe they examined ſeveral Wit- in order to juſtify the Votes of ſeveral Perſons ed for the ſitting Member, and whom the Counſel Petitioner had endeavoured to diſqualify. *More Witneſſes examined.*

ueſday the 26th, when this Affair was again re- the Counſel for the ſitting Member proceeded fur- juſtify, as laſt mentioned; and then they examined s, and produced Evidence, in order to qualify ſe- erſons who offered to vote for the ſitting Member at Election, and were refuſed by the returning Officers; hich they examined ſeveral Witneſſes, and produced e, in order to diſqualify ſeveral Perſons, who voted Petitioner at the ſaid Election. *The Hearing reſumed.*

hurſday the 28th, the Counſel for the ſitting Mem- med up their Evidence: Then the Counſel for the er were heard by way of Reply; and examined Witneſſes, and produced Evidence, in order to he Votes of ſeveral Perſons, who voted for the Peti- t the ſaid Election, and whom the Counſel for the Member had endeavoured to diſqualify; and alſo to fy ſeveral Perſons, who offered to vote for the ſitting r at the ſaid Election, and who were refuſed by the g Officers, and whom the Counſel for the ſitting Member *Counſel for the ſitting Member ſum up the Evidence.*

Anno 10. *Geo.* II: 1736-7.

Member had endeavoured to add to his Poll; and alſo to diſcredit and contradict ſeveral Witneſſes, examined on the Part of the ſitting Member: After which, Part of the Information proſecuted againſt *Richard Williams*, Clerk, for the Aſſault upon *John Roberts*, one of the returning Officers, was read; and the Counſel for the Petitioner having finiſh'd their Reply, the Counſel on both Sides were ordered to withdraw.

Thus the Hearing of the Matter of the ſaid Petition being finiſhed, and the Counſel withdrawn, the following Motion was then made, *viz.*

Sir George Wynne declar'd the ſitting Member.

That Sir George Wynne, *Bart. is duly elected a Burgeſs to ſerve in this preſent Parliament, for the Borough of* Flint *in the County of* Flint.

Whereupon, Sir *George Wynne*, the ſitting Member, having been firſt heard in his Place, and afterwards withdrawn, as uſual in ſuch Caſes, there enſued a long Debate; and the Queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the Affirmative upon a Diviſion, by 158 to 107.

Upon a Diviſion.

Having thus, as we propoſed, given our Readers a full Account of the Proceedings upon controverted Elections, this Seſſion, we ſhall now proceed to give an Account of more important Debates.

Speech of the Lords Commiſſioners taken into Conſideration.

February 3d, The Houſe proceeded to take into Conſideration the Speech of the Lords Commiſſioners, appointed by his Majeſty for holding that Parliament, to both Houſes of Parliament, and the ſame being again read by Mr. Speaker, a Motion was made, That a Supply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty; whereupon 'twas reſolved, That the Houſe ſhould next Morning reſolve itſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the ſaid Motion.

Motion for a Supply.

Committee for the ſame.

On the 4th, the Order of the Day being read, for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into the ſaid Committee, the ſaid Speech of the Lords Commiſſioners was ordered to be referred to the ſame; and the Houſe having then reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, they reſolved,

That it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply ſhould be granted to his Majeſty; which was on the *Monday* following reported and agreed to by the Houſe *Nemine contradicente*.

On the 9th, the Houſe, according to Order, reſolved itſelf again into the ſaid Committee, and came to the following Reſolutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.*

That *ten thouſand Men* ſhould be employ'd for the *Sea Service* for the Year 1737, beginning from *Jan.* 1, 1736: That a Sum, not exceeding 4 *l. per* Man *per* Month, ſhould be

e allowed for maintaining the ſaid 10,000 Men for 13 Months, including the Ordnance for *Sea Service*: And that a Sum, not exceeding 219,201 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 *d.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty for the Ordinary of the Navy (including half Pay to the Sea Officers) for the Year 1737. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

On the 18th, *William Young*, in a ſhort Speech ſhewed the Neceſſity there was for keeping up the ſame Number of regular Forces that were kept up the proceeding Year, and moved, That it be reſolved by the ſaid Committee, that the Number of effective Men to be provided, for Guards and Garriſons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, for the Year 1737, ſhould be (including 1815 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the ſix independent Companies conſiſt of for the Service of the *Highlands*) 17,704 Men, Commiſſion and Non-Commiſſion Officers included: That a Sum, not exceeding 647,549 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* ½ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the Charge of the ſaid 17,704 Men: That a Sum, not exceeding 215,710 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 *d.* ½ ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, for maintaining his Majeſty's Forces and Garriſons in the *Plantations*, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and for Proviſions for the Garriſons at *Annapolis Royal*, *Canſo*, *Placentia*, and *Gibraltar*, for the Year 1737.

This Motion being objected to by Sir *John Barnard*, Mr. *Pultney* and others brought on a Debate, which was manag'd by Sir *William Young*, the Honourable *Henry Pelham*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, and others for the Motion, whoſe Arguments, to avoid Repetition of what we have already ſeen on that head, we ſhall give the Reader in one connected Speech. *Speech againſt the Motion.*

SIR,

Whatever impracticable Notions ſome Gentlemen may entertain, I believe there is no Maxim more true, than that Force is neceſſary for the Support of Government. And this Force, in its own Nature, can be no other than a Military Force. For in every Society it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a certain Number of Men properly armed and diſciplined, for protecting the Society againſt foreign Invaſions, as well as for preventing the Weak from being oppreſſed by the Mighty, and for putting the Laws of the Society in Execution againſt Offenders of every Rank aud Degree. Tho' this Force, Sir, as kept up by our Anceſtors, is now deny'd by ſome to have been a Military Force, yet a very little Conſideration will teach us that it was properly ſo. It conſiſted chiefly of the Militia of every Country, who for that Reaſon were all properly armed and diſciplined, and obliged to anſwer the Call of thoſe who had the Command over them; but of

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Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1736 7.

latter Ages, and ſince Mankind have begun to apply themſelves to Arts and Induſtry, they have neglected to bend themſelves up to Arms and Military Diſcipline, and therefore it has been found neceſſary in moſt, and eſpecially in our neighbouring Countries, to provide and maintain a certain Number of Men, whoſe chief Buſineſs it is to breed themſelves up to the Art of War, and who for that Reaſon are called regular Troops. To them the Defence of the Society both againſt Invaſions from without, and Inſurrections from within, is chiefly intruſted, and by that means the reſt of the People of the Society are enabled to purſue Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and other induſtrious Employments, with greater Application and Aſſiduity than they could poſſibly do, if they were every now and then obliged to withdraw from their Labour, in order to learn their Exerciſes as Soldiers, or to march againſt a foreign or domeſtic Enemy.

This, Sir, is the chief Reaſon that Arts and Sciences have of late flouriſhed ſo much in *Europe*, and it is by this Method only that Trade and Induſtry can be ſupported and encouraged in this Kingdom; therefore I ſhall not ſuppoſe that any Gentleman will be againſt our keeping up any Number of regular Troops. The only Queſtion that can come this Day properly before us, is, *What Number of regular Troops may be ſufficient for protecting this Iſland againſt any foreign Invaſion, and for ſupporting our Government in the Execution of the Laws of their Country?* With reſpect to this Queſtion, Sir, we ought to conſider, that in a free Country as this is, and, I hope, will for ever remain, tho' every Man enjoys many Advantages by the Conſtitution, yet that private Good is, and always muſt be, attended with this public Inconvenience. It muſt farther be owned, that it begets and ſupports Parties, Factions, and Diviſions among the People in general; and when the Government is not provided with a ſufficient Military Force for a neceſſary and juſt Support, thoſe Parties and Factions are apt to come to Extremes: The Diſcontented, let the Motives of their Diſſatisfaction be never ſo unreaſonable, are apt to raiſe Inſurrections, and to break out into open Rebellion, when by the Imbecility of the Government they conceive Hopes of obtaining, by Force, thoſe Ends which they neither were intitled to, nor could obtain, by the Laws of their Country; the neceſſary Conſequence of which is, that the People are always expoſed to the Misfortunes of a Civil War; and in ſuch a Caſe we have in our own Hiſtory melancholy Proofs, that the prevailing Party but ſeldom ſhews any great Regard to that very Conſtitution, the Sup-

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port of which was at firſt, perhaps by both Sides, made the ſole Pretence for engaging in War. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

To this general Conſideration, Sir, we ought to add another which is peculiar to this Kingdom: It is not only peculiar to this Kingdom, but is in itſelf of a moſt peculiar and a moſt extraordinary Nature. In this free, this happy Country, we have a Party amongſt us, and a conſiderable Party too, who are every Day labouring to deſtroy that Freedom to which only they owe their very Exiſtence as a Party, who are every Day contriving Plots for putting an End to that Happineſs in which they themſelves ſhare. When I ſay this, I believe, I need not tell Gentlemen, I mean the *Jacobites* and *Papiſts* in the Kingdom, I believe or at leaſt I wiſh that this Party has not of late gained Ground among the better Sort, but I am afraid, Sir, it is owing only to the dread of a Military Force, that the inferior Rank of People are kept ſo quiet as they have of late Years been. But, Sir, I am far from thinking the Principles of *Jacobitiſm* to be quite extinct even among the better Sort. If we ſhould leave the Government unprovided of a ſufficient Military Force, it would immediately revive their Hopes; and if they ſhould again break out in open Rebellion, they would certainly be joined by all the Abandoned, the Profligate, and the Deſperate, who will generally chuſe that Side, as being that from which they may expect the greateſt Reward in caſe of Succeſs; in which Caſe we ſhould again be obliged to fight for our Liberties, and the moſt fortunate Event would be attended with great public Loſs, and with many private Calamities.

But ſetting aſide the general Intereſts of the Government, I don't ſee, Sir, as our common People are now diſuſed to Military Diſcipline, that even private Property can now be ſecure againſt Rogues and Pilferers, if as in other Countries they ſhould form themſelves into Gangs. At leaſt, Sir, there might be a great deal of Miſchief done, before they could be ſuppreſs'd and brought to Juſtice. Then with regard to Mobs and Tumults, we find by Experience, that regular Troops are of great Uſe, not only for preventing any ſuch from happening, but for quelling and diſperſing them after they have happened, and that without any great Miſchief's being done of either Side: Whereas if we had no regular Troops to be employ'd in ſuch Services, tho' the Civil Power might perhaps at laſt be able to put an End to the Tumult, and to ſeize and puniſh the Rioters; yet 'tis certain, the Mob or Tumult would always be gathered to a great Height before the Civil Power could effectually interpoſe.

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With reſpect, therefore, to the protecting our People againſt Invaſions, I ſhall now, Sir, take the Liberty to conſider what Effect our keeping, or our not keeping up a ſufficient Number of Land-Forces, might, and probably would have upon our foreign Intereſts, and what ſtill more nearly concerns us. All our Neighbours, Sir, are highly ſenſible of the great Inequality between Militia and regular Troops. Experience has often ſhewn what a vaſt Number of the former may be attacked and put to Flight by the latter, they therefore now put their only Confidence in their regular Troops; and every Nation in *Europe* is now reſpected and eſteemed by the reſt, in proportion to the Number of regular Troops they have in their Pay. Therefore, to preſerve that Reſpect and Eſteem which we ought always to have among our Neighbours, we ought to keep up a conſiderable Body of regular well-diſciplined Troops; becauſe if any of our Neighbours ſhould begin to deſpiſe us, they would of courſe begin to inſult, and perhaps to invade us. This, Sir, would keep our Sea Coaſts in a continual Alarm, and might expoſe many of our maritime Counties and Cities to be plundered and ravaged by a Handful of foreign Troops, landed in any Corner of the Iſland. I do not ſuppoſe, Sir, that a Handful of any Sort of Troops would be able to conquer the Iſland; but if we had nothing but Militia to ſend againſt them, they might do us infinite Miſchief, before we could gather and form ſuch a Body of Militia as would be able to oppoſe them.

From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that it is no way conſiſtent with true Wiſdom and Policy, or with the Peace and Security of the People, to diminiſh the Number of regular Forces we have at preſent on Foot. It is the leaſt Number has been kept on Foot for many Years, and Experience has ſhewn us that from ſuch a Number there are no Inconveniences to be apprehended; but on the contrary we have felt many good Effects from keeping up that Number, and even from augmenting it now and then as Occaſion required, provided as has always been the Practice ſince the Acceſſion of his Majeſty's Royal Houſe, they are likewiſe upon Occaſion reduced. It would be too tedious to recapitulate all the Advantages we have from thence acquired; but in general it muſt be granted, we have for near theſe 20 Years enjoyed a moſt profound Tranquility both at Home and Abroad, which is chiefly to be attributed to our keeping up ſuch an Army as made our Enemies both at Home and Abroad ſtand in Awe, and to the other prudent Meaſures which his Majeſty and his glo-

rious

rious Father have during that Time purſued. Even but lately, when the greateſt Part of *Europe* were involved in War, we were left at Liberty to purſue our Trade through all Parts of the World in Peace and perfect Security; and by the ſmall Addition we made to our Army, and the Augmentation of our Fleet, we not only preſerved our own, but we contribute greatly to the reſtoring of the public Tranquillity; nay more, we acquired Acceſſions of Trade that are of infinite Advantage to this Nation. In ſhort, Sir, we ſet Bounds to the ambitious Views of the Victorious, and convinced them, that if they endeavoured to purſue their Conqueſts any further than was conſiſtent with preſerving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, we were not only reſolved, but would be ready to interpoſe with ſuch a Force as would be ſufficient to ſtop their Progreſs. This, Sir, was what made them ſo ready to hearken to equitable Terms, to Terms which did not eſſentially vary from the wiſe Plan his Majeſty, in conjunction with his Allies the *States General*, had been pleaſed to propoſe for reſtoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*. *Anno* 1 II. 1

Since therefore we have experienced ſo many Advantages from keeping up the preſent Number of regular Forces, ſince we have felt the Expence to be but inconſiderable, and the Inconveniency none; ſince no Danger can be apprehended during his preſent Majeſty's Reign, I cannot think any Gentleman of this Houſe would be for diminiſhing the Number, even tho' there were no particular Reaſon at preſent ſubſiſting for keeping up the ſame Number we had laſt Year.

But, Sir, there are in my Opinion three very ſtrong Reaſons peculiar to the preſent Times for continuing the ſame Number at leaſt for this next enſuing Year, two of which are of a foreign, and the third of a domeſtic Nature. There is, 'tis true, no War at preſent ſubſiſting between any of the Chriſtian Princes or States of *Europe*; with reſpect to any ſuch War the public Tranquillity may properly be ſaid to be reſtored; but it cannot be ſaid that the Tranquillity of *Europe* is altogether reſtored, nay, that it may not upon a very trifling and impoſſible to be foreſeen Event be diſturbed. The *Muſcovites* are already engaged in a War againſt the *Turks*, and 'tis more than probable the *Emperor's* Arms will ſoon be turned the ſame Way. As yet the other Powers of *Europe* ſeem to have nothing but peaceable Inclinations to all public Appearance; but we do not know how long that ſerene Appearance may hold: There are ſome of them who have ſeldom long remained at Quiet, when they found the *Emperor* involved in a War with the *Turks*; and if

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they do not take the Opportunity for attacking the *Emperor*, it is to be apprehended they may think it a proper Opportunity for making Incroachments upon ſome other of their Neighbours: Tho' perhaps no ſuch Thing may be intended directly againſt this Nation, yet we ought not to put ourſelves out of a Capacity to fulfil the Engagements which our own Intereſts and our Treaties point out, if any ſuch Encroachment ſhould be attempted, whether upon ourſelves or our Neighbours.

Beſides, Sir, as the Syſtem of Affairs in *Europe* ſeems to be very much altered by the late Treaty between the *Emperor* and *France*, and as the Terms of that Treaty are as yet in ſome meaſure a Secret to the Public, who will take it upon him to ſay, but that there may be ſome ſecret Conventions between thoſe two Powers, which may be found prejudicial to the Neighbours of both? In ſuch a caſe, that Treaty, inſtead of being a Foundation for eſtabliſhing the general Tranquillity, would prove a Firebrand for rekindling, perhaps, the moſt general and the moſt furious War that ever was in *Europe:* A War, in which this Nation could not avoid being one of the principal Parties concerned; and therefore, I muſt think we cannot with Safety diſband any of the Forces we have at preſent on Foot, till this new Syſtem of Affairs is thoroughly underſtood, and its Conſequences ſeen through, which they cannot be till all the ſecret Articles of that Treaty are fully diſcovered.

The third Reaſon for keeping up the ſame Number of Forces, at leaſt for this enſuing Year, is, as I have ſaid, of a domeſtic Nature, and founded upon that Spirit of Diſcontent and Diſſatisfaction, which has been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread over the whole Nation, and has of late produced Mobs, Riots, and Tumults, almoſt in every Corner of the Kingdom. I am perſuaded every Gentleman that hears me will join with me in ſaying, his Majeſty's Government, ever ſince he came to the Crown, has been ſo mild and juſt, that no Man can really have the leaſt Reaſon to complain. It cannot with Juſtice be ſaid his Majeſty has ever attempted the leaſt Incroachment upon the Liberties and Privileges of the Subject in general, far leſs can any private Man complain that he has met with Injuſtice or Oppreſſion; yet there is ſuch a Spirit of Diſſatisfaction and Sedition gone forth, that the lowermoſt Rank of our People are every where ready to fly in the Face of the Civil Magiſtrate; and even the Acts of the whole Legiſlature. Thoſe Acts, Sir, that have by almoſt every Gentleman in this Houſe been allowed to be for the general Good, have been moſt heinouſly inſulted, and miſrepreſented. I ſhall not pretend to ſhew how this ſeditious

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pirit has been raiſed, or to what it is chiefly owing; it continues, I muſt ſay, it would be very unwiſe iſmiſs any Part of our regular Army; for if we can the People quiet till they have Time to think and the Ferment will ſubſide when they find their Diſ- on groundleſs. This may probably be the Effect ng up our Army for the enſuing Year; becauſe Time the Minds of the People may be quieted, ile we have ſuch an Army, thoſe who are diſ- will not dare to take any Advantage of the Diſ- they have raiſed, nor will they dare to puſh thoſe e ſeduced upon any violent Meaſures: Whereas, if lat this Juncture diſband any great Part of our Army, nded Soldiers would probably join with the Diſcon- which might produce Conſequences I tremble to ; but this Houſe will, I hope, prevent my Fears, ing to the Motion for this Reſolution.

ipeakers againſt the Motion were *William Pultney*, *John Barnard*, Mr. *Shippen*, Mr. *Sandys*, with nd their Arguments were to the following Effect.

Speakers againſt the Motion, Mr. Pultney, Sir J. Barnard, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Sandys.

am not, nor do intend to ſpeak againſt our keeping tanding-Army at all, I have no preſent Occaſion to otice of the Arguments that have been made uſe of ving the indiſpenſable Neceſſity of ſuch a Meaſure: r, leſt it ſhould be thought, that I am likewiſe of , that a Government cannot now be ſupported, nor s put in Execution, without a Body of what we call Troops, and which were unknown in the Times e Spirit of our Conſtitution was beſt underſtood, ne to give ſome Reaſons for my being of a contrary nt. I know, Sir, that all our Neighbours have now o a Method of keeping up a large Body of regular ; but it is not for the ſole Reaſon, that ſuch Troops ays have a great Superiority over Militia, or that a nent cannot be ſupported without the Aſſiſtance of oops; it is becauſe among moſt of them, I may ſay ll of them, ſome ſort of abſolute and arbitrary nent has been lately introduced; and for ſupporting overnment, it is abſolutely neceſſary to keep up a -Army. But there was a time, Sir, when the Practice ing up a Body of regular Troops for the Purpoſes vernment and Miniſtry, was as little known in theſe s as till within theſe ſixty Years they were in ours. a Country a Body of regular Troops muſt always h preferable to a Body of their Militia, moſt of re may ſuppoſe never touched a Sword or a Gun, t was put into their Hands upon that Occaſion;

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but in a Country where no regular Army is kept up, and proper Care taken to exerciſe and diſcipline the Militia, and to infuſe a martial Spirit into all their Subjects in general, I can ſee no Reaſon why a Body of Men, who have for ſome Years been bred to hard Labour, to the Uſe of Arms, and to military Diſcipline, without any Pay, ſhould not be as good as a Body of Men bred up for the ſame Time to Military Diſcipline, with Pay, and by Reaſon of that Pay, bred up in Lazineſs and Idleneſs: On the contrary, I ſhould think the former would be better able to endure the Fatigues of War; and I am certain no Man's Courage was ever improved by a State of Lazineſs and Idleneſs, which for ſome Years paſt has been the Caſe of our Army.

A Soldier, Sir, may learn all his Exerciſes to Perfection in 3 or in 6 Months; and after he is once Maſter of his Exerciſes, he is as good a Soldier as he ever can be without having Action. He may then make as good a Figure at a Review as the oldeſt Veteran; but for making a good Figure in a Day of Battle, it depends upon the Courage and the Experience of the Soldier, neither of which, but eſpecially the latter, can be acquired any other Way than by having been frequently in Action. Therefore, Sir, I ſee no Reaſon why a Militia may not be as ſerviceable as our preſent Army, ſince they might have all the Advantage which regular Troops can enjoy except Experience in Action, which our Army knows almoſt as little of as our *Militia*. Now with reſpect to the Military Exerciſes, and to the *making* of a Figure at a Review, I believe a Man, who *is* five Days of the Week at Plow, or any other induſtrious Employment, and two Days at his Military Exerciſes, may in half a Year, or a Year, become as much Maſter of the latter, as he that is two Days of the Week at his Military Exerciſes, and the other five ſotting or carouſing at an Ale-Houſe or Gin-ſhop. Upon the whole, Sir, I will venture to ſay, that if the Militia of this Country, or any Country where the Spirit of the People has not been broke by Arbitrary Power, were properly regimented, and put under the Command of Gentlemen of Honour and Courage, inſtead of being commanded by Shoemakers and Taylors, they might in a Year or two be as properly called regular Troops, as any mercenary Regiment can be, which is compoſed of Officers and Soldiers, who never had Occaſion to look an Enemy in the Face, unleſs it was a Gang of Smugglers, or a Mob of Pick-pockets; and while there is a Man in the Kingdom, who has been in Action, a Regiment of Militia would have as good a Chance to have ſome of them among them, as any Regiment of mercenary Troops can have, after a Peace of 20 or 30 Years

Years Duration. I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that a Regiment of Veteran Soldiers, a Regiment compoſed chiefly of Officers and Soldiers who have been frequently in Action, may be much ſuperior to a Regiment of the beſt diſciplined Militia; but I cannot admit that a Regiment of mercenary Troops, who never ſaw an Enemy, has any Advantage over a Regiment of Militia, well diſciplined and properly commanded: It never can be thought that there is any Difference in the Goodneſs of the Men; and if there is not, I can't for my Life find out where the Preference ſhould be given to the regular Troops. For which Reaſon I ſhall always be of Opinion, that a Country may be governed, the Laws executed, and the People protected both againſt Invaſions and Inſurrections, by a regular Militia, as well as by a mercenary Army; and in a free Country I am ſure the former is a much more proper Defence than the latter. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736.

What we now call Regular Troops, or Standing-Forces, have produced, and always will produce, the moſt fatal Conſequences in every Country where they are kept up. In ſuch Countries the People in general not only neglect, and have no Encouragement to breed themſelves up to the Uſe of Arms and martial Diſcipline, but they are taught from their Infancy to tremble at the Name of a Soldier; by which means the braveſt, the moſt warlike People may, in the Space of one Century, be rendered the moſt daſtardly and effeminate. They put their whole Truſt in what they call their Army; and if that Army happens by the Chance of War to be cut off, there is no finding another that dares look a victorious Enemy in the Face, which is the Reaſon that every ſuch Country has at laſt become an eaſy Prey to ſome foreign Invader: Whereas, in a Country where they have no Army to truſt to, the Government muſt neceſſarily take care of the Militia, the whole People are bred Soldiers from their Infancy, and an invading Enemy finds them like the *Hydra*'s Heads; if they have the good Fortune to cut off one Army, they immediately find another more formidable grow up in its ſtead; for ſuch a People may be killed, but they cannot be conquered. I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſaid, that Arts and Sciences cannot be promoted, nor Trade and Induſtry encouraged, but by the keeping up of Standing-Armies, for I have often heard, and often thought that Standing-Armies are deſtructive to all the Arts of Peace. It may as well be ſaid, that neither the one nor the other can flouriſh but in Countries where Arbitrary Government is eſtabliſhed; for Arbitrary Power has in all Countries been the certain Conſequence of keeping up a large Standing-Army. In ſuch Countries they may have

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the good Luck to have a Prince, or an Adminiſtration, that encourages Arts and Sciences, and protects Trade and Induſtry; but that Period is generally of no long Continuance, and Barbariſm, Ignorance, and Idleneſs always ſucceed. In this Kingdom we know that Arts and Sciences were introduced, and Trade and Induſtry eſtabliſhed, long before we had ſuch a Thing as a Standing-Army; and I believe, Sir, Gentlemen will find, that ſince the Nation has been at the Trouble and Expence of keeping up a Standing-Army, there Arts and Sciences have not at all gained Ground in this Country.

In the *Grecian* and *Roman* Common-Wealths their Tradeſmen and Labourers gained Laurels in the Field of Battle by their Courage, and returned to gain a Subſiſtence for themſelves and Families by their Induſtry; but when they began to keep Standing-Armies, their Soldiers, 'tis true, for ſome time gained Laurels in the Field, but they returned to plunder, and at laſt to ſubdue their Country; which put an End to their Freedom, and of courſe to every Thing that was Praiſe-worthy among them. God forbid our Fate ſhould be the ſame! 'Tis a Miſtake to imagine our Tradeſmen would be drawn away from their Labour by breeding them up to Military Diſcipline; on the contrary they might be brought to uſe it as their Diverſion, and then they would return with more Alacrity to their uſual Labour. In former Times our Holy-Days, and even Sundays, were employ'd in the Exerciſe of the *Long-Bow* and other warlike Diverſions; and I muſt think that ſuch Days would be much better employ'd in that Way, than in ſotting at an Ale-Houſe, or loitering in a Skettle or Nine Pin Ground; but ſuch a Change of Manners is not to be introduced without the Aſſiſtance of the Government, and ſome proper Laws for that Purpoſe; and I am convinced our Government will never aſſiſt, as long as we furniſh them with a Standing-Army; for a Standing-Army is in all Countries a moſt uſeful Thing to thoſe in Power, and a well-diſciplined Militia a moſt dangerous Thing to thoſe who are graſping at more than they ought to have.

I ſhall readily agree with the honourable Gentleman, that every Government muſt have a Military Force for its Support, and muſt make uſe of that Military Force when Neceſſity requires. But the Military Force that is required for preſerving a People from Invaſion from Abroad, or Inſurrection at Home, and that required for ſtrengthning the Hands of an Adminiſtration, are very different. A legal and limited Government ought to be provided with a free and legal Military Force depending upon the ſole Will and

and Pleaſure of the Governor; a Military Force which he may make uſe of for breaking, as well as for executing the Laws of his Country. Such is our Regular Army according to its preſent Eſtabliſhment. They are not free Subjects, they are Soldiers, not governed properly by the Laws of their Country, but by a Law made for them only; and all depending upon the ſole Will and Pleaſure of the King. This may in Time make them look upon themſelves as a Body of Men different from the reſt of the People; and as they, and they only, have the Sword in their Hands, they may at laſt begin to look upon themſelves as the Lords, and not the Servants of the People. They will obey and execute your Laws whilſt you make ſuch Laws as pleaſe them; but if you ſhould begin to make ſuch Laws as may be diſagreeable to them, they will neither execute nor obey your Laws; they will make Laws for themſelves, and one of the firſt, you may depend on't, will be, a Law for diſſolving your Aſſembly: They have done ſo before, and they may do ſo again, if ever they ſhould happen to be under an ambitious King or General. I know it may be ſaid our Militia depend as much upon the ſole Will and Pleaſure of our Governor, as our Regular Army; but it is not to be ſuppoſed they would ſo readily join in overturning the Laws of their Country, as a Mercenary Army would, when properly garbled, and if our Militia ſhould be brought under any new Regulations, which muſt be done, before they can be made uſeful, proper Care might be taken, for putting it out of the Power of any Man to make a bad Uſe of them.

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I know it has been ſaid, that Liberty is attended with a Licentiouſneſs of Manners, which begets Factions and Animoſities againſt the Government; but admitting that to be true, no Argument drawn from the Abuſe of a good Thing, ought to ſerve for its being aboliſhed. Tho' I cannot at all ſee how a free Country is more liable to dangerous Convulſions than an enſlaved one. In a Country where the Government is limited, and the People free, there may perhaps be more room for Party and Faction, than in a Country where the Government is abſolute, and the People dare not complain; but, Sir, even in a free Country, and under the moſt limited Government, while thoſe in Power do their Duty, while they conſult the Inclinations of the People, and refrain from all manner of Oppreſſion either public or private, no Party, no Faction can become dangerous to the Government, tho' it has no Regular Troops to truſt to. Such a Government will always have a great Majority of the People in their Intereſt, and tho' there may be ſome who, from private Views, may be diſſatisfied with the public Meaſures purſued,

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ſued, yet they will for their own Sakes remain quiet and peaceable; for no Man of common Senſe will riſe in Arms againſt an eſtabliſhed Government, unleſs he is ſure not only of a general Diſcontent among the People, but that the general Diſcontent is got to ſuch a Height as to make the Majority of the People ready to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preſervation. Of this the glorious Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is a moſt convincing Proof. I believe hardly any Hiſtory can parallel ſo long a Reign ſo little diſturbed with Faction; yet if we conſider the Circumſtances that attended her Acceſſion to the Crown, we ſhall be ſurprized that her Reign was not torn with the moſt violent Party Diviſions and State Convulſions. One of the Steps of that glorious Queen was to overturn the Religion ſhe found eſtabliſhed in her Country, a Religion ſupported by a great Party at Home, and profeſſed and protected by the greateſt Part of *Europe*: At the ſame Time ſhe knew ſhe had a Pretender to her Crown, and a moſt dangerous Pretender too, a Pretender who was of the Religion then eſtabliſhed in the Country, a Pretender who was in Poſſeſſion of a Kingdom of her own, a Kingdom within the ſame Iſland, and a Kingdom which could vindicate the Rights of their Queen with as brave and as fierce Armies as ever marched from any Country; and what ſtill added to the Danger, the Pretender was not only Queen of *Scotland*, but Wife to the *Dauphin*, and afterwards to the King of *France*. From ſuch Circumſtances, what Factions, what Commotions, what violent Convulſions were not to be apprehended; yet that wiſe Queen, without any Standing-Army, eſtabliſhed herſelf upon the Throne, eſtabliſhed the Religion ſhe profeſſed, triumphed over all her Enemies, and after a Reign of 43 Years tranſmitted the Crown in Peace to her next lawful Succeſſor, without ever having been diſturbed by any Party or Faction's riſing in Arms againſt her, except one in the *North*, and ſome few Commotions in *Ireland*, neither of which ever became conſiderable.

In a free Country, indeed, when thoſe in Power make a weak or a wicked Uſe of their Power, or make any Attempts upon the Liberties of the People, a Party will certainly form itſelf againſt the Government, and ſuch a Party as cannot be withſtood but by means of a numerous and mercenary Army; but in that Caſe, Sir, the Government becomes the Faction, and as ſoon, Sir, as Government degenerates into Faction, there is a Neceſſity for its being ſupported by a Standing Army, for it can ſupport itſelf no other way, and it is by that way alone that it can deſtroy the Liberties of a People; ſome outward Forms may be preſerved, but the Go-

Government, in Subſtance, becomes from that Moment Arbitray. Faction is an ugly Name, in a free Country, always beſtowed upon thoſe who oppoſe the Government; but whether they, or the Government, beſt deſerve the Name, depends upon the Meaſures purſued by each. To prevent Faction and civil Diſcord has in all Countries been the plauſible Pretence of thoſe who ſecretly aimed at the Eſtabliſhment of Arbitrary Power: In moſt of our neighbouring Countries that Pretence has had the wiſhed-for Succeſs, but I hope it never ſhall in this; for it is much happier for a People to be in a continual Danger of Civil Diſcord, or even of Civil Wars, than to be in a continual State of Slavery. A Civil War is an Impoſthume, it may be troubleſome, it may be painful while it laſts, but it carries off any contagious Matter that may be lodged in the Body, and generally brings Health and Vigour for many Years after; whereas deſpotic Power is an Ulcer, a Gangrene, which admits of no Cure, nor can receive any Comfort. *Anno* II. 1

I believe, Sir, no Gentleman ever ſuſpected me as favouring Diſaffection to our preſent happy Conſtitution in Church and State. I have as bad an Opinion of *Jacobites* and *Papiſts* as any Gentleman of this Houſe can reaſonably have, but I never thought that either our *Jacobites* or *Papiſts* were for eſtabliſhing Arbitrary Power: I am ſure very few of them are. We maintained our Liberties when the whole Nation were *Papiſts*; we may loſe them now we are *Proteſtants*; and if we ſhould, it would make many Men *Jacobites* who are very far from being ſo at preſent. People under Oppreſſion always hope for Relief from any Change: If the Liberties of this Country ſhould be once overturned, the worſt we could expect would be only changing one Slavery for another. Even the trueſt Lovers of Liberty might be prompted by Revenge to become *Jacobites*, in order to diſappoint and puniſh thoſe who had cheated them out of their Liberties. I do not believe there can ever be a Party in this Kingdom for eſtabliſhing Arbitrary Power, unleſs it be our Miniſters and their Creatures. An Itch for Arbitrary Power ſeems, indeed, to be epidemical with reſpect to that Sett of Men: Our Anceſtors have known Miniſters, Sir, who have been infected with it, and who have tranſmitted the Infection down to their Succeſſors, tho' of a different Party and Intereſt. We may again have ſuch Miniſters; and for that Reaſon, chiefly, I am againſt keeping up a numerous Standing-Army, becauſe, according to its preſent Regulation, it is too much under the Power of Miniſters: And I own that I am for truſting no Miniſter with my Liberty. Some Miniſter or other may ſome Time

10. Geo. 1736-7.

or other make uſe of it for attaining to that which ſo many of them have ſeemed to long for.

There are, 'tis true, Sir, too many Rogues and Thieves in the Kingdom; there are, I believe, ſome great ones who are not yet diſcovered, but I doubt much if a numerous Standing-Army will contribute either to their being diſcovered or puniſhed. With reſpect to any of thoſe little Offenders that have of late been ſeized and hanged, I am ſure it cannot be ſaid the Army has been, in the leaſt, aſſiſting. They have all been apprehended by the Country People, or by the common Thief-catchers; which is a Trade, I hope no Gentleman of the Army will ever be deſired to undertake, unleſs the Thief be ſome Perſon of a very eminent Degree. I do not know that the Army has ever been employ'd in any Sort of Thief-catching, except with reſpect to thoſe Thieves called *Smugglers*; and the Reaſon of the Army's being neceſſary for that Purpoſe is, that our Taxes are ſo many and ſo high, and have been ſo long continued, that the People begin to look upon *Smugglers* as their Friends, and therefore will not be concerned, nor run any Riſk, in apprehending or oppoſing them. And indeed, Sir, I think it ſhould be very unreaſonable if the Army was not uſeful in ſome ſhape or other, eſpecially to thoſe who keep it up. When our Soldiers ſerve againſt *Smugglers*, they ſerve their own immediate Maſters, and the Country People have learned to look upon that Service as proper to the Army. But if we had no Taxes but ſuch as the People thought reaſonable, and if thoſe Taxes were applied to Uſes which the People thought neceſſary for their Preſervation, they would be as ready to join the *Hue* and *Cry* againſt a *Smuggler*, as they are now againſt a Houſe-breaker or Highwayman. I am perſuaded there is nothing contributes ſo much to the Increaſe of Criminals of all Sorts among us, as the great Number of Regular Troops we keep up; the common Soldiers mix among the Vulgar, and by their Example, they propagate a Spirit of Lewdneſs, Idleneſs, and Extravagance in every Country and City of the Kingdom; I wiſh even ſome of the Officers may not in this Way be a little to blame. The Credit and Subſiſtence of a Merchant, a Tradeſman, or a Labourer, depends upon his Character: If he gets the Character of a lewd, profligate Fellow, no Man will truſt or employ him; for this Reaſon he is obliged at leaſt to be a Hypocrite, and ſo can do no Miſchief by his Example; but the Credit of a Soldier depends upon his doing his Duty, and his Subſiſtence depends upon his Pay; if he does his Duty he may be as lewd and profligate as he pleaſes, and as openly as he pleaſes, conſequently

ently may do great Miſchief by his Example. In all Countries the young and high-metalled are proud of keeping Company with Soldiers; they learn their Manners, and ſoon begin to imitate them in their Vices; by ſo doing they loſe their Characters, and when no Man will truſt or employ them, if they cannot get into the Army, they muſt rob or ſteal for Subſiſtence.

Among a certain Sett of People, Sir, I have obſerved, that Mobs are repreſented as moſt hideous Things. I confeſs they ought not to be encouraged; but they have been ſometimes uſeful, tho' I own they are never expedient. In a free Country I am afraid a Standing-Army rather occaſions than prevents them; where a Magiſtrate has a Guard of Regular Troops to truſt to, he is apt to neglect humouring the People, he deſpiſes, and ſometimes oppreſſes them; in which Caſe, the People, as long as there is any Spirit among them, will certainly grow tumultuous. If a Tumult happens with any juſt Cauſe of Complaint, a little gentle Uſage, and calm Reaſoning, generally prevents any Miſchief, and prevails with the People to return to their Duty; but a Magiſtrate with an Army at his Back will ſeldom take this Method, for few Men will be at the Pains to perſuade when they know they can compel. But in a free Country, if a Tumult happens from a juſt Cauſe of Complaint, the People ought to be ſatisfied, their Grievances ought to be redreſſed; they ought not ſurely to be immediately knock'd on the Head, becauſe they happen to complain in an irregular Manner. To make uſe of Regular Troops upon every ſuch Occaſion, is like a tyrannical School-Maſter, who never makes uſe of the ſoft Arts of Perſuaſion and Allurement, but always makes uſe of the Rod; ſuch a Man may break the *Spirit*, but never can improve the *Minds* of his Scholars.

I do not know, Sir, what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by that Reſpect and Eſteem which we ought to have, among our Neighbours; ſurely, Sir, this Reſpect and Eſteem never can encreaſe in the ſame Proportion as our Regular Troops encreaſe; ſurely Gentlemen don't think that we are to be reſpected only according to the Regular Troops we have in our Pay: In that Caſe there are ſeveral Princes in *Germany* who would deſerve more Reſpect than we; there is hardly a Kingdom in *Europe* that would deſerve ſo little; and I am ſure thoſe who keep up their *Hundreds of Thouſands*, as ſome of our Neighbours do, would have no Occaſion to ſhew us any Regard or Eſteem. But I believe the Caſe is directly otherwiſe. For my own part, Sir, I am ſo far from being of that Opinion, that I think I can venture

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general, and to our Government's poſſeſſin
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Power as we might otherwiſe do: It will p
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of the Army; and it will always contribute
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this Reaſon I will be bold to ſay, that if
Maritime Counties or Cities be plundered b
of foreign Regular Troops, it will be owin
up a Standing-Army. Conſidering the
Coaſts, we cannot have ſo much as one Re

lly very much ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſaid, we o Inconvenience from our Army. Beſides the which our Liberties are expoſed, is not the great ill owe, and the many Taxes we ſtill pay, in a ure owing to our keeping up ſo numerous an me of Peace? Can it be ſaid that the Quartering is no Inconvenience to thoſe poor People who to that extraordinary Burden? Is it not a very nce, as well as a great Inconvenience to every ıſe in the Kingdom? And can we imagine our e always ſo civil in their Quarters as never to be ny Inſolence or rude Piece of Behaviour? I hope forgiven when I wiſh that ſome of the Gen- o tell us ſo could be metamorphoſed, for a few ıly, into a Country Inn-keeper, or Alehouſe- ıth a handſome Wife, or two or three pretty , whoſe Virtue and Well-being he might be ſup- ıve ſome Concern for: I believe ſuch Gentlemen, Return to this Houſe, would ſhew a little more ; I believe they would allow our Inn-keepers uſe-keepers might live at a leſs Expence, and with ıl of more Eaſe and Quiet, if they had no ſuch t leaſt not ſo many, as they are now generally th. But this is not all: Can any Gentleman ſay ıs can never be in Danger from a Standing-Army? ı not once already been overturned by an Army, ı raiſed and paid by Parliament? An Army, ıe very Officers were put in by the Parliament, or hom the Parliament had named, which rendered e Creature of the Parliament, than it is poſſible rmy upon its preſent Footing to be. For tho' ır Troops are at preſent kept up by our Au- re are not certain our Authority will be ſufficient ding them, whenever we have a Mind, our be- Danger from his preſent Majeſty ſignifies nothing: ;ood King, we ought to adopt no Cuſtom, nor Precedent, which a bad King may make a bad

'er our pacific Meaſures may have done, I am per- r, neither the late Preſervation of our own Tran- or the Reſtoration of the public Tranquillity, ; to the Army we kept up, or the Addition we :. As to our own Tranquillity, it is certain our quiet, was the utmoſt that could be hoped for by began the War: Our not joining againſt them reateſt Favour they could expect from us, and t would have been ridiculous in them to have diſ-

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turbed our Tranquillity, because it would have forced us to join against them. And as to restoring the Tranquillity of *Europe*, I am sure it cannot be said to have been restored upon the Footing of any Scheme or Plan proposed by his Majesty: I am sure his Majesty never did, nor ever would propose to add such a large Dutchy as that of *Lorain* to the Dominions of *France*. On the contrary, we know the Peace was clapt up between the two chief contending Powers without our Knowledge, without our Advice or Assistance; and I wish we may not find it was clapt up on Conditions which may prove disagreeable both to us and our Allies.

I shall grant, Sir, that the System of Affairs in *Europe* seems to be altered by the late Peace; but I cannot think either of the contracting Parties has a Design of making any immediate Incroachment upon us or any of our Allies. The Maxims they have of late pursued for distressing us are more slow and more effectual than they were some time ago, when they had other Ministers to direct their Affairs. I dare say, Sir, there is not a Court in *Europe* that has now a Thought of invading us or our Allies, for if that were the Case, our Ministers at those Courts would certainly have discovered such a Design: Their Wisdom, their Care, and their Penetration, are so well known, it is not possible to suppose such a Design could be kept concealed from them; and if there be no immediate Design, there is no Occasion for us to prepare against it: On the contrary, if we suspect any distant Views, and such only, (if our Ministers at foreign Courts have done their Duty) we can suspect, we ought in the mean Time to save as much as possible, in order that we may be the better able to oppose such Designs, when any Attempts shall be made for carrying them into Execution.

But, Sir, if we can suppose any Alteration made by the late Peace, with respect to the System of Affairs in *Europe*, it must be occasioned by a real Conjunction and thorough Union between the *Emperor* and *France*: It must proceed from a Concert between those two Potentates for prescribing Rules to the rest of *Europe*, or for joining together in order to make Incroachments upon some of their Neighbours; and in that Case the War which the *Muscovites* are already engaged in, and which the *Emperor* will probably be very soon engaged in, against the *Turks*, is a Sort of Pledge for securing the Tranquillity of the rest of *Europe*; because it will prevent the *Emperor*'s being in a Capacity of executing his Part of any such Concert. Then again, if we suppose that no such Alteration has been made by the late Peace, but that *France* may take that Opportunity, as she was formerly

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wont to do, of attacking the *Emperor* or ſome of thoſe, who, according to the antient Syſtem, are his natural Allies, it is at the ſame Time reaſonable to ſuppoſe that we would not be ſo far wanting to ourſelves as to ſtand by the Spectators; in ſuch an Event, it is not the firſt Time the *Emperor*, in conjunction with his Allies, has ſupported ſucceſsfully a War againſt the *Turks*, and at the ſame Time ſet Bounds to the Ambition of *France*, even when he had not the *Muſcovites* to aſſiſt him, and at a time when we had no ſuch numerous Standing-Army in *Britain* as we have at preſent. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

But, Sir, it is impoſſible to imagine or expect a time when all the Princes of *Europe* will be not only in profound Peace, but without any Views or Deſigns of making Incroachments upon one another. If we are not to diminiſh our preſent Army till ſuch a time happens, if we are not to paſs the River till it runs dry, it is ridiculous ever to think of paſſing, or to expect a Diminution. Againſt ſecret Deſigns and ſudden Invaſions, we may always defend ourſelves by means of our Fleet; and there is no Gentleman of thoſe who oppoſe a Land Army that is againſt our keeping the Royal Navy always in good Repair, a conſiderable Number of Seamen always in Pay, and to encouraging Military Diſcipline among our Men in general; but when we are ourſelves at Peace, we ought always to take that Opportunity to eaſe ourſelves of the Expence of maintaining a Land Army. Are we to keep up a Land Army for the Defence of our Allies? No, Sir; they have fortified Towns, and numerous Garriſons to defend them againſt any ſudden Attack; and if they do their Duty towards themſelves, if they keep the Fortifications of their Frontier Towns in good Repair, and ſuch a Body of Regular Troops in their Pay, as is neceſſary for defending their Frontier, we ſhall always have time to raiſe or to hire an Army for their Support, before they can be brought into any great Danger.

I am ſorry to hear, Sir, there is ſo much Diſcontent, and ſo many Tumults in the Nation; but upon ſuch an Occaſion to bring his Majeſty's Name, or his Majeſty's Government, into Queſtion, as I obſerve they too often are, is not fair; I muſt beg Leave to ſay, I do not think it altogether decent. I am ſure there is no Man in the Kingdom that ever thought himſelf wronged by his Majeſty, but I ſhall not ſay ſo much with reſpect to his Miniſters. Therefore, if there be any Diſcontents in the Nation, we are to ſuppoſe the Nature of our Conſtitution points it out to us to ſuppoſe that ſuch Diſcontents are owing to the Meaſures purſued by the Miniſters only; and if we examine the Hiſtory of this

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Nation for ſome Years paſt, we may eaſily ſee how they have been raiſed, and to what they are chiefly owing. During the late great War, the People of this Nation were ſubjected to many new and heavy Taxes, and a great public Debt incurred. Every Man was then ſenſible of the Debt contracted, every Man then felt ſeverely the Taxes he paid, but every Man comforted himſelf that in a few Years of Peace the Debt would be paid off, and moſt of the Taxes aboliſhed. We have now enjoy'd a Peace of twenty ſix Years ſtanding, and yet now we find the public Debt near as large as it was at the End of the War, and all the Taxes but one, as high and as heavy as they were in any time of the War. In this long Tract of peaceable Times, the People have not felt themſelves relieved from any one Tax, except a Part of the Land Tax, and even that Tax is as high in *Britain* now in time of Peace, as it is in *France* in time of War. Thus the People have been long diſappointed, and now at laſt they begin to deſpair of ever ſeeing themſelves relieved from the heavy Burdens they groan under. There may be ſeveral other Reaſons; there are ſome which I could mention, but this is the chief Reaſon of the Diſcontent being ſo general, as I am afraid it is; and I am ſure the keeping up of a numerous Standing-Army in time of Peace, is not a proper Method for removing this Cauſe of Diſcontent. So far from it, Sir, that I am afraid it is one of the principal Cauſes of all that Diſſatisfaction ſo much inſiſted on; for a free Government cannot be ſupported but by having the Affections of the Generality of the People.

To imagine, Sir, that our Government would be in any Danger from the diſbanded Soldiers joining with the Diſcontented is without any Foundation; for there are many Soldiers would be glad to be diſcharged, there are many of them would be glad to return to their former Labour and Induſtry, and there are ſome who would be entitled to *Chelſea-Hoſpital*; of theſe there are not perhaps a great many, for of late we ſeem to have taken more Care to make a fine Figure at a Review, than a brave Stand in a Field of Battle; ſo that we have not at preſent many old Soldiers in our Army; however there are ſome, and they would be glad of being put upon the Eſtabliſhment of *Chelſea-Hoſpital*. By this means a Reduction might be managed ſo as not to diſcharge a Man who did not look on it as a Favour: and ſurely it is not to be ſuppoſed that thoſe Men who had juſt received a Favour from the Government would join with any Party againſt the Government; nor would the Number of diſciplined Soldiers in the Kingdom be diminiſhed by

ſuch a Reduction; for, as the Officers would all be put upon half Pay, both Officers and Soldiers would remain in the Iſland, and would be ready to aſſiſt in the Defence of their Country againſt any Invaſion or Inſurrection, and act as bravely as if they were in full Pay and Regimented. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736-7

I hope, Sir, I have now ſhewn, there is no Force in any of the Arguments made uſe of for our keeping up the ſame Number of Forces we had laſt Year, nor any Danger to be apprehended from a Reduction; but I cannot leave this Subject without repreſenting to Gentlemen the Danger our Conſtitution is expoſed to by keeping up ſuch a numerous Army. Such Repreſentations have, 'tis true, often been made, and enforced with more Strength than I am Maſter of, but I think they ought to be repeated as often as there is Occaſion. The Number we have at preſent, eſpecially conſidering how eaſily and how ſoon they may be increaſed to double the Number, I will be bold to ſay, is ſufficient for trampling upon the Liberties of this Nation; and the longer they are kept up, the more ſufficient will they be for that Purpoſe; becauſe the People will every Day grow leſs apt or able to vindicate their Liberties, and our Army will every Day grow the more cemented, and conſequently the more fit for ſuch an Undertaking. *Oliver Cromwel*, when he turned every Member of this Houſe out of Doors, when he bid one of his Soldiers take away *our Mace, that Fool's Bauble*, as he called it, had not a much more numerous Regular Army than we have at preſent on Foot; and tho' the Army under King *James* II. behaved in a more honourable Manner, yet ſuch a Behaviour is not much to be depended on; for I am convinced even that Army would not have behaved as they did, if the Diſcontented had not had an Army to repair to; or if proper Meaſures had been taken to garble them a little before Hand.

But, Sir, without any open and violent Attack upon our Liberties, like that made by *Oliver Cromwel*, our Conſtitution may, by means of our Army, and the many other Poſts in the ſole Diſpoſal of the King, be undermined, and at laſt, to uſe the Military Expreſſion, entirely blown up. It may come to be laid down as a Maxim, that an Officer or Soldier ought to be as obſervant of his Orders in this Houſe, or at Elections, as he ought to be in a Camp or a Field of Battle; and that Courage and Experience in the Field are never to be regarded, however ſerviceable they may have been to his Country, if they happen to be joined to a Backwardneſs for the Miniſter's Meaſures in the Houſe. Nay it may happen, that the making of a proper Intereſt at Elections, or the giving of a right Vote in the Houſe of

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Commons, ſhall be deemed the only Service, the only Merit worthy of Preferment in the Army; and conſidering how many Officers are in Parliament, conſidering how many muſt always be in Parliament as long as we keep up the ſame Number of Forces we have at preſent, I may venture to ſay, that if ſuch Maxims ſhould be eſtabliſhed and purſued, it would be in the Power even of the moſt wicked Miniſter, to have always a Majority at his Command in both Houſes of Parliament. In which caſe our Parliaments, like the Senate of *Rome* under their Emperors, or the preſent Aſſemblies of the States in moſt of our neighbouring Kingdoms, would ſerve only for giving Countenance to the Schemes of our Miniſters, and for rendering them more bold in their Oppreſſions.

At preſent, Sir, we have more Reaſon than uſual for being afraid of ſuch Maxims. Several Officers have been lately removed from their Commands in the Army; Officers of almoſt every Rank and Station, and Officers who could not be accuſed of any Neglect or Contumacy in their Military Duty; therefore ſome People take it upon them to ſay, that they were removed for ſome Neglect or Contumacy in that, which with reſpect to ſuch Maxims may be called their Parliamentary Duty.

They had the Misfortune to differ from ſome Gentlemen in their Sentiments, and they had the Honeſty to declare their Sentiments *freely*, and to vote accordingly in Parliament; ſoon after this they were removed from every Poſt they had in the Army, without any Cauſe aſſigned: What can the World think of ſuch Removals? And I am ſure every Gentleman of this Houſe, who believes that they were removed for voting in Parliament according as their Conſcience and their Honour directed them, muſt join with me in Opinion, that it is now high time to think of reducing our Army, and of putting the Military Force of the Kingdom upon ſome Footing very different from what it has been upon for many Years paſt. It is now the very Beginning of a Seſſion: If we now reſolve upon a Reduction, we may have time to contrive and paſs a Bill for regulating our Militia ſo as to make it uſeful; but if we ſhould now reſolve upon continuing the ſame Number of Regular Forces, I am ſure, no Gentleman can expect a proper Concurrence or Aſſiſtance in any ſuch Deſign, and therefore I am ſure no Gentleman will venture to propoſe any Schemes for that Purpoſe; for many Objections may be made againſt the beſt Scheme that can be propoſed, and thoſe who have not a Mind to agree to any Scheme, will always pretend to think the Objections unanſwerable; ſo that unleſs the Queſtion for

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on, at a time of ſo profound a Tranquillity, be ap-
a Majority of this Houſe, no Man can expect the
ion of the Majority to any Scheme he can pro-
l no Man will chuſe to propoſe a Scheme which he
ll be rejected.

what I have ſaid, Sir, I think it will appear, that
ion now before us is not, Whether by keeping up
Number of Forces, we ſhall continue to neglect
ia, for one Year longer? But whether we ſhall
to neglect it for ever? This, Sir, is truly the
now before us; and I leave it to every Gentleman
Regard for the Conſtitution, or for the Liberties
ople, or for the Honour and Safety of his native
to conſider what may be the Conſequences of his
to ſuch a Queſtion? For my own Part I have done
; and if I ſhould ſee our happy Conſtitution over-
nd the Liberties of the People deſtroy'd; if I
our Maritime Cities and Towns plundered, and
ur of the Nation expoſed by that Spirit of Effe-
nd Cowardice which will ſoon prevail among all
are not of our Army, and perhaps at laſt among
wiſe, I ſhall at leaſt have this Comfort left, that I
e my Duty in this Houſe.

Sir Robert Walpole.

leply was by Sir *R. Walpole*, and to the Effect as
ox.

d be extremely glad to hear a Method propoſed by
could provide for our Safety both at Home and
without keeping any Troops in our Pay; but the
le Gentlemen who now ſeem to be for a Reduction,
have told us our Neighbours keep up their Re-
oops only for ſupporting their Arbitrary Power,
they have talked a great deal of the Militia, yet
e propoſed no Scheme for making the Militia of
dom uſeful, nor have they ſhewed us any Method
we can defend ourſelves againſt the Regular
ept up by our Neighbours, unleſs it be by keeping
of our own. What Reaſons our Neighbours may
keeping up ſuch large Bodies of Regular Troops as
or, whether the Militia of this Country, or any
may be ſo well diſciplined as to be made equal to
Troops, are Queſtions which I do not think very
at preſent; becauſe, 'tis certain every one of our
urs do keep up large Bodies of Regular Troops,
as certain that our Militia, according to their pre-
ulation, would be of no Uſe for defending us
uch Troops; therefore till our Militia are made
uſeful,

be made as good as Regular Troops, yet in a
Thing is impoſſible. There is nothing, I
Neceſſity or Pay, can make Men be at the T
tigue of training themſelves up to the U
Military Diſcipline; and as the People of
not now under any Neceſſity of ſo doing,
you can ever get any Number of them to
Diſcipline, unleſs you pay them for the T
at, and for that Part of their Time at leaſt
ploy in that Way. By Neceſſity I mean th
ceſſity which Men are brought under by the
of the Country they live in. In former
was divided into a great Number of little S
palities, each of which was in ſome manne
and therefore they were often making Inr
plundering one another: Many of theſe littl
were often united under one King or Gove
of them had ſo much Power within himſelf,
dependent of the chief Governor, that the
nacious of whatever they either pretended
be their Right, and their Quarrels were oftne
Sword than by the Laws of their Country:
Man under an immediate Neceſſity of accu
to the Uſe of Arms and Military Exerciſe
moſt of them neither thought of nor practiſe
other Sort of Employment. But ever ſince
reduced under the Dominion of a few powe
the People live in Security; thoſe of the ſam
State have their Differences decided by the
Differences that ariſe between two great Sove

the natural Reaſon for introducing that Cuſtom ngdom and State now in *Europe*. The ſupport- itrary Power cannot be the Reaſon in every one cauſe Regular Troops are kept up in all the free *rope*, and according to the Exigencies and Power vernment in as great Numbers too as in thoſe trary Power has been eſtabliſhed.

ountry, Sir, the People live in the ſame, or ra- Security as thoſe of any other Country in *Eu-* r the ſame Reaſon the Generality of them have nd will always neglect to train themſelves up to ey are now under no natural Neceſſity of ſtudy- tifing that Art; and if you ſhould pretend to lay a legal Neceſſity, I am afraid you will find it le. Such a Law, or ſuch a Scheme, may appear eaſy in Speculation, but I am convinced when o the Execution, at this time you would meet with able Difficulties. Let us conſider, Sir, that for e Militia always well diſciplined, you muſt have leaſt twice a Week to learn or to practiſe their If you ſhould make Sunday one of the Days, epend on it many of the Clergy, of all Sects and would look upon it as an Incroachment upon would therefore preach againſt it; from whence ur People would refuſe to obey ſuch a Law out e of Conſcience; ſo that we might perhaps have r keeping holy the Lord's Day, which might at e a religious Civil War in the Kingdom. Two fix is what no labouring Man can ſpare; nay, Day out of ſix, to be ſpent in military Exerciſe, y Pay, would be hard upon a poor labouring Man Family to provide for: It would be a Tax, and a too, upon every labouring Man, and every Man in the Kingdom. Their Time is their Eſtate, ore it would be taking one ſixth Part of their n them, which, conſidering how low our Eſtates to the Land Tax, would be near equal to ſix n the Pound upon Land. For this Reaſon all the Men, and all the Men of Buſineſs in the King- d think it a great Grievance, to be obliged to Day of the Week, beſides Sunday, at their Mi- rciſes; and what would our Landed Gentlemen, rich Merchants and Shop keepers think, what ſe Gentlemen of this Houſe who now ſeem to be a well-diſciplined Militia, think of being obliged wo Days of the Week, at five or ſix o'Clock in ing, wet or dry, to take a Muſket upon their Souldiers,

neſs, and a very troubleſome uneaſineſs Buſine
Sir, no Man that minds his real Buſineſs or
pairs to any Diverſion till his Buſineſs be ov
Man has any ſet and unalterable Time for
even Sunday itſelf is often incroached on,
Buſineſs requires. If you appointed one
Days every Week for Military Exerciſe,
abſolutely neceſſary, ſuch Appointment woul
with People's other Affairs, with thoſe A
they are to get their Bread, or provide for
and if you ſent them to their Officers for L
the obtaining of ſuch Leave would probabl
upon every Man that had occaſion for it
would riſe in proportion to his Ability, and
his Buſineſs. We may from hence ſee, it
eſtabliſh Military Exerciſe as a Diverſion:
eſpecially, if it were enforced by Law, woul
neral Diſcontent and Murmuring, and wo
expoſe our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment to
than it can ever be expoſed to by keeping up
Army, and leaving the reſt of the People to
duſtrious Art or Employment, or to follow
verſions as they themſelves ſhall chuſe, with
Diſturbance.

Therefore, Sir, while we are ſurrounded w
who keep vaſt Armies of Regular Troops
Foot, I muſt think it abſolutely neceſſar
up ſome Regular Troops of our own, fo
Coaſts and maritime Cities from ſecret
vaſions, and conſidering the Extenſivene
Coaſt, and the preſent unſettled State of

litary Force upon which our Government can depend either for its own Support, or for the Protection of the People; and I muſt think it would be a Sort of Madneſs to give up that, or any neceſſary Part of that upon which only we can now depend for our Safety and Protection, till we have provided ſomething in its ſtead, upon which we may with ſome Reaſon depend for our Security, at leaſt againſt foreign Invaſions. *Anno* 10 *Geo.* II 1736 7.

The next who ſpoke on the ſame Side was the Honourable *Henry Pelham*, Eſq. *Henry Pelham, Eſq;*

SIR,

My Honourable Friend who ſits near me has ſo fully anſwered the Gentleman who ſpoke againſt the Motion, that I believe every Gentleman here is convinced, that there is an abſolute Neceſſity of our keeping up a Number of Regular Forces in this Nation. But, Gentlemen, give me leave to take Notice of two or three Things that were thrown out by the Honourable Gentleman over the Way.

The Honourable Gentleman, Sir, ſeemed to be very apprehenſive of the Effects which the Army may have upon the Courage and Morals of the Subjects. For my Part, I am ſo far from being of Opinion, our Regular Army tends to depreſs the natural Courage or the Spirit of the reſt of our Subjects, that I am convinced a Regular Army of Natives, well cloathed, well paid, and kept under an exact Diſcipline, will in every County tend to raiſe the Spirit of the People, and to make their Men in general affect to imitate that Courage, that Regularity of Manners, and that Diſcipline, by which they ſee ſo many of their Countrymen, perhaps their Relations, riſe to Honour and Preferment; for if an Army be kept under proper Diſcipline, and Preferments juſtly diſpoſed of, a regular and virtuous Behaviour in private Life, as well as an exact Performance of his Duty as a Soldier, will always be made neceſſary for intitling a Man to Preferment in the Army; and if the Youth and High-metall'd of every Country are apt to keep Company with, and imitate the Soldiers, an Army, under a right Government, will always be of greater uſe towards eſtabliſhing Virtue and Morality among the People in general, than any other Sett of Men, not excepting even the Clergy, can be. Indeed, if your Government be in vicious Hands, if Favours and Preferments in the Army be diſtributed only to the Lewd, the Debauched, and the Profligate, your Army, like every other Sett of Men who depend upon ſuch a Government, will contribute towards corrupting the Morals of the People, and under ſuch a Government the Militia would

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do the ſame; for Preferment in the Militia, as well as in the Army, muſt always depend upon the Government.

Liberty, Sir, does not depend, it never did depend upon the Government's having or not having a Regular Army in their Pay. The Liberties of a People muſt always depend upon their Virtue. The Armies of a virtuous People will protect their Liberties; and a luxurious, vicious People will ſell them to the firſt Purchaſer, whether they have a Standing-Army or no. The *Romans* had great Standing-Armies long before they loſt their Liberties, and when they did loſe them, Sir, the Standing-Army was on the Side of Liberty, at leaſt on that Side that had the greateſt Shew of it. We have now ſeveral free States in *Europe* who keep up, who have long kept up numerous Standing-Armies. In *Holland*, in *Venice*, in *Poland*, they keep up Standing-Armies, without thinking their Liberties can from thence be in any Danger. In *Sweden* it was their Army that reſtored their Liberties; and in this Country it was our Army that reſtored our Liberties in the Reign of King *Charles* II. and it was our Army that preſerved them in the Reign of his Brother King *James*. In all Countries the Army will follow the general Bent of the People from whence they are drawn, and if the general Bent of the People be towards Slavery, they will do as they did ſome time ſince in *Denmark*, they will make a free Gift of their Liberties: Then, indeed, an Army may be ſo modell'd, as to prevent the People's reſuming the Grant they have made; but ſuch an Army muſt not be an Army like ours, it muſt not be an Army whoſe very Exiſtence depends upon the annual Conſent of the People, and whoſe Pay depends upon the Grants annually made by a Parliament tenacious of their own and the Nation's Rights. In this Country I hope the general Bent of the People is no way inclined towards Slavery: I am ſure ſome Gentlemen have loſt a great deal of Pains if it is. And if there be a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty among the People, the ſame Spirit muſt prevail in our Army, which is drawn from the People, and commanded by ſome of the beſt of the People; therefore it can never be ſuppoſed our Army will countenance or ſupport any Meaſures that may tend towards eſtabliſhing Arbitrary Power.

As to what has been inſinuated as if Soldiers were no better than the Slaves of Power, whatever it may be in other Countries, the Soldiers of our Army, Sir, are as free as any other of our Subjects. They are governed by the Laws of the Kingdom, as all other Subjects are. There is, 'tis true, one Law which relates particularly to them; but that Law

is

is fixed and certain, and publickly known; a Soldier from thence knows his Duty, and if he behaves like a good Subject, and does his Duty as a Soldier, he can be ſubjected to no Puniſhment; he is not under the Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of any Man in the Kingdom, no not even of the King himſelf. Our Soldiers are not, nor can they ſuppoſe themſelves a Body of Men different from the reſt of the People, on account of their being ſubject to a Law which relates to them only. Every Corporation, every Society, almoſt every Sort of Tradeſmen in the Kingdom, have the ſame Reaſon to think themſelves a Body of Men different from the reſt of the People; for every one of them are ſubject to ſome Laws which relate only to the particular Corporation or Society of which they are Members, or to the particular Trade or Profeſſion they are of. Our Militia are in the ſame Circumſtances; they are already ſubject to a Law which relates to them only; and whatever new Laws you may make for regulating our Militia, I hope you would not take the Command or the Power over them out of the Hands of the Crown; for ſuch a Regulation, as it happened to be once before, I ſhould look on as a total Subverſion of our preſent happy Conſtitution. I can therefore ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould think our Liberties in greater Danger from a Standing Regular Army than from a well diſciplined Militia: I am ſure it is as much the Intereſt both of the Officers and Soldiers of our Army to preſerve our Conſtitution, as it can be of any Sett of Men in the Kingdom. The Behaviour of the Army under *Oliver Cromwel* can be no Argument againſt our preſent Army: Our Conſtitution was then overtuned; a Sett of Men who had got into this Houſe, had murdered their King, had annihilated the other Houſe, had excluded even from this Houſe every Man who would not join with them in all their Meaſures, and by theſe Means had aſſumed to themſelves an Arbitrary Power: In ſuch Circumſtances the Officers of the Army thought they had as good a Title to take the Government of the Nation to themſelves, as to leave both the Nation and themſelves under the abſolute Power of any Sett of private Men in the Kingdom; and what was the Conſequence? That very Army, as ſoon as they could find an Opportunity, reſtored our Conſtitution. *Anno* 10. II. 173

Arts and Sciences, Sir, are the certain Product of Liberty and Security; and Ignorance and Idleneſs are as certainly the Product of Slavery or a State of War. The Security of the People being once eſtabliſhed, it may for ſome Time be preſerved without any Regular Troops; but Security makes them neglect to train themſelves up to the Art of

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War, and then a Standing Army becomes neceſſary for their Defence; eſpecially if their Neighbours are provided with great Numbers of Regular Troops. This is the natural Courſe of Things; it is, I believe, impoſſible to alter it by any Regulation. The Security of the People of this Kingdom was eſtabliſhed, and Arts and Sciences began to flouriſh, before we had any Standing Army; but a total Neglect of Military Diſcipline was not then ſo general as it is now, nor were our Neighbours provided with ſuch numerous Bodies of Regular Forces; therefore it might then be poſſible to preſerve the Security of the People without a Standing-Army, and yet now the Caſe may be, and I think is, quite otherwiſe. Our Neighbours are fully ſenſible of the great Neglect of Arms and Military Diſcipline among the Generality of the People of this Kingdom: They know how much ſuperior their Regular Troops are to your Militia; and if you had no Standing Army they would be ready to inſult you, to invade you, upon every Occaſion; therefore to protect the People againſt foreign Invaſions, a ſmall Number of Regular Forces is abſolutely neceſſary, and I do not think it can be leſs than it is at preſent.

Then, Sir, with reſpect to Inſurrections and civil Commotions, we may know from Experience, and from late Experience too, how ready a factious Party are to fly to Arms, tho' they are certain of the Majority of the People's being againſt them; for the Battle is not always to the Strong, nor is Victory chained to the moſt numerous Army. *In* the late Rebellion, I hope it will not be ſaid the Majority of the People were on the Side of the Rebels, and much leſs can it be ſaid the Majority of the People had any Inclination or Occaſion to fly to Arms for their Relief or Preſervation; yet that Faction flew to Arms without any juſt Provocation, depending for Succeſs upon the ſmall Number of Regular Troops we had then in our Pay; and if it had not been for that Number of Regular Troops, ſmall as it was, thoſe factious Rebels might probably have overturned our Government, and with it, our Liberties. The Caſe will always be the ſame, Sir, when you reduce your Army too low, ſome Faction or another will fly to Arms, and in theſe ſeveral bloody Conteſts, our Conſtitution and Liberties will probably at laſt be made a Sacrifice; for tho' a State of perpetual Diſcord and Civil War may perhaps be better than a State of abject Slavery; yet we find in moſt Countries the People have at laſt choſe to ſubmit to Arbitrary Power, rather then to continue under, or renew the Miſeries of a Civil War. Queen *Elizabeth*, 'tis true, had great Reaſon to dread Inſurrections and Convulſions at the

Beginning

ning of her Reign. She altered the Religion ſhe by Law eſtabliſhed, and ſhe had a Pretender to her s of that very Religion; but the Religion which was ablished by Law, was far from being eſtabliſhed in arts of the Majority of her People; and her Eſta- by a new Law that Religion which was before hed in their Hearts, gained her not only the Hearts, ands, and the Purſes, of the Majority of her People, oved her great and her chief Security againſt the Pre- to her Crown. This ſecured the Peace of the at Home, and none of her Neighbours having then reat Number of Regular Forces in their Pay, it was ceſſary for her to keep up a Standing-Army, for ſe- her People againſt foreign Invaſions. His preſent y will I hope upon every Occaſion find he has the , the Hands, and the Purſes of the Majority of the at his Command; I am ſure he has thro' his whole highly deſerved it; but it cannot be ſaid that our Mi- now ſo good as they were in Queen *Elizabeth's* nor the Proteſtants now ſo much united amongſt ives, or ſo zealous in the Defence of their Religion; every one of our Neighbours now keep in continual ll Armies of Regular Troops, it may now be abſo- neceſſary for us to keep up a Standing-Army, tho' it appear to be ſo in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

ſhall not ſay, Sir, that all the *Jacobites* are for Arbitrary r; but I am ſure the Conſequence of their ſucceeding r Scheme would be the Eſtabliſhment of it; and as *Papiſts*, if they underſtand the Religion they pro- they muſt be for Arbitrary Power; for their Religion be ſupported by nothing but Ignorance or Arbitrary r. In former Ages it was ſupported by Ignorance, and that Veil is pretty well removed, it can be ſupported thing but Inquiſitions and Arbitrary Rule; we may fore ſuppoſe, if the *Papiſts* amongſt us ſhould ever get Government into their Hands, they would eſtabliſh a de- ſway, in order to reſtore and ſupport the Religion profeſs. As for Miniſters and their Creatures, I do now but many of them may have an Itch for Arbitrary r; but they are not the only Perſons infected with that ſe: It is a Diſeaſe incident to other Men, I'm afraid ll Men, as well as to Miniſters; and we know by Ex- ce, in this Country as well as in others, that Miniſters been oppoſed, have been hanged or beheaded, under a ce of their endeavouring to uſurp Arbitrary Power, en who have committed that very Crime as ſoon as found an Opportunity.

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ment for taking ſome Method to put ther
and ſtricter Government; for 'tis certain th
may be made much ſtricter and more ſevere
mon Law can be made; therefore the Arm
to promote Virtue by its Example; and
Rogues ſhould venture to oppoſe the Civil P
of Arms, ſurely a few Regular Troops we
Uſe for ſuppreſſing ſuch a Gang. From
while we have an Army, we are not to judg
happen while we have none, or but a ſmall
Smugglers have lately dared to oppoſe th
with Force of Arms; but if we had few
Troops, I make no Queſtion but other Rog
breakers and Highwaymen, would follow
the Smugglers: While we have a ſufficient
gular Troops, no Sett of Rogues dare ve
ſuch thing; if they did, I hope no Ge
Army would think it beneath him, to mar
who appear in Arms againſt their Country.

I muſt ſay, Sir, I am ſorry to hear an
this Houſe make the moſt diſtant Inſinuatio
Mobs and Tumults. If any Magiſtrate ſh
injure the People, they may have recourſe
relieved by, the Laws of their Country.
dreſs in a mobbiſh tumultuous Way is certa
is often attended with Miſchief to the Inn
the Guilty. Rogues generally take the
ſuch public Calamities to plunder without
the Malicious take Occaſion to ſatisfy the
Malice and Revenge: It ought therefore

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ir, the Reſpect and Eſteem we have among Foreigners
not depend upon our Regular Troops only, it depends
wiſe upon our Navy, and the great Number of Regular
oops they know we could have, and could maintain, in
they ſhould provoke us to War; for this Reaſon we
ainly more reſpected and more feared than ſome other
rs who keep in continual Pay as many Troops as we
, becauſe they keep up in Time of Peace as many as they
ld have or maintain in caſe of War; and have no ſuch
y either to protect their own Coaſts, or to infeſt thoſe of
Enemy. But, ſurely, we are more to be dreaded by
Neighbours, when they know we can immediately, upon
ſure, ſend out a ſuperior Fleet, with an Army of 5 or
Regular Troops on board, to plunder and lay waſte
Country, perhaps for ſeveral Miles up from their Sea-
, than we ſhould be, if they knew we could ſend no-
but a Fleet againſt them, which could only bombard
few of their Sea-Port Towns: And while we have ſuch
my as we have at preſent, they cannot propoſe to do us
uch Miſchief upon a Rupture, by landing ſmall Parties
and there in the Iſland, as they could propoſe to do, if
ad no Regular Troops, or a leſs Number of Regular
ops, to oppoſe the Landing of ſuch Parties, or to inter-
them in their Return to their Ships.

To true, Sir, we cannot have a great Body of Regular
oops in every Part of that Iſland where an Enemy might
d; but the ſmall Body of Troops we have may be can-
ed ſo as to have at leaſt a Regiment at or very near every
ce where an Enemy could expect any Plunder worth their
ile; and one Regiment, with the Aſſiſtance they would
ſuch an Occaſion get from the Country People, would
ufficient to oppoſe the Landing of a very large Party, or
leaſt to ſtop their Progreſs; for one Regiment of Regular
oops would add greatly to the Spirit even of our Militia,
would encourage them to take Arms for the Defence of
Property. But ſuppoſing the Army we have at preſent
ſufficient for guarding all our Maritime Counties, it may
an Argument for putting our Militia on a better Footing;
all that is done, it is an Argument for increaſing rather
for diminiſhing the Number of Forces we have now on
. And while our Army conſiſts of natural-born Sub-
of *Great Britain*, no Foreigner can, from our keeping a
Regular Forces in Pay, ſuppoſe our Government does
enjoy the Affections and Eſteem of their own People:
mercenary Army of Foreigners kept up in the Kingdom
ght give Occaſion for ſuch Suppoſition; but an Army of
jects will always be liable to the ſame Affections with
the

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the reſt of the People, and will therefore always be a very improper Inſtrument for ſupporting a hateful Government, or for keeping a diſaffected People in Obedience.

Every Convenience in this Life, Sir, muſt be attended with ſome Inconveniencies; the Inconveniencies attending our keeping up ſo ſmall a Number of Regular Forces are ſo few and ſo ſmall a Conſideration, it may be properly enough ſaid we have felt no Inconveniencies from our Army; the Meaning of which is, we have felt no ſuch Inconveniencies as ought to be regarded. If we had never ſince the Peace kept up above one Half of what we do at preſent, the Saving that way would have paid no conſiderable Part of our Debt, and therefore could not have freed us from any of our Taxes; and the Quartering of Soldiers is ſo far from being thought an Inconvenience or Expence to any County or City in general, that moſt Parts of the Kingdom are deſirous of having Soldiers among them; becauſe it conſumes a Part of their ſpare Proviſions, and can be no Burden or Inconvenience to any but thoſe who keep public Houſes, moſt of whom get more by what the Soldiers ſpend in their Houſes, than the Expence of their Quarters can amount to. As for the Inſolence or rude Behaviour of the Soldiers, if any ſuch Thing happens, which I am convinced ſeldom does, the Landlord is ſure of getting Juſtice done him in the moſt ſummary Way, by a Complaint to the commanding Officer; and if he ſhould fail of it in that Way, he may get Redreſs by complaining to a Juſtice of Peace; or for any *Aſſault*, Battery, or the like Miſdemeanour, he may have an Action or Indictment at Common Law againſt a Soldier, as well as againſt any other Man in the Kingdom. And as for our Liberties, I can ſee no Reaſon why our Soldiers ſhould not be as careful of them as any other Sett of Men in the Kingdom; for very few of the Officers, and none of the Soldiers, can propoſe to better their Condition, but muſt neceſſarily make it a great deal worſe, by ſubjecting themſelves and their Country to Arbitrary Sway.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the preſent Situation of our Affairs both at Home and Abroad, and the Reaſons that may from thence be drawn for keeping the ſame Number of Forces in our Pay, at leaſt for this enſuing Year; whatever may have been the Effect of our late Meaſures, 'tis certain, that if the late Peace between the *Emperor* and *France* be not ſuch a one as it ought to be, it is ſo far from being an Argument for reducing our Army, that it is a ſtrong Argument for increaſing it; for if by that Peace the *Emperor* and *France* entered into any Concert for preſcribing Laws to the reſt of *Europe*, or for incroaching upon any

Neighbours, now is the proper Time for break- *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
Concert, either by Force or by Treaty, becauſe
or is not now in a Condition to perform his Part
ncert, or at leaſt not in ſuch a Condition as he will
ie has brought the *Turks* to ſubmit to what Terms
leaſe to impoſe. If immediate Force ſhould be
ſſary, we muſt greatly increaſe our Army; and if
be propoſed to be done by Treaty, by reducing
of our Forces, we ſhall derogate from the Weight
ave in any Treaty to be ſet on Foot for that Pur-
t if there is really no ſuch Concert between the
nd *France*, as I believe there is not, have we not
on to apprehend that *France* and her Allies will
of the preſent Opportunity for gaining ſome new
e, or for making ſome new Conqueſt, from the
or from ſome of his Allies? And while we are
reaſonable Apprehenſions, can it be ſaid the
a proper Time for us to reduce our Army?

not, 'tis true, Sir, to keep a Land Army for the
of our Allies, nor do any of them deſire we
They are all of them at vaſt Expence in keeping
ous Land Armies, and fortifying and keeping in
eir Frontier Towns, in order to provide for their
nce; but we ſtand engaged by Treaty to furniſh
hem with a Body of Regular Troops as ſoon as
be attacked, and this Engagement we could not
it we ſhould reduce our Army to a leſs Number
ſiſts of at preſent. I ſhall likewiſe admit that
in a Year or two appear with great Armies in the
" we had not near ſo many Regular Troops in
s we have at preſent; but in that Time ſome of
might be reduced to the laſt Extremity, and per-
ed to ſubmit to a Peace on any Terms. We all
eaſily and how ſoon *France* reduced the whole
of *Spain* after the Death of their laſt King;
ld not have been done, if we had been ready to
a great Number of Regular Troops to the Aſſiſt-
he Party we had then in that Kingdom: By this
e following War became much more heavy and
than it would otherwiſe have been; ſo that we
ely for the little Frugality we made uſe of in re-
Troops after the Treaty of *Ryſwick*; and if ever
ar breaks out again, the Conſequence will be the
we ſhould render ourſelves unable to aſſiſt our
ith a large Body of Troops, at the very Begin-
e War.

ſorry, becauſe I am certain they never had
It is not the Debt we owe, it is not the Taxe
the Continuance of thoſe Taxes, that are the
our preſent Diſcontents. The Debt we owe
for preſerving our Religion, our Liberties,
and every Thing that can be dear to a People
muſt be continued till that Debt is paid, and
Preſervation muſt in the mean Time be taken
this Purpoſe no Expences have been incurred,
Wiſdom of the Nation hath thought abſolu
nor any Taxes impoſed or continued but ſuch
burdenſome to the People. We muſt there
where elſe for the Cauſe of our preſent Une
well known where we ought to look for
Party amongſt us who have been labouring
to overturn our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment
prove of no Debt that has been contracte
Taxes that have been or ſhall be impoſed for
that Eſtabliſhment they are labouring to deſtr
of the Scribblers and other Tools they impl
perſuaded Multitudes of People, that our
ceſſarily incurred, and that a great Part of
been paid off, and the Taxes conſequently a
had not every Year, for many Years paſt, r
a vaſt public Expence, for which there wa
Occaſion; like petty-fogging Lawyers, wh
Fault with an honeſt Attorney's Bill, in or

Orators they have in every Place of public Reſort, they have poiſoned the Minds of many of his Majeſty's Subjects; in which their late Succeſs is chiefly to be aſcribed to the Law lately paſſed againſt the Retail of Spirituous Liquors; for tho' every Man of Virtue or Senſe in the Kingdom muſt approve of that Law, yet it is certainly diſagreeable to the lower Claſs of People, of which our Mobs are generally compoſed. This Law I ſay, Sir, this moſt neceſſary Law has added greatly to the Succeſs of the diſaffected Party amongſt us: Nay it has made them ſo daring as to direct their Libels againſt the Parliament itſelf: They have of late even attempted to diminiſh that Veneration which our People have always moſt juſtly had for Parliaments; but this I am no way ſurpriſed at; for that Party have never ſhewed any great Liking to Parliaments; and if we ſhould diſband any great Part of our Army, they would probably ſhew their Diſlike in a Manner more effectual, or at leaſt more dangerous, than that of Writing or Talking. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736.

There may perhaps, Sir, be ſome Soldiers in our Army who would be glad to be diſcharged, but I am ſure there are not many, unleſs it ſhould be with a View of getting new Levy-Money in a little Time after; and if they ſhould be diſappointed in that View, they would liſt with the Diſcontented for nothing. But, Sir, if we ſhould in a Time of general Diſcontent, and when Inſurrections are juſtly to be apprehended, offer to diſband any of our Soldiers, there are many who would deſire to be diſcharged, not with a View to return to Labour and Induſtry, but with a View to join whoever ſhould appear in Arms againſt the Government; for among Rebels, a diſciplined Soldier may expect to be made a Serjeant or Corporal at leaſt; and every Serjeant would expect to be made an Officer. *Chelſea Hoſpital* could receive but very few of the Diſbanded; it could not receive one half of thoſe who would expect to be put upon that Eſtabliſhment; and thoſe who found themſelves diſappointed, would certainly imitate their Betters, they would join with the Diſaffected; ſo that in every Light we can conſider it, a preſent Reduction would be a diminiſhing the Power of the Government to preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom, and an increaſing the Power of the Diſaffected to diſturb the Quiet of the People; and that at a Time when the Power of the latter has been, by a moſt neceſſary Law, greatly increaſed. In a little Time, perhaps in a few Months, theſe Diſcontents may ſubſide; the lower Claſs of our People will find they can live without the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors, and that they live more healthfully than with them; they will then join with the reſt of the King-

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dom in their Approbation of that Law, and then a Reduction will not be ſo dangerous as it is at preſent.

Sir, I have already ſhewn why any Army under a lawful and regular Government, can never be ſuppoſed to behave in the ſame manner the Army did under *Oliver Cromwel*; and if any Attempts ſhould be made to undermine our Conſtitution by means of thoſe Maxims we have been frightened with, the Parliament would interpoſe, the Army itſelf would mutiny againſt ſuch Maxims; but I cannot ſee why we have at preſent any Reaſon for being afraid of ſuch Maxims; for I am ſure no Man will pretend his Majeſty would, or could be prevailed on to caſhier any Officer for voting or behaving according to Honour and Conſcience. The Behaviour of an Officer may be influenced by Malice, Revenge, and Faction, under the Pretence of Honour and Conſcience; and if ever any Officer of the Army, becauſe his Majeſty refuſed to comply with ſome very unreaſonable Demand, ſhould reſolve to oppoſe in every Thing the Meaſures purſued by his Majeſty and his Miniſters, I ſhould think any Man a moſt pitiful Miniſter, if he ſhould be afraid of adviſing his Majeſty to caſhier ſuch an Officer. On the contrary, I ſhall leave it as a Legacy to all future Miniſters, that upon every ſuch Occaſion it is their Duty to adviſe their Maſter, that ſuch a Man is unfit for having any Command in his Armies. Our King has by his Prerogative a Power of placing, preferring, and removing any Officer he pleaſes, either in our Army or our Militia: It is by that Prerogative chiefly, he is enabled to execute our Laws and preſerve the Peace of the Kingdom: If a wrong Uſe ſhould be made of that Prerogative, his Miniſters are accountable for it to Parliament; but it cannot be taken from him or diminiſhed without overturning our Conſtitution; for our preſent happy Conſtitution may be overturned by Republican as well as by Arbitrary Schemes. Therefore it muſt be left to his Majeſty to judge by what Motives an Officer acts, and if he thinks an Officer acts from bad Motives, in Duty to his People, in Duty to himſelf, he ought to remove him.

The only Queſtion, Sir, now before us is, Whether we ought to keep up the preſent Number of Forces for this enſuing Year? Next Year the ſame Queſtion muſt again come before us, and then every Gentleman may again vote as he pleaſes. There may be Reaſons peculiar to the preſent Time, I think I have ſhewn ſome very ſufficient and peculiar Reaſons for keeping up the ſame Number for this enſuing Year. In ſo doing I am ſure I have done my Duty; and if the Nation ſhould be inſulted and invaded by Foreigners; if a Civil War ſhould break out, and ſpread

Deſolation

id Murder over the whole Iſland; if the *Ja-* prevail, and our Religion, our Liberties, and es ſhould be thereby rendered precarious; I me Conſolation in this Reflection, that I en- much as I could to prevent our expoſing our- Miſeries.

ion being at laſt put upon the Motion for keep- me Number of Troops, it was upon a Diviſion Affirmative by 246 to 178. *Diviſion* 246, 178.

3. Mr. *Pultney* made a Motion for an Ad- reſented to his Majeſty, that his Majeſty would pleaſed to ſettle 100,000 Pounds a Year upon ighneſs the Prince of *Wales*; the Subſtance of ther Speeches, as well in the Houſe of Peers, me Addreſs was moved for the ſame Day, ws: *Motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty to ſettle* 100,000 *Pounds a Year upon the Prince of Wales.*

Matter of the higheſt Importance to lay a Matter which chiefly concerns one of the moſt illuſtrious Perſons in the Kingdom; but being of the Nation depends upon his Welfare eſs, therefore I muſt juſtly ſay, the whole eply concerned in the Affair I am now to take of laying before you; and as the Parliament is 's firſt and chief Council, there can be no a Nature too high for our Conſideration; for n every Gentleman, who has the Honour to be of either Houſe of Parliament, has not only a in Duty bound to lay before the Houſe what- ks may affect the Happineſs or the Honour of . The Affair I am now going to propoſe for eration is, indeed, an Affair of ſo high a Na- ſhould not of my own Head have taken upon mentioned it to you; but I have communicated nts to ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Rank and in the Kingdom, Perſons with whom I ſhould , with whom I ſhould chuſe to die; and all of , are of the ſame Sentiments with me: They pinion, it is an Affair which ought to be laid be- ent, therefore I ſhall take upon me to mention d to make you a Motion which I hope will be agreed to.

nmons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſem- ot only an undoubted Right to make ſuch Grants k are neceſſary for the Honour and Welfare of and to appropriate thoſe Grants to the Uſes for intend them, but likewiſe, Sir, they have a Right

Argument for the Motion; Speakers, Mr. Pultney, Sir John Barnard, Mr. Hedges, Ld Baltimore, Mr. Waller, Sir William Windhame, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Gybbon, Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Bootle, Sir Williſred Lawſon, Sir John Ruſhout, Mr. Henry Bathurſt, Mr. Noel, Sir Thomas Sanderſon, Mr. Frederick.

has not been applied, or has not been pr
the Uſe for which it was intended by Par
not only a Right, but it is our Duty to exa
to direct, that for the future, it may duly, a
per Manner, be applied to that Uſe for whi

After having thus mentioned to you, Si
undoubted Rights of Parliament, I ſhall
that by an ancient and moſt reaſonable M
ſtitution, the Prince of *Wales*, the eldeſt
and Heir apparent to the Crown, ought to
and Independent as any other Subject w
that Purpoſe he ought not only to have a
for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur
but that Proviſion ought to be ſettled up
Manner as to put it out of the Power of
appoint him of it: Not only his Title
made as firm and irrevocable, as any othe
the Kingdom can be, but he ought at le
comes to be of the Age of *Fourteen*, to be
and immediate Poſſeſſion. This has alwa
eſtabliſhed Maxim in this Kingdom, and w
ments have often interpoſed, and have tak
enforce the Obſervance of this Maxim.
Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne
was then ſo ſenſible of the Utility and
this Maxim, that they granted a very larg
Civil Liſt Revenue, in order that an hono
ficient Proviſion might be ſettled upon his
who then was Prince of *Wales*; and it ha
during his late Majeſty's Reign that the

the Motion I am to make, for having a ſufficient Proviſion ſettled upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, is a Motion founded upon Law, upon Equity, upon Wiſdom and good Policy, and upon Precedent. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

But before I make my Motion, give me Leave, Sir, to enquire particularly into theſe ſeveral Foundations: And to begin with the laſt, I ſhall ſhew from many undoubted Authories, that the Prince of *Wales* has always had, and ought to have, a ſufficient Proviſion ſettled upon him, in ſuch a Manner as to render him as independent of the Crown as any other Subject can be. To recount all the Precedents that occur in our Hiſtories and Records, would take up too much of your Time, and therefore I ſhall take Notice only of ſome of the moſt remarkable. King *Henry* III. granted to his eldeſt Son *Edward*, after King *Edward* I. the Dutchy of *Guienne*, before he was *fourteen* Years of Age, and the Moment the *Prince* was married, he not only confirmed his former Grant by a new Patent, but likewiſe granted him, and put him in Poſſeſſion of, the Earldom of *Cheſter*, the Cities and Towns of *Briſtol*, *Stamford* and *Grantham*, with ſeveral other Caſtles and Manors, created him *Prince of Wales*, to which he annexed all the conquered Lands in that Principality, and appropriated him Lieutenant Governor of *Ireland*, tho' he was then but juſt turned of *Fourteen*; all which was done, as the Hiſtorians expreſs it, *ut maturus ad res graviores gerendas expertus redderetur*. By this Generoſity and Benevolence of the King towards his eldeſt Son, that *Prince* was early in his Youth eſtabliſhed in a State of Independency and Grandeur, and thoſe paternal Favours were afterwards fully repaid by that illuſtrious and moſt *Heroic Prince*, for he afterwards proved his Father's chief and only Support. Every one knows how by his Courage and Conduct at the Battle of *Eveſham* he relieved his Father out of the Hands of his Enemies, and reſtored his Affairs after they were brought into a moſt deſperate State. Nay, not only the King himſelf, but the Nation reaped ſignal Benefit from the free and independent Circumſtances in which that King had ſo early placed his eldeſt Son. A State of Independency naturally ennobles and exalts the Mind of Man; and the Effects of it were moſt conſpicuous in this wiſe and brave *Prince*, for he afterwards became the Glory of *England*, and the Terror of *Europe*.

The next Precedent I ſhall take Notice of is, That of *Edward* the Black Prince, upon whom *Edward* III. his Father, ſettled at different Times the Earldom of *Cheſter*, the Dutchy of *Cornwall*, the Principality of *Wales*, the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and the Principality of *Aquitain*. That

wiſe

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wiſe and great King, Sir, was ſo ſenſible of the Reaſonableneſs of the ancient Maxim of *England*, with regard to the King's eldeſt Son, that he took Care every future *Prince of Wales* ſhould have ſomething to depend on, independent of his Father, from the very Moment of his Birth; for which Purpoſe he ſettled by Act of Parliament the Dutchy of *Cornwall* in ſuch a Manner, that the King's eldeſt Son, and Heir apparent of the Crown, has ever ſince been Duke of *Cornwall* as ſoon as born, and without any new Grant from the King, from whence has riſen the common Proverb, *Natus eſt, non datus, dux Cornubiæ.* Some of the later Grants of that King might, indeed, proceed from the great perſonal Merit of the Son; but the firſt Grants could not proceed from any ſuch Conſideration; they could proceed only from his own Wiſdom, and from the general Maxim I have mentioned; for the *Prince* was not *three* Years old when his Father ſettled upon him by Patent the Earldom of *Cheſter*, he was but *ſeven* Years old when *Cornwall* was erected into a Dutchy, and ſettled upon him as by Act of Parliament as beforementioned, and he was but *thirteen* when the Principality of *Wales* was ſettled upon him. Soon after that time, indeed, his perſonal Merit began to appear: But how came it to appear? Its early Appearance did proceed, and could only proceed from his Father's having put him ſo early into an independent Situation, and from his having employ'd him in, and inured him to the Study of weighty Affairs, at an Age when moſt *Princes* are induſtriouſly taught to think of nothing but Baubles and Toys.

The ſame Conduct, Sir, that wiſe King obſerved during that brave *Prince*'s Life: He was continually heaping Favours upon the *Prince* his Son, and the *Prince* was continually repaying them with glorious Acts of Gratitude and filial Duty. When he was *ſeventeen*, he fully repaid all former Favours, by having the chief Share in the Victory obtained over the *French* at the famous Battle of *Creſſy*. In the 24th or 25th Year of this *Prince*'s Age, the King inveſted him with the Dutchy of *Guienne*, which new Favour he ſoon after repaid by ſending the King of *France* home Priſoner to his Father, after having defeated and taken him at the memorable Battle of *Poictiers*. And in the *two* and *thirtieth* Year of that *Prince*'s Age, a great Part of *France* having been conquered and ſubdued by his Valour, the King his Father erected *Guienne*, *Gaſcony*, and ſeveral other Provinces of *France*, into a Principality under the Name of the Principality of *Aquitain*, with which he inveſted the *Prince* his Son: This new Favour likewiſe the *Prince* ſoon repaid by carrying the Glory of the *Engliſh* Arms into

Spain,

Spain, and replacing *Peter* upon the Throne of *Caſtile*, after having defeated the Uſurper *Henry* at the Battle of *Nejara* in that Kingdom; for all which glorious Victories, and many other great Services done to his native Country, the Nation was ſo grateful to his Memory, that immediately after his Death, or at leaſt as ſoon as their Grief for the Loſs of ſo brave a Prince would give them Leave, the *Houſe of Commons* addreſſed the King to create his Son *Prince of Wales* and Duke of *Cornwall*, which that wiſe King immediately agreed to; for his Grandſon being then Heir apparent to the Crown, he became intitled, by the Maxim I have mentioned, to an independent Settlement; but as he was not the King's eldeſt Son, he had no Pretence from any former Precedent to the Principality of *Wales*, and his Right by the late Act to the Dutchy of *Cornwall* was thought to be doubtful by the Lawyers of that Age, the Lawyers being then, it ſeems, as dexterous at ſtarting Doubts and Scruples as the Lawyers of the Age we now live in. *Anno* 10 *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Give me Leave, Sir, to mention one other Precedent, That of Prince *Henry*, afterwards the glorious King *Henry* V. whom his Father *Henry* IV. in the very firſt Year of his Reign, created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, tho' the Prince was then but twelve Years of Age; all which Grants were recorded upon the Parliament's Requeſt, in order to prevent any Poſſibility of a Revocation; and tho' that King was naturally of a jealous and a ſuſpicious Temper, yet we find, during his whole Reign, he was every now and then making new Grants to the Prince his Son, even tho' he was ſometimes maliciouſly made to believe, the Prince was conſpiring againſt him. This Prince, 'tis true, fell into ſome Exceſſes incident to Youth and Idleneſs, but from the firſt Part of his Life, and from his Conduct after he became King, we may judge that thoſe Exceſſes were rather owing to his Father's Jealouſy than to his own natural Temper; for when he was but about ſixteen, he by his Valour contributed greatly to his Father's Victory over the Rebels at *Shrewſbury*, and the very next Year having been entruſted with the Command of his Father's Army againſt the Rebels in *Wales*, by his Conduct and Courage, he gave them two ſignal Defeats, by which he gained ſo much Eſteem, that the King his Father, from his own natural and unhappy Temper, and not from any undutiful Behaviour in his Son, began to grow jealous of him, and therefore never afterwards employ'd him in any public Affairs; ſo that the Exceſſes he fell into probably proceeded from the Idleneſs of his Life, and the Activity of his Genius, or perhaps rather from a Deſign of removing

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from his Father all future Occaſions of Jealouſy. This, indeed, ſeems to be confirmed, or at leaſt rendered the moſt probable Conjecture, by his Conduct after he became King; for immediately upon his Acceſſion, he baniſhed from his Preſence all the Companions and ſycophant Upholders of his former Debauches, and became one of the greateſt, and one of the moſt glorious Kings that ever ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne.

But, Sir, 'tis quite unneceſſary to mention particularly all the Examples that could be brought of the great and irrevocable Proviſions that have been made for the eldeſt Sons of our Kings. We have not, 'tis true, had many Princes that have come to Man's Eſtate in the Life-time of their Fathers, but every one of them that has done ſo, has had an independent Settlement made upon him long before he was of Age. Nay, even the preſumptive Heirs of the Crown have always had an independent Settlement made upon them, generally as ſoon as they began to be the preſumptive Heirs of the Crown: For Proof of this I need bring no other Example than that of the late King *James* II. when Duke of *York*, and that of the late Queen *Anne* when Princeſs of *Denmark*; for the Duke of *York* had a great Settlement made upon him by Parliament, ſoon after the Reſtauration, tho' he was but preſumptive Heir of the Crown; his Brother King *Charles* being then in a Capacity of having Children, who would have given him a more effectual Excluſion than could ever be attained by Parliament, *till his* own ridiculous Meaſures put it in their Power; and the late Queen *Anne*, when Princeſs of *Denmark*, had likewiſe a great Settlement made upon her by Authority of Parliament, tho' King *William* and Queen *Mary* were both then alive, and in a Capacity of having Children; ſo that the Princeſs *Anne*, when that Settlement was made, was but the preſumptive Heir of the Crown.

From theſe Precedents it appears, Sir, that the Maxim of having an independent Proviſion ſettled upon the apparent or preſumptive Heir of the Crown, is a Maxim which has always been obſerved in this Nation; and that the Parliament may interpoſe for that Purpoſe, I ſhall likewiſe ſhew from ſeveral Precedents. I have already mentioned to you the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons in Favour of *Edward* the Black Prince's eldeſt Son, therefore I ſhall proceed to mention ſome others of a late Date. In the firſt Year of King *Henry* IV. the Lords and Commons, upon proper Motions for that Purpoſe, deſired of the King that his eldeſt Son, Prince *Henry*, might be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, and in the ſame

Parliament

Parliament the Commons petitioned the King that the Charter of the ſaid Principality and Earldom, and an Act of the ſaid Creation, might be enrolled and enter'd upon Record, as an Article agreed upon by Parliament; both which that King immediately complied with; for as he had been called in by the People, and raiſed to the Throne by the Parliament, he had ſo juſt a Senſe of the Obligations he lay under both to his People and Parliament, as not to refuſe any juſt Requeſt they could make. In the Reign of *Henry* VI. the Parliament not only took Care to have the Principality of *Wales* ſettled upon Prince *Edward*, eldeſt Son of the King, but likewiſe declared and aſcertained the particular Sums that were to be allowed for his Table, till he came to be of the Age of *Fourteen*, when he was to be put in Poſſeſſion of the whole Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County *Palatine* of *Cheſter*. And but lately, in the Beginning of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the Houſe of Commons reſolved to addreſs their Majeſties to make a Settlement on the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark*, who was then but preſumptive Heir of the Crown; which Reſolution does not, 'tis true, ſeem to have been very agreeable to the Court, with regard to the Sum at firſt propoſed, but the Right the Parliament had to preſent ſuch an Addreſs was ſo far from being controverted, that after the Diſpute about the Sum was ſettled, even the Courtiers themſelves joined, the next Seſſion, in the Reſolution for that Purpoſe, which plainly evinces the Power and the Duty of Parliament, with reſpect to their addreſſing for having a ſufficient Proviſion ſettled independently upon the Heir Apparent or Preſumptive of the Crown, and conſequently will from Precedent juſtify the Motion I am to make

Anno 1 II. 1

Now, Sir, with reſpect to Wiſdom and good Policy, that of having the Heir apparent to the Crown bred up in a State of Grandeur and Independency, is certainly a Maxim of great Uſe in all Countries, but in a free Country it is abſolutely neceſſary. A free and generous Education tends greatly to open the Mind, to endow it with noble and right Sentiments, and to ſhut out all mean, narrow, and ſelfiſh Views; therefore it is the only proper Education for one who is by his Birth to have the chief Rule over any People; but for one who is to have the chief Rule over a free People, ſuch an Education becomes abſolutely neceſſary; for, beſides the Advantages already mentioned, a Prince who has lived in a State of Freedom and Independency before he begins his Reign, thereby learns how to be

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

a dutiful and obedient Subject, without being an abject Slave; and by taſting in his Youth the Sweets of ſuch a delicious State, he comes to know the true Value of it, from whence he muſt neceſſarily conclude his Subjects will not eaſily part with it, and therefore, when he comes to mount the Throne, he not only knows how to exact a dutiful Obedience without expecting a ſlaviſh Submiſſion, but he will in common Prudence content himſelf with the former, becauſe he knows he cannot without great Danger aim at the latter. Such a Prince will always be ſure of being well ſerved, becauſe he can with Patience receive an honeſt and a free Advice from his Miniſters and Favourites: He will not take it ill to be even controuled by his Council or his Parliament; whereas a *Prince* educated in Slavery, and advanced to Power, being unacquainted with any Sort of Submiſſion but that he has himſelf been bred to, is apt to look upon every honeſt Freedom as a Mark of Diſreſpect or Diſobedience, and as he cannot bear Sincerity, he may expect never to meet with it from any of his pretended Friends or Favourites. Thus it appears to be requiſite both for the Honour and Proſperity of the Prince who is to reign, and for the Eaſe and Happineſs of the People over whom he is to reign, that he ſhould be bred up in a State of Freedom and Independency.

But farther, Sir, even with Regard to the King upon the Throne, eſpecially in this Nation, the Grandeur and Independency of his Heir Apparent muſt be of great Service to him. The Affection and Eſteem which the Heir Apparent acquires among the People, is ſo far from being a Diſadvantage to the King, that it muſt always be, and has always been reckoned one of the moſt ſolid Supports of the Crown. The great and the wiſe King *Edward* III. was ſo far from being jealous of any Glory or Eſteem the *Prince* his Son might acquire, that in the famous Battle of *Creſſy*, he gave his Son the chief Command of that Part of his Army which was to attack the Enemy, in order that he might have the ſole Glory of the Victory, reſerving to himſelf only the Command of a great Body in Caſe of Accidents; and when Word was brought him that his Son was in great Danger and hardly preſſed by the Enemy, his Anſwer was, *I know my Boy has Courage, let him but puſh the Enemy, he will certainly conquer: I am loth to rob him of any Share of that Glory I ſee he is in a fair Way of obtaining.* Such were that King's Sentiments; and in the Charter of *Henry* VI. to his Son *Edward*, it is expreſsly declared, that by giving due Honours to the Prince, the Throne was eſtabliſhed, and the Royal Scepter exalted;

ted: and therefore, by granting the Principality of *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
s and County Palatine of *Cheſter* to his Son, he con-
ed his own Honour, the Security of the Royal Family,
the Good of his People, rather than the *Prince*'s Ho-
r. From the Behaviour of all our Kings towards their
t Sons, we may judge their Sentiments have been the
e. They have all been of Opinion, that their eldeſt
ought to live in Grandeur, and that the more Ho-
r and Eſteem they acquired, the more they added to
Security of the Throne: But how can a *Prince* live in
ndeur, who has nothing of his own, or not a Sufficiency
ubſiſt on? How can a *Prince* who is in a continual State
Dependency, a continual State of Slavery, acquire
em from thoſe who are themſelves free and indepen-
? The very ſubmitting tamely to live in ſuch a State,
derogate from his Honour, and render him deſpicable
e Eyes of a brave and a free People, which the People
his Nation, I hope, will for ever continue to be.

ppoſe then, Sir, there were no Precedent for having
ficient and an independent Proviſion ſettled upon the
of Wales; ſuppoſe there was no Example of the
iament's having ever interpoſed for that Purpoſe; yet
ue Wiſdom and good Policy require that it ſhould be
e, if the making of ſuch a Settlement can contribute to
Honour of the King, to the Security of the Royal Fa-
, and to the Happineſs of the People, it is a Thing
ought to be done; and if it ſhould be unneceſſarily de-
d, has not the Parliament a Right, are we not in Ho-
, in Duty, bound to interpoſe, and to adviſe or petition
Sovereign, that it may be done as ſoon as poſſible? when we conſider the conſtant Courſe of Proceeding
is Particular, when we ſee how often the Parliament
nterpoſed, even when this Proviſion was not made
of any Grants from the People, but out of the King's
Eſtate, out of the Lands and Revenues properly belong-
to the Crown, can we balance a Moment about our
t, can we in Duty to our King, or to that moſt illuſtrious
moſt deſerving *Prince* his eldeſt Son, delay requeſting
to be done which ought to have been done long before
Time? Eſpecially now, Sir, that no Part of that Pro-
n is to come out of the Lands or Revenues properly
nging to the Crown, but is wholly to be taken from a
liberal Grant long ſince made by the People to the
n, and which has been of late greatly increaſed with
very View, that an honourable and a ſufficient Settle-
t might be made upon his Royal Highneſs the Prince
Wales as ſoon as the ſame ſhould become neceſſary.

This,

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This, Sir, of courſe, leads me to conſider the Nature of that Parliamentary Grant, now called the Civil Liſt Revenue, from which 'twill appear that what I am now going to propoſe, is founded both upon Law and Equity. In ancient Times the Eſtates and Revenues, properly belonging to the Crown, were ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family; the People were charged with no Taxes for that Purpoſe, except a ſmall Cuſtom upon the Importation and Exportation of Goods and Merchandize: No Grant, no Aid was ever deſired from them, but when ſome extraordinary Expence became neceſſary, for defending the Nation againſt Pyrate or threatned Invaſions, or for vindicating and ſupporting its Honour in ſome Affair of great Conſequence and of an extrordinary Nature; but by the profuſe Liberalities of ſome of our former Kings, and by other Accidents, the proper Eſtate and Revenue of the Crown came at laſt to be ſo much diminiſhed, that it was not near ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown and Royal Family, and therefore at the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. the dangerous Tax called *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, and the more dangerous Tax called *Exciſe*, were eſtabliſhed, and granted to that King for his Life; and at the ſame Time an additional *Exciſe* was eſtabliſhed, in lieu of the *Wards* and *Liveries* which were then aboliſhed, and ſettled upon that King and his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever; which Taxes were partly for what is now called the Civil Liſt, and the Reſidue for what we now call the Current Service. Several other Taxes were eſtabliſhed in that and the following Reign, and intended for the ſame Purpoſes, without diſtinguiſhing or ſpecifying any particular Uſes; but it having been found that the Money granted by Parliament was often applied to Purpoſes very different from thoſe intended by Parliament, therefore, after the happy Revolution, which put us in a Condition of rectifying ſome former Errors, and removing ſome of our former Grievances, the Cuſtom of appropriating each reſpective Grant to its proper Uſe, was introduced and eſtabliſhed; and from that Time the Revenues granted to the Crown by Parliament came to be diſtinguiſhed into the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the Current Service Revenue; the former being that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and providing for the Royal Family; and the latter, that which was granted and appropriated by Parliament for maintaining our Fleets and Armies, or providing for any other extraordinary public Services.

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In order therefore to determine what Branches of the public Charge were deſigned by Parliament, and ought in Law and Equity to be defray'd out of thoſe Grants appropriated to the Civil Liſt, we muſt examine, Sir, what Uſes that Revenue was applied to, immediately after its being firſt diſtinctly eſtabliſhed, which was in the Reign of the late King *William*; and we find that, during his whole Reign, the Proviſion appointed for the Princeſs *Anne* of *Denmark* was always charged upon, and paid out of his Civil Liſt Revenue. Then again, upon his late Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, the Parliament granted and appropriated to the Civil Liſt the ſame Taxes and Revenues, which had been granted and appropriated to the Civil Liſt, during the Reign of his Predeceſſor Queen *Anne*; but his late Majeſty, in his firſt Speech to his Parliament, took Notice, That the Branches of the Revenue, formerly granted for the Support of the Civil Government, were ſo far incumbered and alienated, that the Produce of the Funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall much ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown. To which he added, That ſince it was his Happineſs to ſee a *Prince of Wales*, who might in due Time ſucceed him on the Throne, and to ſee the *Prince* bleſſed with many Children, the beſt and moſt valuable Pledges for his Care and Concern for our Poſterity, That muſt occaſion an Expence to which the Nation had not for many Years been accuſtomed, but ſuch as ſurely no Man would grudge. Do not theſe Words ſhew that his late Majeſty was of Opinion, the Civil Liſt Revenue was unqueſtionably to be charged with making an honourable Proviſion for the the *Prince of Wales*? And is it not as apparent, that the Addition granted to the Civil Liſt by Parliament, in conſequence of that Speech, was granted with an Intention, that ſuch a Settlement ſhould be granted out of that Revenue to the *Prince of Wales* as ſhould be ſufficient for ſupporting the Dignity of his high Birth, and the Honour of the Crown of *Great Britain*, to which he was Heir apparent? 'Tis plain his late Majeſty meant ſo, and took the Intention of Parliament to be ſo; for within *ten Days* after that Law paſſed, he notified to his Parliament, that he had ordered Letters Patent for 100,000 *l.* a Year to his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, from Payment of any Fees or Taxes, and for impowering the Commiſſioners of Exciſe and Cuſtoms to pay directly to the *Prince*, or his Treaſurer, the Produce of ſuch Branches of the Civil Liſt Revenue, as his Majeſty ſhould appoint for anſwering that Settlement; by which

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his

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his *Royal Highneſs* was rendered ſo abſolutely independent of the Crown, with reſpect to his own proper Revenue, that he was not ſo much as obliged to apply to his Majeſty's Exchequer for the Payment of it: His Revenue could not run in Arrear, even his Majeſty's Chancellor of the Exchequer could not put him off with that common Excuſe for not anſwering a juſt Demand, That there was no Money in the Exchequer: And I cannot omit taking Notice, that at the very ſame Time, in the very ſame Seſſion, there was alſo another Act paſſed, for enabling his Majeſty to grant to him the Principality of *Wales*, and County Palatine of *Cheſter*, which were immediately after granted to him accordingly.

But now, Sir, to come to his preſent Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, and that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the large Civil Liſt, now ſettled upon the Crown. During his late Majeſty's Reign, by reaſon of ſome very extraordinary and uncommon Diſburſements, it had been found, that a Civil Liſt Revenue even of 700,000 *l.* a Year, as it had been managed, was not ſufficient to ſupport the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to pay 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; for which Reaſon ſeveral additional Sums had been granted in that Reign to the Civil Liſt, amounting in the whole to 1,300,000 *l.* which made the Civil Liſt during that Reign amount, at an Average, to 803,000 *l.* a Year; therefore his preſent Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, told his Parlialiament, He was perſuaded that the Experience of paſt Times would prevail upon them to ſhew a due Regard to the Honour and Dignity of the Crown; which the Parliament, without examining into the Reaſons of that paſt Experience, immediately complied with, and ſettled upon his preſent Majeſty for his Life, what the *Experience of paſt Times* had ſhewn to be neceſſary, and what had actually been given to, tho' not ſettled upon his Father, with this remarkable Improvement, that if the Taxes appropriated for that Purpoſe produced more, the Surplus ſhould belong to his Majeſty, but if they produced leſs than 800,000 *l.* a Year, the Deficiency ſhould be made good by Parliament; which new Improvement ſeems to have had great Influence upon ſome of our Meaſures ſince that Time; for it ſeems to have made us endeavour, as much as poſſible, to increaſe the Produce of thoſe Taxes in which the Civil Liſt has the greateſt Share. Now I would gladly know, what his preſent Majeſty meant, or what the Parliament meant, by the *Experience of paſt Times*, which was the only Ground for the Reſolution they came to with reſpect to the Civil Liſts;

Liſt: Surely they both meant that an honourable and a ſufficient Proviſion for the *Prince of Wales* ſhould be chargeable upon the Civil Liſt Revenue, and upon that only; for the *Experience of paſt Times* had ſhewn that 700,000 *l.* a Year was not ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and for allowing 100,000 *l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; but the ſame Experience had ſhewn that 800,000 *l. per Ann.* was ſufficient both for the one, and for the other; and therefore by proceeding upon the *Experience of paſt Times*, and upon that only, and from thence ſettling 800,000 *l.* a Year for his preſent Majeſty's Civil Liſt, both his Majeſty and his Parliament muſt then certainly have meant, that out of that Revenue a ſufficient Proviſion ſhould be ſettled upon his *Royal Highneſs*, as ſoon as his future Circumſtances ſhould require ſuch a Settlement to be made: From all which I muſt conclude, that the Motion I am to make for this Purpoſe, is a Motion founded both upon Law and Equity. *Anno* 10 11. 1-3

I think, Sir, I have now ſhewn that according to Law, according to Equity and Conſcience, according to Wiſdom and good Policy, and according to Precedent, his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales* ought to have a Proviſion ſettled upon him, ſufficient for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth; and that the Parliament not only has a Right, but ought to interpoſe, and adviſe his Majeſty to do that which in Law, in Equity, in Wiſdom, and according to Precedent, ought to be done. The next two Queſtions that will naturally occur in this Affair, are, When that Settlement ought to be made? And what may be thought a ſufficient Settlement? As to the Time when it ought to be made: It ought certainly to have been made long before now. The Mind of every Man is formed early in his Youth. Thoſe Notions and Sentiments which are early imbibed, take deep Root, and are ſeldom or never ſhaken off. If then an independent State can any way contribute to the Improvement of a Prince's Mind, the more early he is put into ſuch a State, the better. According to this has the conſtant Practice in this Kingdom always been: King *Henry* III. made a Settlement upon his eldeſt Son *Edward*, afterwards King *Edward* I. before he was *Fourteen*. *Edward* III. made a Settlement upon his eldeſt Son, *Edward the Black Prince*, before he was *three* Years of Age; and within a *few Months* after the Death of that Prince, the Commons addreſſed the King to make a Settlement upon that Prince's eldeſt Son, who by his Father's Death was become Heir Apparent to the Crown. The *Poſt Office* and *Wine Licenſe* Revenues were ſettled by Parliament upon the

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Duke of York, who was but Presumptive Heir of the Crown, within *three* Years after his Brother King *Charles* IIds Restoration. A Settlement was made upon the *Princ. Anne of Denmark*, who was likewise but Presumptive Heir of the Crown, in Pursuance of an Address for that Purpose from the House of Commons, the very *first* Year, or the beginning of the *second* Year, of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. And his late Majesty ordered Letters Patent for making a Settlement upon the *present King*, then *Prince of Wales*, within *ten Days* after the Parliament had granted him a Fund for that Purpose. In short, Sir, look over all our Histories, examine all former Precedents, I believe no Example can be found, where the making of such a Settlement has been so long delay'd, as in the present Reign: What may be the Reason I shall not pretend to determine; but I am sure there never was a *Prince of Wales* who better deserved it, nor a Crown Revenue that could better spare it. It ought, in my Opinion, to have been done as soon as his *Royal Highness* arrived in *England*, especially as he was then of full Age, and, as every one that has the Honour and Happiness to know him must grant, extremely capable to govern his own Affairs; and since it is not yet done, it is high Time for us to take the same Liberty former Parliaments have often taken, it is high Time for us to desire that it may be done.

Now, Sir, with regard to what may be deemed a sufficient Settlement for his *Royal Highness*, I think there cannot properly be any Question about it, because it seems to have been determined by that Parliament which established the Civil List in the late King's Reign, and also by that Parliament which established, and from the *Experience of past Times* increased, the present Civil List Revenue. Both were certainly of Opinion, and the latter have, I think, very expressly determined, that his *Royal Highness the present Prince of Wales* was, and ought, to have, at least 100,000 *l.* a Year settled upon him, out of the large Civil List they then granted; for what else could they mean by settling a Civil List Revenue of 800,000 *l.* a Year? The *Experience of past Times*, which, as I have said, was then the only Ground for increasing that Revenue, had shown that 700,000 *l.* a Year was sufficient for supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, without including what was to be allowed the *Prince of Wales*; and therefore by their adding to that yearly Sum 100,000 *l.* a Year more, or granting a Civil List Revenue of 800,000 *l.* a Year at least, Plain it appeared they meant and intended that the 100,000 *l.* they had so added to the Civil List Revenue,

more than what the *Experience of paſt Times* has ſhewn to be ſufficient for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, ſhould be ſettled upon the preſent *Prince of Wales*, beſides the Principality of *Wales*, Dutchy of *Cornwall*, and County Palatine of *Cheſter*, in the ſame Manner as it had been ſettled upon the preſent King, while he was *Prince of Wales*: And indeed from the very Nature of the Thing we are to judge ſo; for what Reaſon could they then think of, or what Reaſon can now be aſſigned, why the *preſent Prince of Wales* ſhould live in leſs Grandeur than his Father did whilſt he was *Prince of Wales*, or why the ſame Grandeur might be ſupported at a leſs Expence than had been before neceſſary? I can think of no Reaſon but one, which is, That the Nation is not ſo rich as it was formerly: This, indeed, may at laſt come to be a good Reaſon for diminiſhing the Allowance or Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*; and it is a Reaſon for which, I am ſorry to ſay it, I think there is too good a Foundation; but then it is a Reaſon for diminiſhing every other Article of the public Expence, eſpecially that belonging to the Civil Liſt; and I am far from thinking the Proviſion for the *Prince of Wales* is the firſt we ought to begin with; for if any Judgment can be formed from the *Experience of paſt Times*, 100,000 *l.* a Year, beſides the now exhauſted Revenues of *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Cheſter*, is the leaſt Proviſion we can as yet think of allowing for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the Heir Apparent to our Crown. I ſhall therefore take it for granted, till I hear it contradicted, that it is now high Time the Proviſion for the *Prince of Wales* ſhould be ſettled in the uſual Way, and that 100,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt is the leaſt Proviſion we can ſuppoſe neceſſary, and the leaſt the Parliament that eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt deſigned he ſhould have: Theſe two Points I ſhall now, I ſay, take for granted; but if both, or either be controverted, I ſhall beg Leave to explain myſelf more fully upon this Head, unleſs ſome other Gentleman who is of the ſame Opinion with me, and more capable of giving the Reaſons for his Opinion, riſes up, and ſaves me that Trouble. For this Reaſon I ſhall not now take up your Time with enlarging further upon theſe two Queſtions, but ſhall take the Liberty to make you this Motion,

Anno 10. G. II. 1736

That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to expreſs the juſt Senſe this Houſe has of his Majeſty's great Goodneſs and tender Regard for the laſting Welfare and Happineſs of his People, in the Marriage of his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*; and as this Houſe cannot omit any Opportunity of ſhewing their Zeal and Regard

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for his Majeſty's Honour and the Proſperity of his Family, humbly to beſeech his Majeſty, that in conſideration of the high Rank and Dignity of their Royal Highneſſes the *Prince* and *Princeſs of Wales*, and their many eminent Virtues and Merits, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle 100,000 *l.* a Year on the *Prince of Wales*, out of the Revenues chearfully granted to his Majeſty, for the Expences of his Civil Government, and better ſupporting the Dignity of the Crown, and for enabling his Majeſty to make an honourable Proviſion for his Royal Family in the ſame Manner his Majeſty enjoy'd it before his happy Acceſſion to the Throne; and alſo humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to ſettle the like Jointure on her Royal Highneſs the *Princeſs of Wales*, as her Majeſty had when ſhe was *Princeſs of Wales*; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe will enable him effectually to perform the ſame, as nothing will more conduce to the ſtrengthning his Majeſty's Government, than honourably ſupporting the Dignity of their *Royal Highneſs*, from whom we hope to ſee a numerous Iſſue, to deriver down the Bleſſings of his Majeſty's Reign to lateſt Poſterity

I know, Sir, that ſeveral Arguments may be made uſe of againſt this Motion, Arguments which may ſeem to be of Dignity and Weight, becauſe they can come from none but ſuch as are in high Stations, who for that Reaſon ought never to oppoſe what is Juſt and Honourable, and much leſs ought they upon any Occaſion to make uſe of weak or trifling Objections. By ſuch Perſons it may be ſaid, that the preſenting of ſuch an Addreſs will be a ſort of intermeddling in the domeſtic Affair between Father and Son, which the Parliament has no Title, nor ever ought to intermeddle with upon any Occaſion: But, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to inſiſt upon it, that our preſenting ſuch an Addreſs cannot be called intermeddling in any Affairs either public or private; it is only offering Advice to our Sovereign in an Affair of great Conſequence to the Nation in general, and that we have not only a Right, but are in Duty bound to do, as often as we find it neceſſary. It is an Advice which I am ſure his Majeſty's Miniſters ought to have given him: If they have not, they have been deficient in their Duty, and the Parliament ought to make up that Deficiency: If they have been ſo faithful as to offer the ſame Advice, and have not ſucceeded, which, for what I know, may be the Caſe, the Addreſs propoſed becomes abſolutely neceſſary; it is what the Miniſters ought to be fond of, becauſe the Addreſs of Parliament will add Weight to the good, tho' unſucceſsful, Advice they have given. Then, Sir, with reſpect

even to the domeſtic Affairs of the Royal Family, ught to be conſidered in a two-fold Reſpect: If they h as may contribute to the Honour and Happineſs of ation in general, or ſuch as may tend to the Dif- r of the Kingdom, or to the bringing of any Misfor- pon the People, they then come to be of a public Na- nd if any falſe Step be made, or any neceſſary Step led, or too long delay'd, it is the Duty of Parlia- to interpoſe; and of this Sort ſurely is that Affair to the Addreſs now propoſed relates.

ay likewiſe be ſaid, that the King is the only of the Time when it is proper to make a Settlement his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, and of the nt of the Revenue that may be proper or neceſſary t Purpoſe. To this, Sir, the Anſwer is very plain ſy. There are many Things in which the King has Prerogative the ſole Power of Judging or Acting; e in ſuch Caſes, if any wrong Meaſure happens to ued, or any proper Meaſure neglected, the Parlia- is in Duty bound to act the Part of a faithful Coun- to their Sovereign, and adverti ſe him of what they e to be wrong. The two Houſes of Parliament, or f them, may not only offer their Advice, but they much further, they may examine into the Affair, y puniſh thoſe who by their Weakneſs or Wicked- ve given his Majeſty bad Counſel. The King has Power of making Treaties of Peace or Alliance, declaring War, and yet I hope it will not be ſaid Parliament ought never to interfere, no not ſo by an Addreſs, in any Caſe of that Nature: I hope not be ſaid that the Parliament may not only ad- pon ſuch Occaſions, but may puniſh thoſe Miniſters ll adviſe his Majeſty to engage the Nation in dan- and deſtructive Treaties, or who ſhall adviſe him to War, when both the Honour and the Intereſt of tion make it neceſſary. Therefore, tho' his Ma- the only Judge, when a Settlement ought to be pon the *Prince of Wales*, and what that Settlement to be, yet the Parliament may certainly interpoſe by reſs, when the making of that Settlement is too long ; and now that his *Royal Highneſs* is not only of t is married, and as it were emancipated out of his 's Family, it is certainly high Time for the Parlia- o interpoſe: Surely it is not fit his *Royal Highneſs* now depend upon his Father, or rather upon his s Miniſters, for every Shilling he may have Occaſion he very Thought raiſes in my Mind ſuch ridiculous

Ideas,

Anno 10 *Geo.* II. 1736 7.

Ideas, that it is with the utmoſt Difficulty I can refrain from expreſſing myſelf in a Manner far below the Dignity of the Subject: Nothing, indeed, could prevent it but the great Eſteem, the high Regard I have for the illuſtrious Perſons who ſeem to be concerned.

In the next Place, Sir, it may be ſaid that his Majeſty has a legal Right to the Civil Liſt Revenue as now eſtabliſhed; and that the Addreſs propoſed would be a ſort of Encroachment upon that Right. I ſhall readily grant that his Majeſty has a legal Right to the Civil Liſt Revenue, ſo he likewiſe has a legal Right to the Revenue for the current Service of the Year, and, I think, we but lately paſſed a Law for hanging or tranſporting thoſe who go armed with a Deſign to rob or diſappoint him either of the one or the other, which is more than any Subject in the Kingdom has for the Protection of any ſort of Property; but as both theſe Revenues are granted by Parliament for certain and particular Uſes, both ought to be applied to thoſe Uſes for which they were granted, and the Parliament has a Right to inſiſt upon their being ſo applied. The Civil Liſt Revenue was granted for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and making a ſufficient Proviſion for the whole Royal Family; and if any Part of that Revenue ſhould be purloined, hoarded, or miſapplied by the King's Miniſters, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown neglected, or any Branch of the Royal Family not ſufficiently provided for, the Parliament has as good a Right to addreſs, and even to enquire into that Miſapplication, as they would have to enquire into the Miſapplication of the Revenue provided for the current Service, in caſe any Part of that Revenue ſhould be applied to other Purpoſes, and thoſe Services neglected for which it was intended by Parliament.

Laſtly, Sir, it may be ſaid, that ſuch an Addreſs would look ſomething like a Parliamentary Reſumption; that it would look as if the Parliament were going to reſume and take back from his Majeſty what was long ſince granted by Parliament, and ſettled upon him during his Life. I confeſs, Sir, I do not like Reſumptions of any Kind; I am always ſorry when I find there is Occaſion for them; but nevertheleſs a Reſumption may ſometimes become neceſſary. When the Cauſe of granting any Revenue ceaſes, the Grant muſt of Right to ceaſe, and therefore ought to be reſumed, or applied to ſome other Purpoſe. For [illegible] with reſpect to the Civil Liſt Revenue, we have [illegible] ſecured as far as the Parliament can ſecure it, by [illegible]

Service of his Houſhold and Family, and other his neceſſary Expences and Occaſions. This Grant was by Law ſettled upon that King during his Life; yet in 1701, we find he reſumed 100,000 *l.* a Year, Part of this 700,000 *l.* Civil Liſt Revenue, and applied it toward the Payment of the public Debts, for this expreſs Reaſon, *becauſe the Occaſions for which the ſaid* 100,000 *l. was given, were then ceaſed.* This, I ſay, is a Precedent in Point, for a Reſumption after the Cauſe of Granting has ceaſed; and from a Parity of Reaſon, if it ſhould be afterwards found the Cauſe of Granting did not require near ſo large a Grant as was at firſt imagined, and therefore actually granted, ought not ſome Part of that Grant to be reſumed, or applied to ſome other Purpoſe? So that if it could be ſuppoſed that a leſs Revenue than what was intended by Parliament would be ſufficient for the *Prince of Wales*, there would be ſome Reaſon for a Reſumption; but I am far from ſuppoſing any ſuch Thing; the Addreſs I have propoſed ſhews the contrary, and therefore it cannot be preſumed that my Motion has the leaſt Tendency towards a deſigned Reſumption: It is only for having a Part of the Civil Liſt Revenue applied to that Uſe for which it was granted by Parliament, and to which it ought in Law, in Equity, and in Wiſdom and good Policy, to be applied; therefore I hope my Motion for that Purpoſe will be unanimouſly agreed to. *Anno* 10. 11 1736

The Anſwer was by Sir *Robert Walpole*, to the following Effect: *Sir Robert Walpole.*

SIR,

I riſe up to offer you my Sentiments upon the Motion which the Honourable Gentleman has now been pleaſed to make to you; but I muſt begin with declaring, that I never roſe up to ſpeak upon any Affair in this Houſe with a deeper Concern, a greater Reluctancy, than I do upon the Affair now before you. I ſhall moſt readily agree with the Honourable Gentleman that it is a Matter of the higheſt Importance, it is indeed of the utmoſt Importance, but it is of ſo ſad, of ſo melancholy a Concern, that I am ſorry it ever ſhould have been mentioned, or that any ſuch Motion ſhould have been made in this Houſe. I am ſure the Honourable Gentleman does not view it in the ſame Light I do; if he did, I am convinced he would have been the laſt to have mentioned it, or to have adviſed it being mentioned in either Houſe of Parliament: and therefore, when he conſiders it ſeriouſly, I hope he will withdraw the Motion he has made; for if he ſhould inſiſt upon it, he muſt neceſſarily bring every Gentleman of this Houſe under one of the greateſt Difficulties any Member ever was [illegible]

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be in. It is an Affair of Property, it is a
which the legal Property of the Crown itſelf
termined; and in ſuch a Caſe, muſt not every
be under the greateſt Difficulty how to give
his Opinion? By declaring in favour of the
may ſeem to injure the Royal Father, his Sov
declaring againſt it, he may ſeem to injure the
and Apparent Heir to the Crown. As I have
to know particularly the Wiſdom and the Vir
the Royal Perſons concerned, I can give my O
the more Freedom; becauſe I am ſure neither of
think himſelf injured by a Gentleman's giving
or his Vote freely in Parliament; and I am ſure
Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* has ſo much W
ſo true a Senſe of filial Duty, that he will neve
any thing as a Favour done to him, if it has the
dency towards offering an Indignity to his Royal

That there is no Affair of an Importance to
the Conſideration of Parliament I ſhall admit
there are many Affairs of a Nature ſo delicate,
Wiſdom nor good Policy will allow of the P
taking them into their Conſideration; and if
was an Affair in which the Parliament ough
giving Judgment, the Affair now before you is
our paſſing Judgment in ſuch an Affair, every
out Doors will imagine there is a private Miſu
pute between his Majeſty and his *Royal Highneſ*
an Opinion, if it ſhould generally prevail, may
moſt dangerous Conſequence to both: We ſhoul
if poſſible avoid giving any Judgment in this Aff
for complying with the Motion, if it were in our
I do not think it is in our Power: It would be
of Property, a taking from the King a Part of
perty which is already eſtabliſhed in him by Act
ment, and to which he has as good a Right as a
Man in the Kingdom has to any private Proper
or can poſſeſs; for tho' the Parliament has a Po
propriate Money to particular Uſes at the Time
ed, yet afterwards they have no ſuch Power; an
ways been a Rule of this Houſe, not to enter into
ſideration about Money once granted to the Crow
firſt having the Conſent of the Crown. The
Revenue has already been granted to his Maje
we made that Grant, we might have ordered
cation of it to particular Uſes, and might have
as to have appropriated a particular Sum to each
Uſe; ſuch a particular Appropriation might perh

think with Reaſon too, have been thought derogatory to the Honour of the Crown; but I ſhall not now controvert that Point; no ſuch particular Appropriation was then made, and as it was not made at the Time that Revenue was granted, we have now no Power to make any ſuch particular Appropriation, with reſpect to any Parts of it, or with reſpect to any Uſe to which any Part of it ought to be applied; and much leſs have we now a Right or a Power to preſcribe to his Majeſty, what Part of the Civil Liſt Revenue ought to be applied towards maintaining the Honour and Dignity of his eldeſt Son, or in what Manner that Application ought to be made: However, this will beſt appear from conſidering the ſeveral Arguments made uſe of in favour of the Motion, which I ſhall take upon me to do in as brief a Manner as I can. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

As for the Maxim ſo much inſiſted on, That the *Prince of Wales* ought always to have a ſeperate and diſtinct Proviſion, and ſettled upon him in a Manner as to be quite independent of the King his Father, I never heard we had ſuch a Maxim in our Conſtitution, nor can I ſee how it is poſſible to make a Son altogether independent of his Father, and much leſs to make a Subject altogether independent of his Sovereign. The latter would, I am ſure, be a very great Soleciſm in Politics, and the former, whatever may be the Caſe with reſpect to Royal Families, has, I am certain, often produced great Misfortunes in private. 'Tis true the Cuſtom has generally been for our Kings to ſettle ſome Eſtate by Patent or Charter upon their eldeſt Sons, and thoſe Charters have often been confirmed by Act of Parliament; but I cannot ſee a good Reaſon for ſaying, that the making of ſuch a Settlement is abſolutely neceſſary, or that the Heir Apparent of the Crown cannot be educated, or cannot live in a proper Manner without it; for that Dependency which the Son of a great Family naturally has upon his Father, can no way tend toward the Debaſing of his Mind; and the Dignity and Grandeur, even of a *Prince of Wales*, may be as well ſupported by a yearly Allowance as by a perpetual and independent Settlement. For this Reaſon there never was any Regulation expreſsly eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom for providing an independent Settlement for the *Prince of Wales*; but on the contrary, the Making of ſuch a Proviſion, and the Manner of ſettling that Proviſion, have always been left intirely to the King upon the Throne, nor has the Parliament ever, or but very ſeldom, intermeddled in that Affair, unleſs when applied to by the King, or by ſome Perſons under his Direction, and that Application has generally proceeded from ſome other Rea-

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ſons beſides that of making a Settlement upon the *Prince of Wales*.

It is not ſo much as pretended, Sir, that any of thoſe Grants made by King *Henry* III. to his Son *Edward* proceeded from the Interpoſition of Parliament: On the contrary, 'tis evident, they proceeded entirely from the Politics of the Court at that Time, and thoſe Politics were not founded upon the Maxim of making the *Prince* independent, but upon a Deſign of gaining the Affections of the People in thoſe Countries which had been but lately ſubdued, it having been thought more honourable for them to be governed by the King's eldeſt Son, than by any other Subject. In like Manner we know that none of the Grants made by *Edward* III. to his Son *Edward, the black Prince*, proceeded from any Addreſs or Application from Parliament; for tho' they were, moſt of them, confirmed by Parliament, yet it appears that all thoſe Confirmations were obtained and paſſed at the Deſire of the King himſelf; and here likewiſe it may be ſaid, and I believe with Juſtice too, that the erecting of *Cornwall* into a Dutchy, and ſettling it upon the eldeſt Son of every future King, as alſo the erecting of *Guienne* and *Gaſcony* into a Principality, and granting it to the *Prince of Wales*, proceeded rather from a Deſign of doing Honour to thoſe Countries, than from any Deſign of making the *Prince* abſolutely independent of his Father; for we find it was a common Practice in former Days, to erect a Country or Province into a Dutchy or Principality, by way of doing Honour to the Country, and in recompence for ſome good Services performed by the Inhabitants: Thus we find the County of *Cheſter* was erected into a Principality by *Richard* II. becauſe the Militia of that County had countenanced and enforced his moſt Arbitrary Meaſures during his famous Parliament at *Shrewſbury*; and every one knows that it has always been reckoned an Honour to any City or Province to adopt it as a Title for any of the Princes of the Royal Family; therefore we are not to conclude that the Grants made to former *Princes of Wales* are a ſufficient Authority for eſtabliſhing it as a Maxim, that every *Prince of Wales* ought to have a ſeperate and independent Proviſion ſettled upon him.

Now, Sir, with regard to thoſe Caſes mentioned where the Parliament have actually interpoſed. In the Caſe of *Prince Richard*, eldeſt Son of *Edward the black Prince*, it is very probable that Application from Parliament was procured by the King himſelf, in order to diſappoint any Hopes the *Duke of Lancaſter*, his ſecond Son, might have of ſucceeding to the Throne; but ſuppoſe it was not procured

by

by the King himſelf, as there was then ſome Jealouſy in the Nation that the *Duke of Lancaſter* would endeavour to uſurp the Crown after his Father's Deceaſe, who was then very old, the Parliament had great Reaſon to addreſs for having the eldeſt Son of the deceaſed *Prince of Wales* created *Prince of Wales* in the Room of his Father, in order to avoid all Diſputes about the Succeſſion to the Crown; which is a Reaſon cannot be ſaid now to ſubſiſt, and is a Reaſon very different from that of having an independent Proviſion ſettled upon the *Prince of Wales*. As for the Application from Parliament for having *Prince Henry*, eldeſt Son of *Henry* IV. created *Prince of Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*, it plainly appears to have proceeded from the King's particular Favourites in Parliament, therefore we muſt ſuppoſe it was with the Approbation, or rather Procurement, of the King himſelf; and his Reaſon for procuring ſuch an Application was very far from being founded upon any Maxim or Deſign of ſettling an independent Proviſion upon the *Prince* his eldeſt Son; but as his own Title to the Crown was a little doubtful, 'tis evident he procured that Application from Parliament, with a Deſign to have his Son declared his lawful Succeſſor, and only rightful Heir to the Crown. Then as to what was done in the Reign of *Henry* VI. I hope none of the Tranſactions of that unfortunate Reign will be inſiſted on as good Precedents for any Thing that ought to be done in this; for that whole Reign was a continued Series of weak and deſtructive Meaſures on the Part of the Court, and very unjuſtifiable Incroachments on the Part of the Parliament.

Thus, Sir, none of the Precedents mentioned relating to the Heir Apparent of the Crown, can be any Way taken as a good Precedent for our agreeing to the Motion now before us; and of the two Precedents mentioned relating to the preſumptive Heirs of the Crown, that relating to King *James*, when *Duke of York*, can have nothing to do in the preſent Queſtion; for the making of a Settlement upon him was ſo far from proceeding from any Addreſs or other Application from the Parliament to the King, that it proceeded rather from the King's applying to his Parliament for that Purpoſe; and the Parliament's having any Thing at all to do in that Affair proceeded from Neceſſity not Choice; becauſe the Revenue of the Poſt-Office, and Wine Licenſe Office could not be ſettled upon the *Duke of York* but by Authority of Paaliament. And as for that relating to the late Queen *Anne*, when *Princeſs of Denmark*, it appears probable, indeed, that that Affair was firſt brought into Parliament, not only without the Approbation, but contrary

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contrary to the Inclination of the Court at that Time: But what was the Conſequence? It occaſioned an unſeaſonable Prorogation of that Seſſion, by which the Affairs of the Nation were very much embarraſſed; and if ſuch were to be the Conſequence of our agreeing to this Motion, I am convinced the honourable Gentleman that made it, would not ſo much as deſire any Gentleman to agree to it. Nay, even that very Parliament could never come to any fixed Reſolution in that Affair, 'till they had obtained the King's Approbation of what they were about to do, and then they unanimouſly agreed to addreſs his Majeſty to make a Proviſion for the *Prince* and *Princeſs of Denmark* of 50,000*l.* a Year; ſo that even that Affair can be no Precedent for our agreeing to this Motion, 'till it be ſome Way or other ſignified to us, that his Majeſty approves of what we are about to do.

From theſe Obſervations, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Precedents which have been mentioned are either ſuch as ought not to be followed, or ſuch as are no way applicable to the Caſe now before us; therefore it cannot be ſaid that the Motion is founded upon any proper Precedent; and whatever the Wiſdom and Policy of our Kings may have been with reſpect to the ſettling an independent Proviſion upon the Heir Apparent to the Crown, it ſeems it has always been the Wiſdom and Policy of the Nation to leave that Affair entirely to the Option of the King upon the Throne, and never to intermeddle but when it has appeared, or has even been ſignified to the Parliament, that their intermeddling would be agreeable to both the Parties concerned. This, Sir, is true Wiſdom; this is right Policy. Even, in private Life, it is generally held to be officious and imprudent for a Stranger to intermeddle in the Family Affairs of his Neighbour, without any Call from the Parties concerned; if there was no Breach before, it generally occaſions one; and if there was a Breach, it makes the Breach wider much more often than it occaſions a Reconcilement. The Parliament has a Right, the Parliament is often in Duty bound, to offer Advice to their Sovereign; but in determining when, or upon what Occaſions, we may or can offer our Advice, we ought to conſider our Sovereign in a twofold Reſpect: We ought to conſider him in his Political and Royal Capacity, and in his Natural and Paternal Capacity. In all Caſes which regard his Political and Royal Capacity we have certainly a Right to judge of the Meaſures that are taken, and may recommend what we think moſt expedient; but in Affairs which regard only his Natural and Paternal Capacity we have no Right to judge;

it

d be officious in us to recommend, without ſome Application from him for that Purpoſe; and as the ng for every Branch of the Royal Family is an Af- ich regards only his Natural and Paternal Capacity, d be officious in us, it is inconſiſtent with true Wiſdom l Policy for us, to pretend to judge, or to preſcribe what o be done, or in what Manner it ought to be done. t the *Prince of Wales* ought to be ſupported, that he to be honourably ſupported, I ſhall moſt readily and I ſhall likewiſe grant that the Support of the *of Wales* is and ought to be a Charge upon the Civil venue; but, Sir, that he has either a legal or an le Right to any particular Share of that Revenue, ny Share, but ſuch as the King his Father pleaſes to im, is what I cannot ſo eaſily admit. I have peruſed Acts of Parliament that were ever made, relating to evenue, I have particularly conſidered that Act by he Civil Liſt Revenue was ſettled upon his preſent , and neither in that Act, nor in any other, d any Words for giving the *Prince of Wales* a legal o any other Share, than what his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe him; nor can I find any Words from which a o any other Share can be equitably inferred. To his Majeſty has as abſolute a Right to the whole Liſt Revenue, during his Life, as any Gentleman in can have to his own Eſtate. The eldeſt Son of landed Gentleman in *England* ought to be ſupported his Father's Eſtate, and that Support ought to be g to the Character and Circumſtances of the Family; ope it will not be ſaid that the eldeſt Son has any equitable Right to any particular Share of his Fa- Eſtate, or to any Share, but ſuch as his Father o allow him, unleſs that Right be eſtabliſhed by veyance made to the Father, or by ſome Settle- fore made and agreed to by the Father.

ll Caſes of Equity, to be ſure, Sir, the Intention of of Parliament is to be chiefly regarded; but that n muſt ſome way or other appear from the Words. not to take the Intention of a Law from the In- this or that Gentleman really had, or may ſay he hen he agreed to the Paſſing of that Law. When a to be paſſed, and under the Conſideration of Parlia- every Gentleman may have his own Intention, his ſons for agreeing to it, and ſome may have Reaſons trary to thoſe of others. One Gentleman may n Intention that it ſhould be interpreted in one nother may intend that it ſhould be interpreted in a quite

would, I am ſure, be a very unnatural C
conſequently, I muſt think, a very unequit
Conſtruction the Words themſelves will n
it is an Intention I am convinced no Gentl
when he agreed to them.

I hope, Sir, from what I have ſaid it w
there is no abſolute Neceſſity, either fro
the Thing, or from any Maxim in our Co
certain, perpetual and independent Proviſio
upon the *Prince of Wales*; that if there w
very improper for the Parliament to in
Affair; and that his Majeſty is the ſole
whether ſuch a Settlement ought to be mad
fore we muſt conclude, that his Majeſty is
Judge, when that Settlement ought to be m
away all further Diſpute upon either of
muſt acquaint you, That I am commande
to lay before this Houſe, that his M
ſent a Meſſage to his Royal Highneſs the
by the Lord *Chancellor*, Lord *Preſident*,
Lord *Chamberlain*, Duke of *Richmond*,
Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Ea
and Lord *Harrington*; which Meſſage,
Lords, being in Writing, I ſhall now, Sir,

This Meſſage was as follows, *viz.* "
commanded us to acquaint your *Royal High*
That, upon your *Royal Highneſs*'s Marriag

Princeſs of Wales, as far as he is enabled by Law, ſuitable to her high Rank and Dignity; which he will, in proper Time, lay before his Parliament, in order to be rendered certain and effectual, for the Benefit of her *Royal Highneſs*. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

The King has further commanded us to acquaint your *Royal Highneſs* that, altho' your *Royal Highneſs* has not thought fit by any Application to his Majeſty, to deſire, that your Allowance of 50,000 *l. per Ann.* which is now paid by Monthly Payments, at the Choice of your *Royal Highneſs*, preferably to Quarterly Payments, might, by his Majeſty's further Grace and Favour, be rendered leſs precarious, his Majeſty, to prevent the bad Conſequences, which, he apprehends, may follow from the undutiful Meaſures, which, his Majeſty is informed, your *Royal Highneſs* has been adviſed to purſue, will grant to your *Royal Highneſs*, for his Majeſty's Life, the ſaid 50,000 *l. per Annum*, to be iſſuing out of his Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenues, over and above your *Royal Highneſs*'s Revenues ariſing from the *Dutchy of Cornwall*; which his Majeſty thinks a very competent Allowance, conſidering his numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which do and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family."

And that to this Meſſage his *Royal Highneſs* the *Prince* returned a verbal Anſwer, which, according to the beſt Recollection and Remembrance of the Lords, was in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

"That his *Royal Highneſs* deſired the Lords to lay him, with all Humility at his Majeſty's Feet; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that he had, and ever ſhould retain, the utmoſt Duty for his Royal Perſon; that his *Royal Highneſs* was very thankful for any Inſtance of his Majeſty's Goodneſs to him, or the *Princeſs*, and particularly for his Majeſty's gracious Intention for ſettling a Jointure upon her *Royal Highneſs*; but that, as to the Meſſage, the Affair was now out of his Hands, and therefore he could give no Anſwer to it."

After which, his *Royal Highneſs* uſed many dutiful Expreſſions towards his Majeſty, and then added, *Indeed, my Lords, it is in other Hands, I am ſorry for it.* Or to that Effect.

His *Royal Highneſs* concluded with earneſtly deſiring the Lords, to repreſent his Anſwer to his Majeſty in the moſt reſpectful and dutiful Manner.

From this moſt gracious Meſſage it appears, Sir, that his Majeſty has for ſome Time given a yearly Allowance to his *Royal Highneſs*, and ſuch an Allowance as his Majeſty thought a very competent Allowance conſidering his numerous

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merous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which do and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family; and it appears further, that this Allowance has been regularly paid in that Manner in which his *Royal Highneſs* himſelf choſe as the moſt proper and convenient for him; therefore it cannot be ſaid that the making of ſuch an Allowance has been in the leaſt delay'd; and if the converting of that Allowance into a perpetual and independent Settlement had been abſolutely neceſſary, or was now abſolutely neceſſary, it cannot be ſaid there has been any ſuch Delay as can give Occaſion for the Interpoſition of Parliament; becauſe, if his *Royal Highneſs* had not before his Marriage been ſatisfied with the Manner in which his Allowance was made to him, or had but ſignified that he thought it was eſtabliſhed upon too precarious a Foundation, his Majeſty would have eſtabliſhed it in any Manner he deſired; and conſidering how ſoon his Majeſty went abroad after the happy Marriage of his *Royal Highneſs*, it cannot be pretended that the leaſt unneceſſary Delay has ſince that Time been made, with reſpect to the making of a Settlement upon his *Royal Highneſs*, even in that Manner which is ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary by the Maxims and Cuſtom of the Kingdom. But ſuppoſing that the making of that Settlement had been unneceſſarily delay'd, whatever Delay or Neglect may have happened in that Reſpect is now made up by his Majeſty's Meſſage to his *Royal Highneſs*; and the communicating of that Meſſage to this Houſe, which I have now done by his Majeſty's Command, muſt be a full Anſwer to every Thing that can be ſaid, with reſpect to Time at leaſt, in Favour of the Motion now before us. Nay, from his *Royal Highneſs*'s Anſwer to his Majeſty's Meſſage, it ſeems reaſonable to believe that his *Royal Highneſs* is himſelf ſatisfied with what his Majeſty offers, and that he would be ſorry to hear of our having agreed to the Motion now made to us; for what other Meaning can be put upon his *Royal Highneſs*'s ſaying, that *he was ſorry for the Affair's being then in other Hands?*

For this Reaſon, Sir, I think the Debate will now be brought within a very narrow Compaſs; for if the Motion ſhould now be inſiſted on, it can proceed from nothing but Gentlemen's taking upon them to differ in Opinion from his Majeſty, and to think that 50,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt, beſides his *Royal Highneſs*'s Revenue ariſing from the *Duthy* of *Cornwall*, is not a competent Allowance, conſidering his Majeſty's numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which do and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family. As this has been already

y inſiſted on, as it has been ſaid that 100,000 *l.* a
the leaſt his *Royal Highneſs* ought to have out of
vil Liſt, beſides the Revenues of the Principality of
and *Dutchy* of *Cornwall*, and that it was the leaſt
rliament that eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt in-
he ſhould have, I muſt beg Leave to anſwer in as
ords as poſſible, to what has been ſaid upon that
and to give my Reaſons for being of the ſame Opinion
is Majeſty.

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what I have ſaid, or am to ſay upon this Head, I
not have it underſtood, Sir, as if I believed his *Royal*
ſs the Prince of Wales ought not to have more than
l. a Year: On the contrary, I think he ought to
great deal more than double the Sum, if it were
for his Majeſty to ſpare ſo much from the Civil Liſt
e, or if the Nation were ſo happy as to be in a
on to increaſe the Civil Liſt, ſo as to enable his Ma-
make ſuch an Allowance to his *Royal Highneſs* as he
, and as his Majeſty would incline to give him.
we to meaſure his Allowance by his Merit, as we
o Bounds to the latter, we could preſcribe no Bounds
ormer: The only Courſe we could take would be,
whatever he pleaſed to demand; and even in that
would have Reaſon to fear leſt his Modeſty might
njury to his Generoſity, by making him confine his
ds within the ſtricteſt Bounds of Neceſſity. I am
refore to examine what his *Royal Highneſs* ought to
am only to endeavour to ſhew that we have no
o preſcribe to his Majeſty, what he ought to give;
ould not be the Intention of that Parliament which
ed the preſent Civil Liſt, to grant 100,000 *l.* a Year,
other certain yearly Sum out of the Civil Liſt
e to his *Royal Highneſs*; and that his Majeſty can-
reſent conveniently ſpare more than 50,000 *l.* a
t of that Revenue.

y, Sir, that the Parliament has a Right to preſcribe
Majeſty, what Proviſion he ſhall make out of his
ate for any one of his Children, has ſomething in it
View ſo very extraordinary, that I am ſurprized to
nſiſted on. Such a Right would put the King in a
orſe State than any one of his Subjects; and I muſt
entlemen would conſider, what a Foreigner would
this Nation, if he ſhould be told, we entruſt the
ith the Government of the whole Kingdom, but we
entruſt him with the Government of his own Fa-
I do not know that there is in all our Hiſtories or
any one Precedent or Foundation for ſuch a Par-

to 10. *Geo.* 1736-7.

likewiſe a Claim, but that ſingle one in the Reign of *Henry* VI. and that was, we know, ſo weak a Reign that it became neceſſary for the Parliament to aſſume ſeveral Rights and Privileges which they were not properly, and by the Nature of our Conſtitution, intitled to. As for what the Parliament did in Relation to the *Princeſs Anne of Denmark*, it can no Way be made uſe of in the preſent Caſe; that Affair was firſt brought into Parliament when they were conſidering how much it would be neceſſary to allow for the Support of our Civil Government, and then it became very proper to take into their Conſideration what particular Sum was to be allowed for the Support of the *Prince and Princeſs of Denmark*; for tho' they were of the Royal Family, they were not of the King's own Family; and therefore the Appropriating of a certain particular Sum for their Support, or the Addreſſing to have a certain Sum appropriated for that Purpoſe, could not be called an Intermeddling in the King's domeſtic Affairs.

Beſides, Sir, it is not ſo natural for any Man to provide honourably for his preſumptive Heir, as for any one of his own Children: The preſumptive Heir is ſometimes looked on even with Jealouſy and Envy; and therefore, there is a very ſtrong Reaſon for the Parliament's interfering more particularly in one Caſe, than common Decency can admit of in the other.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, the Parliament had a Right to preſcribe to his Majeſty, what Proviſion he ſhall make out of his own Eſtate for any, or for every one of his Children, how is it poſſible for us to exerciſe that Right in our preſent Situation? Before we can with any Countenance pretend to exerciſe ſuch a Right, we ought to examine narrowly into the Produce of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the ſeveral Uſes to which it muſt neceſſarily be applied, in order to ſee how much his Majeſty can conveniently ſpare out of that Revenue: We ought likewiſe to examine particularly into the Eſtabliſhment of his *Royal Highneſs*'s Houſhold, and all the Expences he may neceſſarily be put to for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur in which the Heir Apparent to the Crown of *Great Britain* ought to live, in order to determine what particular Sum his Majeſty ſhall allow him annually out of the Civil Liſt Revenue. Is it poſſible for us in our preſent Situation to examine into either of theſe Particulars? We have at preſent no Account relating to the Civil Liſt, nor any Account relating to his *Royal Highneſs*'s Houſhold before us, and without a Multitude of ſuch Accounts it is not poſſible for us to go thro' with any ſuch Examination.

Now,

Now, Sir, with regard to the Intention of that Parliament by whom the preſent Civil Liſt was eſtabliſhed; if we conſider the Circumſtances of the Royal Family at that Time, and the Circumſtances of the Royal Family when the Civil Liſt was eſtabliſhed in the former Reign, we ſhall very eaſily find a Meaning for the *Experience of paſt Times* being very different from what is now put upon theſe Words. When the Civil Liſt Revenue was eſtabliſhed upon his late Majeſty, a very narrow Scrutiny was made into the whole Articles of the Expence of our civil Government, and particularly into the Expence neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales*; from which Scrutiny it was computed that 600,000 *l.* a Year at leaſt would be neceſſary for ſupporting the King's Houſhold and civil Government; but let us conſider that the King had then no Queen, nor any Children to provide for: From the ſame Scrutiny it was computed that 100,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt Revenue was the leaſt Sum that would be neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of the *Prince of Wales*; but let us remember that the *Prince of Wales* had then a *Princeſs of Wales*, and, to our Happineſs, ſeveral Children to provide for. During that Reign it had been found that 100,000 *l.* a Year, was ſufficient for ſupporting the *Prince and Princeſs of Wales*, and all their Children; but it had likewiſe been found that it required 700,000 *l.* a Year to ſupport the King's Houſhold and civil Government, tho' he had no Queen nor any Children to provide for. *Anno* 1 II. 17

This, Sir, was the *Experience of paſt Times* which gave Occaſion to the Increaſing his preſent Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue to 800,000 *l.* a Year; but if we conſider the Circumſtances of the Royal Family at the Time of his Majeſty's Acceſſion, we muſt ſee that the Parliament from *this very Experience* could not but conclude, that it would require more than 700,000 *l.* a Year to ſupport his preſent Majeſty's Houſhold and civil Government; becauſe he had a Queen and ſeveral younger Children to provide for, which the late King had not; and from *the ſame Experience* they muſt likewiſe have concluded, that it would not require 100,000 *l.* a Year to ſupport the *Prince of Wales*, becauſe he had then neither *a Princeſs*, nor any Children to provide for; for if they had concluded that 100,000 *l.* a Year would be neceſſary for ſupporting the *Prince of Wales* ſingly, they muſt from the *Experience of paſt Times* have granted more than 700,000 *l.* a Year for ſupporting the preſent King's Houſhould and civil Government, conſidering that he had a Queen and ſeveral young Children to provide for,

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which the late King had not; and ſince they granted for the Support of the preſent King's Houſhold and civil Government, but exactly the ſame Sum that had been found from the *Experience of paſt Times* to be neceſſary, and had been actually given for the Support of the late King's Houſhold and civil Government, it is apparent to me they concluded his Majeſty might ſave and deduct as much from the Allowance to be made to the *Prince of Wales*, as would be ſufficient for providing for her preſent Majeſty the Queen, and all their other Children. From all which it is to me evident that the Parliament that eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt did not intend his *Royal Highneſs* ſhould have out of it a full 100,000 *l.* a Year. They intended only what was right they ſhould intend, and what only in due Deference to their Sovereign they could intend, which was, that his Majeſty ſhould allow the *Prince of Wales* what he, in his great Wiſdom, might think a competent Allowance for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Heir Apparent to the Crown, conſidering his Majeſty's numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences, which would neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family.

I think, Sir, I have now clearly ſhewn what his Majeſty meant by, and what the Parliament could only intend from the *Experience of paſt Times*; and, if we now proceed upon the ſame Foundation, we muſt conclude, that 50,000 *l.* a Year is the moſt his Majeſty can ſpare out of the Civil Liſt for the Support of his *Royal Highneſs*. His Majeſty allows 5000 *l.* a Year for the Support of his *Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland*, 5000 *l.* a Year to her *Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Orange*, 5,500 *l.* a Year for the two *eldeſt Princeſſes*, and 2000 *l.* a Year for the two youngeſt; all which are extraordinary Expences unknown in the late Reign. To theſe if we add the 50,000 *l.* a Year for the Support of her Majeſty, which was likewiſe unknown in the late Reign, and a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the ſeveral Palaces, we muſt conclude that his Majeſty muſt neceſſarily be at 100,000 *l.* a Year Expence more than was found, or could be neceſſary in the late Reign, which will make the whole Expence of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and civil Government, without including the Allowance of the *Prince of Wales*, amount, according to the *Experience of paſt Times*, at leaſt 800,000 *l.* a Year; ſo that every Shilling his Majeſty allows for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*, muſt ariſe from Frugality and good Oeconomy, and from contracting, and ſaving a Part of that Expence which was found neceſſary in the late Reign. Therefore, ſo far from conclu-

or imagining that his Majeſty may ſpare more
o *l.* a Year for his *Royal Highneſs*, we have rea-
rprized how he can ſpare ſo much.
Sir, will appear ſtill more evident by an Exam-
te Life. Suppoſe two Country Gentlemen, each
a Year Eſtate in Land: Suppoſe their Rents
d, and equally well paid, and that their Lands
taxed; and ſuppoſe that one of theſe Gentle-
t one only Son, but that the other has five or
ı. Can we ſuppoſe the latter able to ſettle upon
on as large a Part of his Eſtate as the former may
tle upon his only Son? Surely, Sir, no Man in
ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing; the latter has his
ıildren not only to maintain, but to provide for,
re neither he nor his eldeſt Son can live in ſuch
as the former and his only Son may do. This
Caſe before us: His preſent Majeſty has but
a Year Eſtate, the late King had the ſame, if
ıis late Majeſty's ſettled Revenue, the ſeveral
Grants that were occaſionally made to the Civil
Reign. His late Majeſty had but one only Son;
Majeſty, to our Comfort and Happineſs, has ſe-
ren; and therefore it is not to be ſuppoſed that
King, or the preſent *Prince of Wales*, can live
ndeur, as the late King, and the preſent, whilſt
Wales, were able to do, unleſs the Parliament
ık fit to encreaſe the Eſtate of the Crown by a
onal Grant to the Civil Liſt Revenue.
ıke no Notice, Sir, of the Inſinuations that were
ıſt the Management of the Civil Liſt Revenue in
ign, or the Method of ſettling it in this. I do
hey any Way relate to the preſent Debate. The
nt in the late Reign, might, if neceſſary, be
unted for; and the Method of ſettling the Civil
ıue in this Reign hardly deſerves the Name
rovement. But now after having ſhewn that we
roperly a Right to preſent ſuch an Addreſs as is
that we ought not either in Wiſdom, or Policy,
nmon Decency, to preſent ſuch an Addreſs, I muſt
ſt intreat of Gentlemen to conſider what they are
entlemen may call it, if they pleaſe, offering our
our Sovereign; but it is really bringing his Ma-
ıis eldeſt Son as Plaintiff and Defendant before us.
ght it will be looked on by every Man without
t is ſtating ourſelves as the higher Power, and
his *Royal Highneſs* to ſue for Juſtice before us:
ng to the Queſtion, would be a determining that

his

this Trouble will effectually prevent any Attempt

The Queſtion now before us, Sir, is of ſ
Nature, it may be the Occaſion of ſuch fa
to the Royal Family and to the whole K
muſt think, the original Authors and Con
be no Friends to either. I am far from ſuſp
tleman of this Houſe, or any Member of
Parliament. It is not poſſible for me to ſu
of them could have been the original Aut
of ſuch a Queſtion; and I am ſure no Ge
Houſe would have attempted to have broug
into Parliament, if he had viewed it in t
I do. We may remember, Sir, the fat
happened between his late Majeſty, and
jeſty when *Prince of Wales:* We may re
a Height that fatal Diviſion was carried.
Wales, the eldeſt, the only Son of the Kin
parent to the Crown, was turned out of t
was excluded from every one of the Royal
obliged to live like a private Nobleman, in
and without any Guards, or other Enſi
Nay, his very Servants were tempted and
him, and were even threatned and bullie
yet it cannot be ſaid that the Son was e
undutiful Behaviour, or that the Father w
tural Affection. To what then could this
be owing? It could be owing to nothing b
Slanderers and Tale Bearers, who, for

to have a diſtinct and independent Proviſion ſettled him. I remember a Time when this Doctrine was far being admitted as one of the Maxims of our Con- m. I remember a Time when the preſent Royal ly, who were then the preſumptive Heirs of the n by Act of Parliament, were ſo far from being al- l a diſtinct and independent Settlement, that they had llowance at all: Nay, even when the Queſtion was d, the Parliament would not ſo much as give any of Leave to come and reſide in the Kingdom. The im now inſiſted on was therefore very far from being t a Maxim at that Time, and I ſhould think it very e, if thoſe who were then ſo regardleſs of the Pre- ive Heir of the Crown, ſhould now ſhew themſelves eful of the Apparent Heir, as to do an Injury to the upon the Throne, for the Sake of providing a very independent Settlement for the Apparent Heir.

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m likewiſe ſurprized, Sir, to hear the Term, Eman- n, made uſe of in this Debate. In this Kingdom to of the Son's being emancipated by Marriage out of mily of his Father, is certainly not a proper and juſt of Speaking. In thoſe Countries where the Term ipation was firſt made uſe of, the Son was in ſome the Slave of his Father. In thoſe Countries Fa- d at firſt even a Power of Life and Death over hildren, and a Right to every Thing the Son could either by his own Induſtry, or by Gift, or otherwiſe; s the Son freed from his paternal Power by Mar- The only Way of freeing him was by a ſolemn Act Father, an Edict of the Prince, or a Decree of the rate; and the Freeing of the Son from the paternal by either of theſe Ways was called Emancipation. this Kingdom we can have no ſuch Term, becauſe ather has not properly any Power over his Children; after he comes of Age has no further Dependence his Father, than what proceeds from filial Affection Duty, and this continues after his Marriage the ſame before; it is a Dependance, which never can, nor ought to be taken way: It is a Dependance which, I re, no Member of this Houſe would endeavour to di- ; for whoever endeavours to diminiſh it can have no Regard either for the Son or the Father.

t, Sir, I muſt confeſs, I am no way ſurprized to find thoſe who were ſome Time ago for incroaching upon King's Prerogative with reſpect to the Officers of his y, ſhould now be for incroaching upon his paternal er with reſpect to the providing in whatever Manner he

may

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may think moſt proper for his own Children. I am perſuaded neither of theſe Attempts proceeded from any real Diſaffection to his Majeſty, or his illuſtrious Family: I believe both proceeded from miſtaken Notions of Liberty, or from an erroneous Idea of our Conſtitution; but I hope thoſe Gentlemen will conſider, that what they now propoſe is really in ſome Manner, as I have ſaid, accuſing his Majeſty of Injuſtice towards his eldeſt Son. It will be ſo looked on by the whole Nation. This will of courſe very much leſſen the Eſteem the People have, and ought to have for his Majeſty; and will certainly make many of them ſuppoſe he is no longer fit to rule over us. The Conſequences of ſuch an Opinion may be extremely fatal. For my own Part, if I were in a foreign Nation, and ſhould hear that ſuch a Queſtion as this had been brought into the Parliament of *Great Britain*, and carried againſt the Father, I ſhould expect to hear, by the next Poſt, that the ſame Parliament had depoſed the Father, and had ſet the Crown upon the Head of the Son. This is a Conſequence which, I am ſure, the Son would be far from deſiring to ſee; it is a Conſequence which I am convinced no Gentleman in this Houſe deſigns; but as it is a Conſequence which I think ſooner or later might be juſtly apprehended from this Queſtion's being carried in the Affirmative, therefore I thought myſelf obliged to riſe up and give my Reaſons for being againſt it; and now that I have done ſo, whatever may happen to be the Fate of the Queſtion, I am ſure I ſhall ſleep this Night much ſounder in my Bed, and with a ſafer Conſcience, than I could have done, if I had given only a bare Negative to a Queſtion in which I think the Happineſs of my King, the Happineſs of the Royal Family, and the Happineſs of my Country ſo deeply concerned.

To conclude, Sir, as the Honourable Gentleman who moved you this Queſtion, has told us that ſeveral Arguments of great Dignity and Weight might be made uſe of againſt it, I have and ſhall always have ſo great a Deference for that Gentleman's Opinion, that I ſhall, upon all Occaſions, be extremely cautious of giving my Aſſent to any Queſtion againſt which he thinks any Argument of Dignity or Weight may be made uſe of. 'Tis true, he endeavoured to evade thoſe Arguments by making ſome ſort of Anſwer to each; but thoſe Anſwers will, from what I have already ſaid, appear, I think, to be very inſufficient; ſo that the Arguments he made uſe of againſt his own Motion muſt now ſtand in their full Force. In all Queſtions, even where the Prerogative is concerned, which relate to Affairs of a public Nature, the Parliament may interpoſe, but in ſome wi[illegible]

ch relate only to the Royal Family, the Parliament can e no Concern: Even his Majeſty's Miniſters cannot erly or prudently intermeddle, unleſs ſpecially called . As for the Parliament's reſuming any Grant, when Cauſe of granting ceaſes, it can have nothing to do in reſent Debate; for there is no Pretence for ſaying that one of the Cauſes for granting the preſent Civil Liſt enue has ceaſed. And as to the Amount of the Civil Revenue, and the Manner in which it is eſtabliſhed, or Uſes for which it ought to be applied, I am ſurprized ar any Objections made to the former, or any At- made for directing the latter, ſince at the Time of ing, as I am told, it was unanimouſly agreed to in one , and with but one contradictory Vote in the other; I do not hear that in either Houſe there was the leaſt ion made of the Uſes to which the Whole, or any ought to be applied. In ſhort, Sir, there was never Thing happened in Parliament, gave me ſo great a rn as the hearing of this Motion made. The very g of ſuch a Motion may be attended with cruel Con- ces; but if it ſhould be agreed to, after having uſed moſt Endeavours to prevent it, I ſhall pray to God to thoſe Judgments which may be brought upon the Nation by our agreeing to ſuch a Motion. This I be my next indiſpenſable Duty; but I hope the of my Endeavours will prevent ſuch a melancholy n for my Prayers.

Reply was by Mr. *Pultney* and the other Gentle- who ſpoke for the Motion.

r,

e Importance of the preſent Debate I ſhall readily ac- ledge, has been, I think, acknowledged by every eman who has ſpoke upon either Side of the Queſtion; me of the Gentlemen who have ſpoke againſt the n, have endeavoured to repreſent it in a Light which, ſure, it can no way bear; a Light which, I muſt ſay, y way contribute to the Honour or Advantage of either two Royal Perſons who ſeem to be concerned. To ute that either of them can conceive the leaſt Grudge my Thing that paſſes in Parliament, is really, in my on, to inſinuate, that they are ignorant, or not ob- of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. This, ve, the honourable Gentlemen were not ſufficiently of, otherwiſe they would not have pretended that this s, or any Motion in Parliament, could ever occaſion reach or Diſpute between his Majeſty and his Royal

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Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, or that it can lay any Gentleman under the leaſt Difficulty how to behave.

As my Attachment to the preſent Royal Family is ſo well and ſo publicly known, I cannot, I think, be ſuſpected of deſiring or deſigning to foment or ſtir up any Diviſion between them: I hope every one who knows me will do me the Juſtice to think, I would do all in my Power to prevent any ſuch fatal Diviſion; and for this very Reaſon I am for agreeing to the Motion now made to us; becauſe it will remove that which is often the Cauſe of Diſſenſion in private Families, and may be the ſame even with reſpect to the Royal; for when the Son is obliged to apply to the Father for every trifling Sum he may have Occaſion for, it is a continual Fund for Diſſenſion, and often begets a Coolneſs both on the one Side and on the other.

It is to be ſuppoſed, I hope, Sir, there will always be good Reaſon for preſuming, that the Behaviour of every Gentleman in this Houſe, with reſpect to any Motion he may make, or any Opinion or Vote he may give, is founded upon what he thinks right, upon what he takes to be his Duty as a Member of this Houſe; and to imagine that his Majeſty, or his *Royal Highneſs*, would be offended at any Gentleman's doing what he takes to be his Duty in Parliament, is certainly a very wrong, and a moſt groundleſs Imagination: But to ſuppoſe that either of them could conceive the leaſt Grudge againſt the other, on account of any Motion or Queſtion in Parliament, is to ſuppoſe that the Parliament is directed in every thing they do, *either* by the one or the other; which is a Suppoſition as injurious to the Honour of Parliament, as it is inconſiſtent with the Wiſdom and Juſtice both of His Majeſty, and of his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*; we therefore ought to ſuppoſe that neither his Majeſty, nor his *Royal Highneſs*, knows any thing of what we are about; we are in Duty bound to ſuppoſe, that neither of them will be offended with the Fate of this Queſtion, be it what it will; and it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe it can occaſion any Breach between them: So that let the Importance of the Queſtion be of ever ſo high a Nature, it can be of no *Conſequence* to *Court*, nor can it be attended with any cruel Conſequences. No Man can from hence imagine there is any private Miſtake or Diſpute between his Majeſty and the *Prince*, becauſe no Man can ſuppoſe, I hope no Man does ſuppoſe, the Proceedings of Parliament are directed by either. The only Thing they can ſuppoſe is, that his *Royal Highneſs* is not as yet provided for in the Manner he deſerves, and in that Manner as which all former *Princes of Wales* have been; and this we

only ſuppoſed, but publicly known, and generally talked of, long before this Motion was thought of; therefore, if this Motion has any Effect on People without Doors, it will be, to ſhew them, that we are mindful of our Duty, and that we have a due Regard for the Honour of the Nation, and for the Happineſs and Independency of the *Heir Apparent to the Crown*. *Anno* 10 II. 173

I am far from thinking, Sir, that our agreeing to this Motion will occaſion any Breach between the two Royal Perſons concerned: On the contrary, I am convinced it will be extremely pleaſing to both. The Royal Father muſt be pleaſed to ſee his eldeſt Son and *Apparent Heir* ſo greatly beloved, as to have the Parliament intereſting themſelves in his Behalf; and the *Prince* will be pleaſed to ſee the Parliament taking Care of his being made independent of his Father's Miniſters and Servants. Therefore no Gentleman can in that reſpect be under any Difficulty in giving his Vote for the Queſtion; and I am ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid that by voting for or againſt it, an Injury can be done to either of the Royal Perſons concerned. Can the giving of an honeſt and diſintereſted Advice ever be looked on as an Injury to the Perſon to whom it is given? Can my refuſing to give an Advice, which I do not think proper, be looked on as an Injury by any Perſon whatever? The Addreſs propoſed is only by way of Advice; and it is giving our Advice in the humbleſt Manner. Shall this, Sir, be called a Violation of Property? Shall it be called a taking from the King that Property which is eſtabliſhed in him by Act of Parliament? If the Motion had been, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000 *l.* from the Civil Liſt, and ſettling it on the *Prince of Wales*, there might have been ſome Pretence for ſuch Exclamations; but ſurely our adviſing his Majeſty, in the humbleſt Manner, to give what we think the *Prince* ought to have, can never be called a Taking his Property from him by Violence; even ſuppoſing he had as good and as abſolute a Right to the whole Civil Liſt Revenue, as any private Man can have to his Eſtate: Which I cannot grant without ſome Reſtriction; for a private Man may ſquander his Eſtate in what Manner he pleaſes, whereas, if the Civil Liſt Revenue ſhould be ridiculouſly ſquandered, the Parliament would have a Right to interpoſe, and would, I believe, interpoſe in a Manner more effectual than that of Addreſſing.

To pretend, Sir, that the Parliament has no Power to appropriate Money after it is granted, or that we never enter into any Conſideration about Money once granted to the Crown, without the previous Conſent of the Crown, has

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no Relation to the preſent Debate; becauſe it is not now propoſed to bring in a Bill for appropriating any Money, nor to take into our Conſideration any Grants made to the Crown; it is only propoſed to addreſs his Majeſty to make ſuch a Settlement on the *Prince of Wales* as we think neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity and Grandeur of his high Birth: But I muſt confeſs, I am at a Loſs to know how the Power of Parliament comes to be confined in either of the Caſes mentioned; I am ſure the Parliament often in one Bill appropriates Sums of Money granted by former Bills in the ſame Seſſion, and why it may not appropriate Money granted by a Bill paſſed in a former Seſſion, I cannot comprehend: And, I think, but laſt Seſſion, we took into our Conſideration, and abſolutely releaſed a very large Sum of Money, formerly granted to the Crown, without any previous Conſent of the Crown; for I do not remember we had any general Meſſage from the Crown, when we paſſed the late famous Bill for and againſt Smugglers, by which a very large Sum of Money, due by them to the Crown, was abſolutely releaſed by Parliament; tho' it muſt be granted, his Majeſty had as good and as abſolute a Right to every Shilling of that Money, as he has to any other Part of the Civil Liſt Revenue. Therefore, if a Motion had actually been made, to bring in a Bill for taking 100,000 *l.* a Year from the Civil Liſt, and ſettling it on the *Prince of Wales*, it would not have been without Precedent, with reſpect to our having no previous Conſent from the Crown; and as the Parliament has certainly a Right to ſee every Sum of Money applied to that Uſe for which it was intended, tho' not expreſsly appropriated, with reſpect to the Power of Parliament, ſuch a Motion would not have been entirely without Reaſon: But as the Motion now made to us is only for an Addreſs, there can be no Doubt of the Parliament's having a Power to preſent ſuch an Addreſs as is propoſed, and therefore the only Queſtion is, Whether or no it be proper?

With reſpect to this Queſtion, Sir, the Debate ſeems now indeed, by his Majeſty's Meſſage, to be brought within a very narrow Compaſs; it ſeems in ſome Manner to be reduced to one ſingle Point, which is, Whether his Majeſty can ſpare more than 50,000 *l.* from the Civil Liſt Revenue, for the Uſe of his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*? By this Meſſage even his Majeſty ſeems to acknowledge, that the *Prince of Wales* ought to have an independent Settlement, and that it is now high Time that Settlement ſhould be made; and the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Meſſage ſeems to admit that the Settlement

propoſed

it to be made is not a ſufficient Settlement: ſo y Queſtion now remaining is, Whether the Civil e, as it ſtands at preſent, can poſſibly ſpare a for the Uſe of his *Royal Highneſs*? And from made a Queſtion I ſhall ſhew, that the Addreſs a very proper Addreſs, and that it is become abeſſary for us to agree to preſent ſuch an Addreſs; Objections have been made to the Right which as to a ſufficient independent Settlement, I ſhall ave to anſwer ſome of the moſt material Obave heard made againſt it.

xims of State, Sir, in any Kingdom or Common- always moſt certainly to be deduced from their l general Cuſtoms: The Hiſtorians, or Political any Country, may be miſtaken, they may deas a Maxim of State which never had any Auuch; they may neglect to mention, or may perſerve a Maxim which has always obtained; but aſtom has been long and generally received, the r Rule in Politics upon which that Cuſtom is uſt be allowed to be a Maxim of State in that r Commonwealth. Can any one then ſay, the an independent and ſufficient Proviſion upon the *Wales* is not a Maxim of State in this Kingdom? Cuſtom which has been obſerved, without any tion, as long, as far back, as we can trace our Mo- nd the Wiſdom of this Maxim, not only appears ature of the Thing itſelf, but is expreſsly point- t in every one of the Charters and Acts of Par- at have been granted or made for that Purpoſe. reſpect to the *Prince*, the Wiſdom of this Maxim , becauſe he is thereby enabled to ſupport the d Grandeur of his Birth, without a Dependance Father's Miniſters and Servants: And then with the Crown itſelf, the Wiſdom of this Maxim is evident, becauſe it is eſtabliſhed and ſecured by r and Character acquired by the Heir Apparent. Conſiderations are both pointed at in the Charter, Parliament, by which *Edward* III. granted the *Cornwall* to his Son *Edward the black Prince*; Charter granted by that King for creating his *of Wales*, the Reaſon for that Grant is expreſsly o be, for doing Honour to the King, and for adngth to the Nation and to the Royal Family. , we ſee that the ſettling of an independent Pro- n the *Prince of Wales*, was looked on as a Piece Wiſdom by *Edward* III. but now it ſeems we are

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to look on it as a Soleciſm in Politics, as a Step which might be the Occaſion of great Misfortunes to the Royal Family.

But, Sir, while I can diſtinguiſh between that laudable, that honourable Dependance, which proceeds from Royalty and filial Duty, and that vile, that ſordid Dependance, which proceeds from Lucre, I ſhall always be of the ſame Opinion with our great King *Edward* III. The *Prince of Wales* muſt always have a Dependance on the King as his Father, as his Sovereign: This is a Sort of Dependance which no Man can, which no honeſt Man would endeavour to take away or diminiſh; but to ſay that he ought to have a pecuniary Dependance upon the King, or rather upon the King's Miniſters, is to ſay he ought to have a Sort of Dependance which no Man of Honour or Spirit can ſubmit to; and it is a Sort of Dependance abſolutely inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution. The *Prince of Wales* is by his Birth the firſt Peer in Parliament, and conſequently ought not to be ſubjected to a diſhonourable Dependance upon any Man; but if it ſhould once be eſtabliſhed as a Maxim, that he ought to be under a vile pecuniary Dependance upon his Sovereign, it might then be juſtly ſaid, he was not only the firſt Peer, but the firſt Penſioner in Parliament. —— From this Conſideration alone we may ſee how abſolutely neceſſary it is, to have a ſufficient and independent Proviſion ſettled upon every *Prince of Wales* before he comes to Man's Eſtate; and the making of ſuch a Settlement will be ſo far from deſtroying or diminiſhing that Dependance which proceeds from Loyalty and filial Duty, that it will increaſe and ſecure it; whereas the keeping him under a pecuniary Dependance may provoke him to ſhake off both his Loyalty and filial Duty. A pecuniary Dependance is a Dependance of ſo ſlaviſh a Nature, that no great Mind can long bear it. The more Honour, the more Spirit a Man has, the more impatient will he be to get rid of ſuch a Dependance, and that Impatience may at laſt get the better both of his Loyalty and his filial Duty.

Thus, Sir, in every Light we can put it, the Wiſdom of this Maxim, and the Neceſſity of obſerving it, muſt appear evident to thoſe who think there is any other Dependance in Nature beſides that which proceeds from Lucre. Indeed to thoſe who put no Truſt in any other Sort of Dependance, the Politics of *Edward* III. and the Maxim on which their Politics were founded, muſt appear ridiculous and abſurd. I hope, there are no ſuch Gentlemen in this Houſe: I hope there is no Gentleman in this Houſe that ever aſpired to ſuch a ſlaviſh Dependance, or that ever endea-

red to impoſe any ſuch upon others; and, I am ſure, Man can put his only Truſt in that which he has never within himſelf, nor ever experienced in others.

r this Reaſon it cannot but appear ſtrange to me, that Gentleman in this Houſe ſhould attempt to evade or deny Maxim I have endeavoured to eſtabliſh; yet ſo loth, I are ſome Gentlemen to admit of it as a Maxim of in this Kingdom, that they have ranſacked our Hiſto- to find out other Reaſons for the frequent Settlements upon our *Princes of Wales*; and tho' the Security of Crown, and the enabling the *Prince* to ſupport the Ho- and Dignity of his noble Birth, are the Reaſons, and ly Reaſons, mentioned in the Charters by which thoſe ments were made, yet we are told theſe were not the Reaſons; but that the true Reaſons were, in order to onour to ſome County or Borough, to ſecure the ions of a People newly conquered, or to declare and liſh the Right of the *Prince of Wales* as next Heir to Crown. Thus when we are to interpret ancient Laws arters, we are not to take their Meaning or Intention the Words, we are to have no Regard to the expreſs s of the Law, but we are to take its Meaning or In- from the Hiſtory of ſome cotemporary Facts with we cannot but be very well acquainted; whereas e are to interpret any late Statute, for Example, utes by which the Civil Liſt Revenue was eſtabliſhed, e to regard the Words only, we are not to take the ing or Intention of the Law from the Hiſtory of thoſe porary Facts with which we are very well acquainted, hich Facts, to the particular Knowledge of many of eatly influenced the Paſſing of thoſe Laws, and were hief Cauſe of the Shape they now appear in. Whe- this Method of interpreting Statutes be eſtabliſhed upon Rule or Maxim of Law, I do not know; but to me it s directly contrary to common Senſe; and therefore I ſtill continue to think, it has always been held as a im of State in this Kingdom, that the *Prince of Wales* t to have a ſufficient independent Eſtate of his own; hat this Maxim, and the Wiſdom and Policy upon h it is founded, were the chief Cauſes of all thoſe Settle- s that have been made.

yearly Allowance, or an Annuity depending upon the and Pleaſure of the King, might perhaps enable the e, if he reſolved to ſpend the Whole, yearly as it comes live in as grand a Manner, as an Annuity of the Value ſettled upon him independently and for Life; as an Annuity depending upon the Will of any Man

mu

Law Courts to depend upon the precarious
of the King, and ſhall we admit or ſuffer th
Wales, who is one of the Judges of the ſupr
Court of Judicature in the Nation, ſhould h
to depend on? Therefore we muſt conclud
eſtabliſhed Maxims of the Kingdom, fr
Series of Precedents for a great many Ages
the very Nature of our Conſtitution, the
has a Right to a ſufficient and independent
that the Parliament may interpoſe for ma
effectual, has been ſhewn from many Prece

'Tis true, Sir, this likewiſe has been ob
has been ſaid, that the Parliament has ſeldom
poſed but when deſired or prompted by t
ſo; or otherwiſe, that the Precedents are ſ
to be drawn into Example. Sir, There i
Precedents which have been mentioned, tha
been founded upon any Meſſage from th
Motion was perhaps, in ſome of them, m
was known to be a Courtier; but can it b
Motion's being made by a Courtier, with
ſignifying he had any Authority from the
Purpoſe, would have made it proper for th
have agreed to a Motion, which it woul
proper for them to have agreed to, if the
made by any other Perſon, or by one who
to be a Courtier? Therefore we muſt ſuppo

, was reſolved on by Parliament without any Di- *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
rom, nay probably in Oppoſition to the Court at
ne; for it appears from our Records, that that
nce was ſent to Parliament at the Deſire and upon
n of the Commons; and when the Parliament ad-
r having him created *Prince of Wales*, the King's
ſhews he was not very well pleaſed with the Ad-
r in his Anſwer he tells them, the creating of a
Wales no way belonged to the Parliament, but to
; only; which is an Anſwer it can hardly be ſup-
would have made, if the Addreſs of Parliament
ceded from his Authority, or had been moved for
Approbation: Then again, from the Circumſtances
ourt at that Time, it is not probable the King
ve been ſo forward in creating his Grandſon *Prince*
if he had not been forced to it by his Parliament;
ertain that King, in his old Age, fell into a Sort
Dotage, and gave himſelf entirely up to the Ma-
of his Miſtreſs *Alice Pierce*, and his ſecond Son,
of Lancaſter, which raiſed a moſt reaſonable Jea-
Edward the Black Prince, who was then upon his
, and therefore could not but be anxious about the
l Right of his only Son *Prince Richard*, whom he
was ſoon to leave a Child in the Hands of a doting
ier, and an ambitious aſpiring Uncle. For this
is thought, he applied privately to Parliament,
obliged the King to ſend his ſecond Son abroad,
niſh his Miſtreſs and all her Favourites from
ich happened only about a Year before the *Black*
eath; but no ſooner was that *Prince* dead than
recalled this *Duke of Lancaſter*; and *Alice Pierce*,
avourites, reſumed their Places and their Intereſt
inſomuch that a Member of the Houſe of Com-
imprifoned for having ſpoke freely againſt her in
t, and was actually a Priſoner, when *Prince Ri-*
created *Prince of Wales*, which ſhews that the
then very much under her Management; and it
probable ſhe would adviſe the King to be ſo very
conferring that Honour on *Prince Richard*, ſince
not but be ſenſible that *young Prince*'s Father had
Cauſe of her having been baniſhed the Court.
Reaſons I think it may moſt probably be pre-
it both the Motion in Favour of *Prince Richard*,
for his coming to Parliament, and that for creat-
Prince of Wales, were made and carried in Parlia-
Oppoſition to the Court at that Time. This fully
: Motion now made, and ſhews we have a Right

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and a Power to interpoſe in Favour of the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, without any previous Conſent or Approbation from the Crown; and I hope it will not be ſaid of the Reign of *Edward* III. as has been ſaid of the Reign of *Henry* VI. that nothing that happened in that Reign ought to be made a Precedent for any thing in the preſent Reign.

But, Sir, even with reſpect to the Reign of *Henry* VI. —— As unfortunate, as tempeſtuous a Reign as it was, there were many Things then done by Parliament, which ought to be made, and which, I hope, always will be followed as good Precedents, as often as the Parliament has the ſame Occaſion. When the Nation has the good Fortune to be under a wiſe and a prudent Adminiſtration, the Parliament has never an Occaſion to exert any of its extraordinary Powers. It is in a weak Reign, or under a wicked Adminiſtration, we are to look for the Powers of Parliament; it is in tempeſtuous Times the State flies to Parliament for Preſervation; there, I truſt in God, the State ſhall always find it, and then the Power of Parliament can be bounded by nothing but the Good of the Public.

Another Precedent, which we are told ought not to be followed, is that which happened in the Reign of King *William*; and why is not this to be followed? Becauſe it produced a Prorogation. Sir, I ſay, for that very Reaſon it ought to be highly applauded, and ought to be followed. Can it be ſaid that the *Princeſs Anne of Denmark* ought not to have had ſome additional Settlement made *upon her*? Would not ſuch a Neglect have been a Blemiſh upon the Glory of that Reign? Yet that wiſe and great King, by the Advice of ſome weak or malicious Favourites, would probably have committed that Error, or would at leaſt have omitted that Duty, if it had not been for the Honour, the Fidelity, and the Obſtinacy of his Parliament. They thought it was what the King ought to do, they therefore thought it was their Duty to adviſe him to do it; they inſiſted upon it, notwithſtanding the King's Diſpleaſure, and by diſobliging him they put one of the greateſt Obligations upon him: becauſe they at laſt prevailed with him to do that which was right. The Behaviour of that Parliament is therefore a glorious Example, which, I hope, will be followed by this. I can have no Apprehenſion that an unreaſonable Prorogation will be the Conſequence of our agreeing to this Motion; but if it ſhould, it can be no Reaſon againſt our agreeing to the Motion: It would be a ſtrong Reaſon for our returning the Affair, and agreeing to a Motion of the ſame Nature the very firſt Day of the next Seſſion.

But

But we have been told, Sir, there may be a Reaſon for the Parliament's interpoſing between a King and his preſumptive Heir, which can never hold with reſpect to a King and his eldeſt Son; becauſe it is not ſo natural for a Man to provide honourably for his preſumptive Heir, as it is to provide for his own Children. Suppoſe then a King, who has no Children, does not provide honourably for his preſumptive Heir, what is it that gives the Parliament a Right to intermeddle? Is it not the Right which that preſumptive Heir has by the Conſtitution and Maxims of this Kingdom to a ſufficient independent Settlement, and the Power the Parliament has to ſee that Right made effectual? And has not the *Heir Apparent* as good a Right, by the Conſtitution and Maxims of this Kingdom, to a ſufficient independent Settlement, as the Heir preſumptive? Surely he has; he has not only the ſame Right by the Maxims of the Kingdom, but alſo an additional Right by the Laws of Nature; and if the King his Father ſhould neglect or refuſe to give him his Right, which may certainly happen ſome time or other to be the Caſe, has not the Parliament a Power to ſee that Right, at leaſt, which he has by the Maxims of the Kingdom, made effectual? To ſay they have not, would be to tell us, that where the Maxims of the Kingdom only are neglected, the Parliament may interpoſe, in order to procure a Remedy; but where both the Laws of Nature, and the Maxims of the Kingdom are neglected, the Parliament cannot interpoſe, nor make the leaſt Step towards procuring a Remedy.

To avoid falling into ſuch a palpable Abſurdity, we are told, that common Decency does not admit of the Parliament's interpoſing between Father and Son, that it would be intermeddling in the King's domeſtic Affairs, and preſcribing to his Majeſty what Proviſion he ſhould make for his Children; and laſtly, that tho' the Parliament may have a Right to offer Advice to their Sovereign in Affairs which regard his Political and Royal Capacity, yet they never ought to offer Advice to him in any Affairs which regard only his Natural and Paternal Capacity. As for common Decency, Sir, it can never be inconſiſtent with a Man's Duty; therefore if it be the Duty of Parliament to interpoſe ſo far between the King and his eldeſt Son, as to adviſe the Father to make that Settlement upon his eldeſt Son, which he is bound to make by the Maxims and the Laws of his Kingdom, common Decency can never forbid or prevent the Performance of that Duty, nor can any humble and reſpectful Addreſs or Petition from Parliament, ever be called a Preſcribing to the King what Proviſion he

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ſhould make for any of his Children; but if it ſhould, the Princes and Princeſſes of the Royal Family are in ſome Manner the Children of the Nation, as was in a late Caſe moſt ſolemnly decided; they are all ſo much the Children of the Nation, that the Nation is in Honour bound to ſee them provided for in a Manner ſuitable to their high Birth; therefore the Parliament has ſome Sort of Right to preſcribe what may be deemed an honourable Proviſion for every one of them; they are to give that Proviſion, and ſurely they have a Right to ſee what they give properly applied. But with reſpect to the eldeſt Son, and *Heir Apparent* of the Crown, it has been made ſo fully appear, and has been ſo generally admitted, that the Nation has a Concern in ſeeing him honourably provided for, that I am ſurprized to hear it ſo much as inſinuated, that an Addreſs for that Purpoſe would be an intermedding in the King's domeſtic Affairs, or in thoſe Affairs which regard only his Natural and Paternal Capacity: It is an Affair which regards his Majeſty's *Political and Royal Capacity* as much as it does his Natural and Paternal Capacity; and therefore the Parliament has as good a Right to offer their Advice in that Affair as they can have in any other.

I hope, Sir, I have now, to the Satisfaction of every Gentleman in the Houſe, eſtabliſhed his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*'s Right to a ſufficient and independent Settlement by the Maxims of the Kingdom, and, I hope, I have equally eſtabliſhed the Power the Parliament has to *interpoſe*, at leaſt by an Addreſs, in order to ſee that Right made effectual, both from Precedent and from the Nature of the Thing itſelf. —— With reſpect to the Right which his *Royal Highneſs* may have to ſuch a Settlement, either in Law or Equity, from the Method in which the Civil Liſt is now eſtabliſhed, and from the Statutes by which that Eſtabliſhment was made, I hope no Gentleman expects we are bound to make out the Right in the ſame Manner it would be, or ought to be made out, in any of the Courts in *Weſtminſter Hall*; and therefore, I believe, I need not take any Notice of that Learning which has been made uſe of, to prove that he has not ſuch a Right as would be recoverable in any of the Courts below. It may be true, that he has no ſuch Right as would entitle him to ſue and recover in any of the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and yet he may have a Right both in Law and Equity, and ſuch a Right as the Parliament are bound to ſee made effectual. The Courts of Common Law, we know, are confined to very ſtrict Rules, it is neceſſary they ſhould be ſo; but in Parliament we are bound to follow Juſtice and Equity wherever we can find

and to administer it impartially when we have found so doing we shew a proper Regard to the Honour tereſt of the Crown, as well as the Liberties and ies of the Subject; and while his Majeſty's Miniſters oyal as his faithful Commons have always ſhewed ves to be, the general Equity of an Act of Parlia- ill be as ſacred, as religiouſly obſerved, and as cloſely d to at St. *James's*, as the Words of it are in *Weſt- Hall*.

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Sir, notwithſtanding the narrow Limits our Judges mmon Law have confined themſelves to, notwith- g their cloſe Adherence to the Letter of the Law, I rdly believe they will give it as their Opinion, that *nce of Wales* has no Right either in Law or Equity pport out of the Civil Liſt Revenue; becauſe he has ly as good a Right to that Share of the Civil Liſt ue which was intended for him by Parliament, as they o the Salaries they enjoy. Neither his Right nor Right is founded upon the expreſs Words of any , they are both founded upon the Meaning and In- of the Legiſlature, at the Time thoſe Statutes were , by which the Civil Liſt is eſtabliſhed, and they muſt nd fall together. I do not mean to ſay, that our d Judges would at any Time be biaſſed in their e by their own Intereſt, I am ſure the preſent would No, Sir; they certainly think, and every Man, I be- thinks, they have both a legal and an equitable Right Salaries they now enjoy, and as the *Prince of Wales's* ſtands upon the ſame Foundation, they would cer- judge of it as they do of their own, and would con- tly give it as their Opinion, that it was a Right ed both in Law and Equity.

ely, Sir, neither the Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, nor awyer, nor any Man in the Kingdom, can ſay, the *of Wales* has no Right to have a neceſſary Support ed him out of the Civil Liſt. The Gentlemen of the Side of the Queſtion do not pretend to ſay any ſuch ; they have even told us, the eldeſt Son of every d Gentleman in *England* ought to be ſupported out of ather's Eſtate, and that that Support ought to be ac- g to the Character and Circumſtances of the Family; ay they, he has no legal or equitable Right to any ular Share of his Father's Eſtate, or to any Share but s his Father pleaſes to allow him, unleſs that Right abliſhed by ſome Settlement agreed to by the Father. e this, Sir, to tell us, the Son has a Right and no t? He has a Right to be ſupported out of his Fa-

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ther's Eſtate, but he has no Right to that Supp
his Father pleaſes to allow it him. This Metho
ing might, for what I know, be of ſome Weig
minſter Hall; but ſurely, it can be of no Wei
Houſe. If a Son has a Right to be ſupported
Father's Eſtate according to the Character an
ſtances of the Family, he certainly has both a
equitable Right to that particular Share of h
Eſtate which bears a juſt Proportion to, and is
by the Character and Circumſtances of the Fam
the Father does not allow him that Share, h
withholds his Right from him. This Right m
not be recoverable in any of the Courts of
Hall; but there are many good and juſt Right
not made recoverable in *Weſtminſter Hall*, b
making them recoverable there, would occaſion
ritude of Law-Suits, as would be inconſiſtent wit
ral Good of Society: The Right a Man has to
Return for Benefits beſtowed, is not recovera
Action or Suit at Law, yet that Right is as g
equitable a Right as any Right a Man can hav
ſame Manner the Right the *Prince* has to a ſuff
pendent Settlement out of the Civil Liſt Revenu
and an equitable Right, and tho' it be not rec
Law, yet it is ſuch a Right as may be regarded,
to be enforced by Parliament.

To make ſtill a farther Uſe of the Right
Men, in order to clear up the Right now unde
ſideration; ſuppoſe, Sir, a Country Gentleman
Eſtate, and a great Number of Children; ſuppo
bouring Gentleman, or a Relation, of a pleni
and bountiful Diſpoſition, takes Notice of h
bour's or his Relation's Difficulties, and in order
him, and enable him to ſupport his Family, ſet
Annuity upon him for Life; and ſuppoſe that i
for eſtabliſhing that Annuity it is expreſſly ment
the Annuity was granted him in order to enable
port and provide honourably for his Family;
glad to know whether the eldeſt Son of that Co
tleman would have any Right to be ſupported
Annuity, and what Sort of Right he would have
in that Caſe, he would have not only a Right
upon the general Principles of Equity, but ſuch
would be recoverable in the Court of Chancery,
if the Grantor of the Annuity joined with
Complaint. And I am very certain, if the
ſhould waſte his Annuity, and neglect to provide
[illegible]

for his Children, eſpecially for his eldeſt Son, the Grantor would have a Right to complain, or at leaſt to adviſe, or deſire of him that he would apply the Annuity to thoſe Uſes for which he had granted it; and his giving ſuch an Advice would be abſolutely neceſſary, if he intended that the Annuitant's eldeſt Son and Apparent Heir, ſhould likewiſe be his Heir, and next Succeſſor to his Eſtate. This is ſo appoſite to the Caſe now before us, that I need not make any Application. It not only ſhews that the *Prince* has a Right to a ſufficient Settlement out of the Civil Liſt Revenue, but it ſhews that we have a Right, that we are in Duty bound to interpoſe, in order to ſee that Right made effectual. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Thus, Sir, it appears the *Prince* has a Right to be ſupported out of the Civil Liſt Revenue by the general Maxims of the Kingdom, and alſo by the Meaning and Intention of thoſe very Statutes by which the preſent Civil Liſt was eſtabliſhed; and if he has a Right to any Support, he has certainly a Right to a ſufficient Support, to ſuch a Support as the high Character of the Royal Family of *Great Britain* may require, and the preſent Circumſtances of the Civil Liſt Revenue will admit of; therefore, if the Settlement propoſed, by the Meſſage now before us, to be made, be not ſufficient, the Meſſage is ſo far from being an Argument againſt, that it is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments that can be thought of, for the Motion; becauſe it ſhews that without the Interpoſition of Parliament, his *Royal Highneſs* is not to have, nor can expect a ſufficient Settlement. That the Settlement propoſed to be made upon his *Royal Highneſs* by this Meſſage, is not ſufficient, has been in ſome Manner acknowledged by the Hon. Gentleman who delivered us the Meſſage; but farther, Sir, it has been expreſsly acknowledged by the King himſelf. By the Regulation and Settlement of the *Prince*'s Houſhold, as made ſome Time ſince by his Majeſty himſelf, the yearly Expence comes to 63,000 *l.* without allowing one Shilling to his *Royal Highneſs* for Acts of Charity and Generoſity. By the Meſſage now before us, it is propoſed to ſettle upon him only 50,000 *l.* a Year, and yet from this Sum we muſt deduct the Land Tax, which at two Shillings in the Pound amounts to 5000 *l.* a Year, we muſt likewiſe deduct the Sixpenny Duty to the Civil Liſt Lottery, which amounts to 1,250 *l.* a Year, and alſo we muſt deduct the Fees payable at the Exchequer, which will amount to about 750 *l.* a Year more; all which Deductions amount to 7,000 *l.* a Year, and reduces the 50,000 *l.* a Year propoſed to be ſettled upon him by the Meſſage, to 43,000 *l.* a Year: Now as his

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Royal Highneſs has no other Eſtate but the *Dutchy of Cornwall*, which can't be reckoned at the moſt above 9,000 *l.* a Year, his whole yearly Revenue can amount but to 52,000 *l.* a Year; and yet the yearly Expence of his Houſhold, according to his Majeſty's own Regulation, is to amount to 63,000 *l.* a Year, without allowing his *Royal Highneſs* one Shilling for the Indulgence of that generous and charitable Diſpoſition with which he is known to be endued, to a very eminent Degree. Suppoſe then we allow him but 10,000 *l.* a Year for the Indulgence of that laudable Diſpoſition, his whole yearly Expence, by his Majeſty's own Acknowledgment, muſt then amount to 73,000 *l.* a Year, and his yearly Income, according to this Meſſage, can amount to no more than 52,000 *l.* a Year. Is this, Sir, ſhewing any Reſpect to his Merit? Is this providing for his Generoſity? Is it not reducing him to a real Want, even with reſpect to his Neceſſities, and conſequently to an unavoidable Dependance, and a vile, a pecuniary Dependance too, upon his Father's Miniſters and Servants? I confeſs, Sir, when I firſt heard this Motion made, I was wavering a good deal in my Opinion; but this Meſſage has confirmed me: I now ſee that without the Interpoſition of Parliament, his Royal Highneſs the *Prince of Wales*, the *Heir Apparent* to our Crown, muſt be reduced to the greateſt Straits, the moſt inſufferable Hardſhips.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, I think I need not take up your Time with ſhewing the yearly Value of the Settlements made upon former *Princes of Wales*; the Inſufficiency of the Settlement propoſed for the preſent is ſo demonſtrable from the Calculations and Accounts I have laid before you, that there is Occaſion for having recourſe to former Precedents, for ſhewing that Inſufficiency; yet I cannot omit taking Notice to you, that the Revenue enjoy'd by the late *King James* while *Duke of York*, tho' but preſumptive Heir of the Crown, amounted to 104,000 *l.* a Year; and the Revenue enjoy'd by the preſent King, while *Prince of Wales*, amounted to upwards of 100,000 *l.* a Year; which I take Notice of, in order to ſhew you, that his Majeſty did not propoſe any Thing extraordinary or extravagant, when he regulated and ſettled the Houſhold for his preſent *Royal Highneſs*.

I come now, Sir, to the laſt Queſtion, and which I take to be, indeed, the only Queſtion in this Debate, which is, Whether it be poſſible for his Majeſty to ſpare more than 50,000 *l.* a Year for his *Royal Highneſs*, from the Civil Liſt, as it now ſtands eſtabliſhed? And this Queſtion I ſhall conſider in two Methods; firſt, by ſhewing that the Civil Liſt,

ablished, muſt amount to above 100,000 *l.* a Year
a was ever had or enjoy'd by his late Majeſty;
by ſuppoſing that it amounts to no more than was
r his late Majeſty. In the firſt Method, Sir, let
ver, 'twas acknowledged in Parliament before the
Act was paſſed, that the Produce of the whole
ciſes, and Duties, appropriated to the Civil Liſt,
to 818,000 *l.* a Year: I believe it will be ad-
the 70,000 *l.* a Year granted by that Act to the
and made payable out of the Aggregate, or ra-
f the Sinking Fund, does more than compenſate
he Civil Liſt ſuſtained by taking from it the Du-
rituous Liquors, in which Caſe the Increaſe of
upon Beer and Ale, occaſioned by the preventing
of Spirituous Liquors, muſt wholly be a nett Pro-
Civil Liſt: The Increaſe of the Exciſe upon
Ale, if I am rightly informed, amounted for the
Quarter, I mean from *Michaelmas* to *Chriſtmas* laſt,
,000 *l.* one Half of which goes to the Civil Liſt;
may reckon the Civil Liſt has got by the Gin
Addition of at leaſt 60,000 *l.* a Year; beſides
t by the Increaſe of the Wine-Licence Duty,
ry one knows has been greatly increaſed by pro-
ie Retail of Spirituous Liquors. Then, Sir, let
t, that a little before his preſent Majeſty's Ac-
e Civil Liſt was diſcharged of 36,200 *l.* a Year
s, which, during the greateſt Part of his late Ma-
gn, were paid out of the Civil Liſt, but ever
Majeſty's Acceſſion have been a Burthen upon, and
of the public Service. Let us add together theſe
is of 818,000 *l.* 60,000 *l.* and 36,200 *l.* and
nt to 914,200 *l.* which, according to the higheſt
, we muſt allow to be the yearly Amount of the
Revenue as now eſtabliſhed, and which is
a Year, more than was enjoy'd by his late Ma-
including all the particular Grants that were oc-
made to the Civil Liſt in his Reign.

, this is not all; his preſent Majeſty has had one
ordinary Grant of 115,000 *l.* made to the Civil
the 80,000 *l.* granted as a Fortune to the Princeſs
y properly be ſaid to have been an extraordinary
he Civil Liſt; for tho' I am far from find-
that Grant, yet as the Civil Liſt was granted in
nable his Majeſty to make an honourable Provi ſion
ole Royal Family, that Princeſs's Marriage Pro
uld have been paid out of the Civil Liſt; and
'ublic took it upon them, it ought to be looked on
nd an extraordinary Grant made to the Civil Liſt.

T t Then,

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Then, Sir, I muſt not forget another yearly
which may be looked on as a very great Sum,
from whence it comes, I mean a Sum of 40,00
from *Scotland*, which is now a yearly Addition
Liſt. I will not, indeed, take upon me to ſ
Whole or any Part of that Sum is brought
London; but if it is laid out for paying Penſion
which muſt be paid yearly out of the Civil Liſt
may take upon me to ſay, it prevents an equal
being ſent yearly *in Specie* from *London*. From
Conſiderations I think it is evident, his preſent
above 100,000 *l.* a Year more than his late
enjoy'd, and therefore we muſt conclude he may
100,000 *l.* a Year for the Uſe of his *Royal High*
any great Frugality or good Management, and
tracting any Part of that Expence which was fou
in the late Reign. I am now, Sir, to make a
which, I believe, no Gentleman that hears m
with me in: I am to ſuppoſe that the Civil L
with all the Additions and Improvements lately
does not produce one Shilling more than his late
joy'd, including the ſeveral occaſional Grants
made to him: In ſhort, I am to ſuppoſe, it does
one Shilling more than 800,000 *l.* a Year;
this Suppoſition I can ſhew, that with tolerable M
it may ſpare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince*,
every Gentleman will conclude, his *Royal Hig*
to have at leaſt that Sum ſettled upon him:
poſition that has been made to this Motion, and
we have received, will be additional Arguments
that Sum ſettled upon him in the moſt independe
We may remember, Sir, or at leaſt we may ſee
nals, that when the 700,000 *l.* a Year was ſettl
late Majeſty, the State of the King's Houſhold,
State of the *Prince of Wales*'s Houſhold, and the
ticles of Expence neceſſary for ſupporting the
Dignity of the Crown, or of the *Heir Apparent*,
minutely and maturely examined into and conſ
upon that minute and ſtrict Examination it was
600,000 *l.* a Year was ſufficient for ſupporting
and Dignity of the Crown, and that 100,00
was the leaſt that was neceſſary for ſupporting
and Dignity of the *Heir Apparent*. In the Calcul
at that time, we are not to ſuppoſe, the Parliame
themſelves to the nett Sum which appeared to b
for ſupporting the King's Houſhold and Civil G
We cannot ſuppoſe any ſuch Thing, becauſe th

d neceſſary for that Purpoſe in the late Queen's Time, *Anno* 10. *Geo* II 1736 7.
ars never to have exceeded 430,000 *l.* a Year; and in
irſt Year of the late King, the whole Expence of his
hold and Civil Government, amounted to but about
000 *l.* ſo that if they had reſtricted themſelves to the
Sum which appeared to be neceſſary for ſupporting the
's Houſhold and Civil Government, they could not
computed the Sum neceſſary for that Purpoſe at above
000 *l.* a Year; but they conſidered that ſomething
to be allowed yearly for Acts of Generoſity and Charity,
ſomething was likewiſe to be allowed yearly for what
lled ſecret Service Money; for both which, it ſeems,
computed 140,000 *l.* a Year would be ſufficient, and
fore reckoned that a groſs Sum of 600,000 *l.* a Year
d be ſufficient for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity
e Crown, to which they added 100,000 *l.* a Year
for the Support of the *Prince of Wales*.

he 140,000 *l.* a Year allowed for Acts of Generoſity,
or ſecret Service Money, was then thought to be a very
and a very ſufficient Allowance; and from the Ex-
nce of the former Reign, from the Experience of the
of *Queen Anne*, there was good Reaſon to think it a
ſufficient Allowance; for in all that Reign, beſides
was allowed for ſecret Service Money to the Generals
Armies, and moſt profitably, moſt glorioufly for the
beſtowed by them, or at leaſt by one of them, I
our General in *Flanders*, there appeared to be but two
given to any ſecret or unknown Uſes, and theſe were
ll, ſo trifling, it would ſurprize one; for the one was a
only, of 1200 *l.* and the other of 500 *l.* only; and
as to theſe, upon a particular and private Enquiry, it
red, the firſt had been iſſued for entertaining *Prince*
, when he did this Nation the Honour of a Viſit, and
ther had been made a Preſent of to one of the Queen's
Relations. From hence, I ſay, the Parliament had
Reaſon to think that 140,000 *l.* a Year was a ſufficient
vance to his late Majeſty for Acts of Generoſity, and
ecret Service; but I do not know for what Reaſon,
what Fatality, the Branch of the Civil Liſt Expence
ſecret Money, increaſed prodigiouſly in the late Reign:
creaſed ſo prodigiouſly, Sir, that in four Years, from
Year 1721. to 1725, that Branch of the Civil Liſt Ex-
amounted to 2,728,000 *l.* which was at a *Medium*
000 *l.* a Year, as appeared by an Account which hap-
by ſome Chance or other to be laid before Parlia-
By that Account it appeared, that vaſt Sums of
y had been given for Purpoſes which nobody under-

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ſtood, and to Perſons whom nobody knew, or ever heard of; for which Reaſon in the Beginning of the following Seſſion, the Account having been laid before the Houſe at the very latter End of the former Seſſion, ſeveral Gentlemen had a Mind to have it taken into Conſideration, but this Enquiry was warded off, by telling them, the Parliament could not take into their Conſideration any Account that had been preſented to a former Seſſion.

It is to this only, Sir, we are to impute the Neceſſity of making any new Grants to the Civil Liſt in the late King's Reign; for as to the viſible Expence of the King's Houſhold and Civil Government, it was no Way increaſed, or at leaſt not conſiderably increaſed, above what it was in the former Reign, or in the firſt Year of his own; and as the viſible Expence of his preſent Majeſty's Houſhold and Civil Government is no way, or but very little, increaſed above what the Expence of the late King's Houſhold and Civil Government amounted to, even ſuppoſing the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue to amount to no more than 800,000 *l.* a Year, we muſt conclude that 100,000 *l.* a Year may eaſily be ſpared out of it, for the Uſe of the *Prince of Wales*; for allowing 460,000 *l.* a Year to be now neceſſary for ſupporting the nett Charge of the King's Houſhold and Civil Government, which is 30,000 *l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the late Queen's Reign, and 7000 *l.* a Year more than it amounted to in the firſt Year of the late King's Reign; allowing 50,000 *l.* a Year for the Queen; allowing 50,000 *l.* a Year for *Prince William*, the Princeſſes, and for a proportionable additional Allowance for Bed and Board, and other extraordinary Expences in the ſeveral Palaces; and allowing 100,000 *l.* a Year for the *Prince of Wales*; his Majeſty has remaining 140,000 *l.* a Year to be employ'd in Acts of Generoſity, and in ſecret Service, which is as large a Sum as the Parliament thought neceſſary for that Purpoſe in the Beginning of the late Reign, and is, in my Opinion, a larger Sum than can, in Time of Peace, be wiſely or prudently employ'd in that Way, eſpecially conſidering his Majeſty's numerous Iſſue, and the great Expences which do, and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable Proviſion for his whole Royal Family.

From the Account I have given you, Sir, of the prodigious Increaſe of ſecret Service Money in the late Reign, we may more clearly ſee, than perhaps we could do before, what was the Intention of that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt upon his Majeſty, and what was then meant by the *Experience of paſt Times*, and therefore I ſhall take the Liberty to explain myſelf upon that Head. The

ſurpriſing

g Account of the ſecret Service Money I have ed, was then freſh in every Man's Memory; it had der their Conſideration but a Year or two before; extraordinary Amount of that Account had been ſo d ſo lately found fault with, that they would not have agreed to ſettle upon his preſent Majeſty as Civil Liſt as had been ſettled and given to the late ut that they conſidered that his Majeſty had a Queen- and ſeveral younger Children to provide for, and e could not allow his Miniſters to run into any ſuch dinary Expence with reſpect to ſecret Service Money, ld apply what might and ought to be ſaved upon ticle, to the making an honourable Proviſion for een-Conſort, and for his younger Children. As his ajeſty had in the Whole but 700,000 *l.* a Year, as evenue had enabled him not only to ſupport the r and Dignity of the Crown, but to employ a much Sum in ſecret Service Money than had ever before r ever could for the future be neceſſary or ſafe in this m, according to the Opinion of many Gentlemen Houſes of Parliament, thoſe Gentlemen could not, e *Experience of paſt Times*, conclude, that 700,000 *l.* would be neceſſary for his preſent Majeſty, if they conſidered as I have ſaid that his preſent Majeſty Queen-Conſort and ſeveral younger Children to pro- , and that whatever could be ſaved out of the Sums ly, as they thought, expended in ſecret Service Mo- his late Majeſty, might be uſefully employ'd by his Majeſty, in making an honourable Proviſion for his Family; therefore, and for this Reaſon only, they to the ſettling 700,000 *l.* a Year upon his preſent for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the , and providing for his Royal Family; and to this 00,000 *l.* a Year more was added, in order that he ſettle upon the *Prince of Wales*, as ſoon as he came *land*, the ſame Revenue he had himſelf enjoy'd in fe-time of his Father.

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m this State of the Caſe, I think, we may evidently hat the Parliament then meant by the *Experience of mes*, and what they intended with reſpect to the *Prince les*; but, Sir, to put this Matter in another, and yet a Light, I ſhall beg Leave to divide the Civil Liſt Re- ſettled, and occaſionally granted to his late Majeſty, ree Parts; one Part, amounting to 460,000 *l.* a Year, which was applied for the Support of the King's old and Civil Government, and was a little larger ad ever before been found neceſſary for that Purpoſe; the

leaſt twice as large a Sum as had ever been
Purpoſes to any former King of this Nat
preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion it appeared, th
to a Charge which the late King was free f
of providing for his Queen and younger C
neither aſked, nor did the Parliament grant
Civil Liſt Revenue than the late King enj
ditional Charge which the preſent King wa
was therefore certainly intended, both by H
ment, to be thrown upon ſome one, or
three Parts into which I have divided the
Revenue, or upon the three jointly; and
Circumſtances of theſe three Parts, whic
actly as I have repreſented them to you,
every Gentleman that hears me, whether it
bable, that both King and Parliament in
this additional Charge either ſolely upon th
upon the Firſt and Third jointly? Is there
ſon in the World to preſume, that both K
ment then intended that the ſecond Part ſh
free from this additional Charge? And is
more probable, on account of the *Prince*
then actually come to Man's Eſtate, and th
in daily Hopes of ſeeing him married and
Children?

Sir, If there were not a Man alive who
liament, I ſhould, from this State of the

made uſe of it as an Argument for his Motion, that the *Prince of Wales* was then near of Age, and that it would be very ſoon neceſſary to ſettle the ſame Revenue upon him, that had been ſettled upon his Father, whilſt *Prince of Wales*. This, Sir, I ſay I very well remember, and I remember too, that it ſeemed to be the Reaſon which had moſt Weight with the Houſe, and which, I believe, chiefly procured his Motion a moſt an unanimous Approbation. Gentlemen may talk what they pleaſe about gathering the Intention of an Act of Parliament from the Words only: This may be the Rule in *Weſtminſter Hall*, but it is impoſſible it can be the Rule in either Houſe of Parliament, eſpecially when there are ſo many Members now in each Houſe who had a Share in the Paſſing of that Law. They muſt gather the Intention of the Act from the Intention they themſelves had at the Time of its Paſſing, and their Teſtimony ought to have ſome Weight with thoſe who had not the Honour of being Members of either Houſe at the Time the Law was paſſed. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

It certainly was the Intention of Parliament, Sir, I hope it ſtill is the Intention of Parliament, that his *Royal Highneſs* ſhould have at leaſt 100,000 *l.* a Year out of the Civil Liſt; and ſince it is now made manifeſt by the Meſſage delivered to us in this Debate, that he is like to be diſappointed of one Half of what was, and, I hope, ſtill is, intended for him by Parliament, it is become abſolutely neceſſary for us to addreſs his Majeſty, in order to know from him the Reaſon of that Diſappointment. If the Civil Liſt Revenue produces above 900,000 *l.* a Year, as I believe it does, it may certainly ſpare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; if it produces but 800,000 *l.* a Year nett, which no Man believes, yet even in that Caſe, it may ſpare 100,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, according to the beſt Judgment we can form from the Experience of any former Reign: But ſuppoſe it true, that by reaſon of ſome new and extraordinary Articles of Expence, the Civil Liſt Revenue cannot ſpare above 50,000 *l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*, we ought to have that Anſwer from the King himſelf, and in a proper and direct Manner, which we can have no other Way but by Means of the Addreſs propoſed. If ſuch an Anſwer ſhould be returned to us, I am ſure it will then be our Duty to enquire into the Produce, and into the Diſpoſal of the Civil Liſt Revenue, eſpecially that Part of it which is pretended to be laid out in ſecret Services. The Civil Liſt Revenue was never ſo high as in this Reign: It is a moſt dangerous Revenue, eſpecially when a very conſiderable Part of it may be applied, no

Man

ported by an armed Force, may be enab
he pleaſes with our Conſtitution; and as
Conſtitution muſt be ſacrificed, we may ex
will bleed at the Altar.

As his Majeſty's Meſſage to the *Prince*
and is now communicated to us by his Ma
it may be made uſe of, and is certainly a v
ment in favour of the Motion; but, Sir,
hear the *Prince*'s ſuppoſed Anſwer made us
as an Argument againſt the Motion; bec
Anſwer neither was in Writing, nor was d
in Writing; and as I took it down in Wri
Royal Highneſs delivered it, I muſt beg Le
not exactly in the Terms the noble Lords
Meſſage ſeem to have reported; therefore
given his *Royal Highneſs* previous Notice
and deſired that he might prepare to give
in Writing, which would have prevented
the one Side, or any Miſtake of the other
vinced the noble Lords did not deſignedly
take in their Report. Altho' I took down
neſs's Anſwer in Writing, yet, Sir, I ſh
communicate it to this Houſe, ſince I ha
from him for that Purpoſe; but thus muc
that if his *Royal Highneſs* ſaid he was ſorr
it was, That he was ſorry any Gentleman
of Parliament ſhould have Occaſion to
Trouble about that Settlement which

ſubmit to very great Difficulties, rather than take *Anno* 10 *Geo.*
erty of troubling his Father with any new, tho' moſt II. 1736-7.
y Demand; which is a ſtrong Argument for the
y of his having a ſufficient independent Settlement,
the Parliament's interpoſing in his Behalf.
lucky, Sir, are the Gentlemen of the other Side of
ſtion, that nothing has happened, almoſt nothing has
d during the Debate, but what tends to fortify the
nt againſt them. This, I am ſure, may moſt juſtly
of the melancholy Account they have given us of
ucky Diſpute which happened between the preſent
hen *Prince of Wales*, and the late King his Father.
moſt readily agree, that that Diſpute was owing nei-
any Want of paternal Affection in the late King,
any Want of filial Duty in the preſent, but to the
d Vanity of ſome mean and low Sycophants and
arers. Now, Sir, I would be glad to know from
entlemen, what ſort of Situation they think the
King, who was then *Heir Apparent* to the Crown,
ave been reduced to, if he had had no independent
nt of his own, or not a ſufficient independent Set-
? The Account they have given us of his Situation
cholý enough; but if he had not been provided
ſufficient independent Settlement, would not the
of his Situation have been a great deal more diſ-
Vould not he have been obliged either to ſubmit to,
me the Slave of thoſe very mean and low Syco-
or to ſubſiſt by the Generoſity and Beneficence of
nds? And we know, Sir, how hard it is to meet
ith Generoſity or Beneficence, when People are ſen-
t their Generoſity or Beneficence will be imputed to
a Crime againſt the State. Can any thing be ſaid,
any thing be thought of, that can juſtify our agree-
e Motion, more than this very Accident? For if
ſuch unlucky Accident ſhould happen (which God
it may happen when his *Royal Highneſs* is bleſſed
many Children as the King his Father was, when
cident happened to him; and we are not certain
Court would, in ſuch a Caſe, behave in the ſame
towards his Children.

ſurpriſed, Sir, to hear a Motion for an humble Ad-
lled a Stating ourſelves as the higher Power, and
g the *Prince of Wales* and his Majeſty as Plaintiff and
nt before us. Can Advice be called a Degree, or is
mon Stile of an Addreſs the Stile of a ſuperior Power?
ſtill more ſurpriſed to hear it ſaid, our agreeing to
ſtion would be a determining that his Majeſty has

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done Injuſtice to his eldeſt Son. Does not every one know that our Kings can do no Wrong, that they can do no Injuſtice? If any Wrong is done, we muſt always neceſſarily ſuppoſe it done by the Miniſters; and if any of them has told the King that 50,000*l.* a Year is ſufficient for ſupporting the *Prince of Wales*, or has led his Majeſty into ſuch an Expence that he cannot ſpare more out of the Civil Liſt, I will ſay they have done Injuſtice, and the Nation will, the Nation ought to ſuppoſe they are no longer fit, nor ought to continue to rule over us; ſo that whatever Foreigners may think, no Man who underſtands our Conſtitution, can expect or ſuppoſe our agreeing to this Motion will be attended with any ſuch Misfortune as has been repreſented.

Our agreeing to this Queſtion, Sir, can be attended with no Misfortune to any Branch of the Royal Family, nor can it be the Occaſion of any Quarrel or Breach between the King and the *Prince:* Indeed it may be the Occaſion of his Majeſty's quarrelling with thoſe who have told him that 50,000*l.* a Year is enough for his eldeſt Son; becauſe it is to be preſumed, his Majeſty will give more Credit to his Parliament than to any Counſellor he has about him; and conſequently will diſmiſs them from his Councils, for telling him what he finds by the Addreſs of his Parliament to be a notorious Falſhood: Or it may be the Occaſion of his Majeſty's quarrelling with thoſe who have led him into ſuch an Expence, as not to be able to ſpare above 50,000*l.* a Year to the *Prince of Wales*; becauſe ſuch an Addreſs from Parliament would certainly procure a Contracting of that Expence for the future, or would produce an Enquiry into the late Management of the Civil-Liſt Revenue, by either of which his Majeſty would find, they had led him into a needleſs Expence, the certain Conſequence of which would be his turning them out of his Service. Our agreeing therefore to the Motion can never produce any Breach between the Royal Father and the Royal Son; but if we ſhould diſagree to the Motion, it will afford an Opportunity for evil Counſellors to confirm his Majeſty in that Error they have already endeavoured to lead him into; and as one wicked Step generally begets a ſecond, worſe than the firſt, they may very probably repreſent this Motion in Parliament as procured by his *Royal Highneſs*, in order to diſtreſs his Majeſty's Meaſures, and to procure himſelf a much larger Settlement than he has any Occaſion for. This ſecond Step we have ſome Reaſon to dread, Sir, even from the Words of the Meſſage now before us; and therefore we have great Reaſon to dread that our diſagreeing to the Motion may produce, or at leaſt be the diſtant Cauſe of a perpetual

Breach

between the Father and Son; but in that Caſe it be ſaid, that thoſe who have endeavoured to do Juſtice Son were the Cauſe of the Breach; we muſt look Cauſe in the oppoſite Corner; and, I hope, if there ever be any Neceſſity for an Amputation, it will fall ioſe who moſt juſtly deſerve it.

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have heard a great deal, Sir, of the ill Effects our g to this Motion may have on the People without

Theſe Apprehenſions, Sir, I have ſhewed to be any Foundation, at leaſt with reſpect to his Majeſty , or any of his illuſtrious Family; but let us conſi- ill Effects our not agreeing to this Motion may have eople without Doors, with reſpect to the Opinion ay from thence form of the *Heir Apparent* to our or of the Juſtice and Equity of Parliament. What ople think, what will they ſay of the *Prince of* when they hear that his Settlement is reduced to one what has, for theſe many Years laſt paſt, been neceſſary for ſupporting the Honour and Dignity *Heir Apparent*, or *Preſumptive* to the Crown of *Great*; and that at a Time when every other Proviſion reſt of the Royal Family has been vaſtly encreaſed? ival Liſt is now near double what it formerly was: owry ſettled upon her preſent Majeſty, and moſt ly ſettled, is double what was ever ſettled upon any Queen. The Marriage-Proviſion granted by Par- to the *Princeſs Royal*, is double what was ever given *Princeſs Royal* of *England*; for King *Charles* I's ter had but half the Sum, and even that, I believe, ver paid; and King *James* II's Daughter, whom *Charles* II. looked on as his own, had but 40,000*l.* arried to the *Prince of Orange*, afterwards our glo- Deliverer; nor was that Sum fully paid, I believe, came to be our King; when, I do not know but he have Intereſt enough to ſee himſelf paid. If we diſagree to this Motion, will not the People have to conclude, that we have no great Opinion of the of the preſent *Prince of Wales*? Will they not from imagine he is not worthy of ſucceeding to the ? They would certainly imagine ſo, Sir, if it were ; but, thank God, his Merit is publickly and gene- nown: Every one knows that no Part of any Settle- ade upon him will be hoarded up to the Detriment lic Circulation, nor the leaſt Part of it converted to cked or ridiculous Uſe: No, Sir; whatever he may ore than neceſſary for ſupporting the Dignity of the t *Heir* to our Crown, will, we are ſure, be wholly

10. *Geo.* employed in Acts of true Charity and public Utility, ſo
1736 7. far as the *Prince* can ſpare it, the Wants of every deſerving Man will be ſupplied, the Unfortunate will be relieved, and whoever excels in Virtue and true Merit will be rewarded. As this is the Caſe with reſpect to his *Royal Highneſs*, what Opinion can the People without Doors form of the Proceedings within? Will they not be apt to ſay, our Proceedings are directed, not by Juſtice, but by ſome ſelfiſh and baſe Conſideration?

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Opinion fully and freely in this Affair. I know the Danger I am in by appearing in favour of this Motion. I may perhaps have a Meſſage ſent me, I may loſe the Command I have in the Army, as other Gentlemen have done for the ſame Reaſon, before me; but I ſhould think myſelf a pitiful Officer, if I was directed in my Voting or Behaviour in this Houſe, either by the Fears of loſing the Commiſſion I have, or the Hopes of obtaining a better; and if any Miniſter whatever ſhould ſend to threaten me with the Loſs of my Commiſſion, in caſe I did not vote in Parliament as he directed, I ſhould receive the Meſſage with a ſuitable Indignation, and would be very apt to treat the Meſſenger in ſuch a manner, as I do not think decent here to expreſs. While I have the Honour to ſit in this Houſe, I ſhall upon all Occaſions endeavour to judge impartially, and ſhall always vote with Freedom, according as my Honour and Conſcience direct; and as I am convinced his *Royal Highneſs* has a Right, and ought to have a ſufficient independent Settlement; as I am convinced 50,000*l.* a Year is not a ſufficient Proviſion for the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown of *Great Britain*; as I am convinced, the Civil Liſt, if rightly managed, may eaſily ſpare 100,000*l.* a Year for his *Royal Highneſs*; as I am convinced this is the Sum which was intended for him by that Parliament which eſtabliſhed the preſent Civil Liſt Revenue; and as I am convinced his Majeſty has been miſinformed, or ill adviſed, otherwiſe this Sum would have been ſettled upon him long before this time; therefore, as a Member of this Houſe, as a loyal Subject to his Majeſty, and a ſincere Friend to his Family, I think myſelf obliged in Duty, in Honour, in Conſcience, and in ſpite of every ſordid Temptation to the contrary, to endeavour as much as I can to give my Sovereign a right Advice, and a true Information.

The Queſtion being put, the Diviſion was, *Noes* 234; *Yeas* 204.

We have been obliged in this Debate, to throw all that was ſaid in one general Argument, the Speakers upon that Occaſion being ſo very numerous, that it unavoidably occaſioned

ed a frequent Repetition of the ſame Arguments, which it pleaſed in the Hearing, might diſguſt in the Reading. In the 28th the ſaid Committee came to the following olutions, which were reported, and all agreed to by the e, *viz.* That a Sum not exceeding 79,723*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* ld be granted to his Majeſty for the Charge of the e of Ordnance for Land-Service for the Year 1737. t a Sum not exceeding 604*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* ſhould be granted is Majeſty for defraying the extraordinary Expence of Office of Ordnance for Land-Service, and not provided by Parliament. That a Sum not exceeding 62,401*l.* *d.* ¾. ſhould be granted to his Majeſty to make good the ciency of the Grants for the Service of the Year 1736. t a Sum not exceeding 10,043*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* ¼. ſhall be ted to his Majeſty to replace to the Sinking-Fund the Sum paid out of the ſame, to make good the Deficiency he additional Stamp-Duties at *Chriſtmas* 1735, purſuant Clauſe in an Act of Parliament paſſed in the 4th Year is Majeſty's Reign, for raiſing 1,200,000*l.* by Annui- and a Lottery for the Service of the Year 1731. That a not exceeding 42,817*l.* 10*s.* ſhould be granted to his eſty on account of the Subſidy payable to the King of *mark*, purſuant to the Treaty bearing Date *September* 19, , for three Quarters of a Year to *September* 19. 1737. *March* 4, the ſaid Committee came to the following lutions, which were reported and all agreed to by the e, *viz.* That a Sum not exceeding 28,707*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* ld be granted to his Majeſty upon Account, for Out- ioners of *Chelſea* Hoſpital for the Year 1733. That a not exceeding 56,413*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* ¼ ſhould be granted to Majeſty for defraying ſeveral extraordinary Services and ences incurred in the Years 1735 and 1736, and not ided for by Parliament: That a Sum not exceeding 000*l.* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty upon Account, ards the Support of the Royal Hoſpital at *Greenwich*, the Maintenance of the Seamen of the ſaid Hoſpital n out and become decrepid in the Service of their ntry.

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everal Gentlemen upon that Occaſion took Notice of great Charge that Hoſpital was like to bring upon the lic. They ſaid they would not oppoſe the Motion then e; but they could not neglect that Opportunity of tak- Notice, that notwithſtanding its being a Time of Peace, Charge of that Hoſpital ſeemed to be every Year in- ſing; for that laſt Year the Sum provided by Parlia- t for that Article was but 24,518*l.* 10*s.* and the preced- Year it was but 18,850*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* ſo that the Sum then anded was very near 10,000*l.* more than was found

neceſſary

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

neceſſary for the ſame Service but *two* Years before. They would not, they ſaid, pretend to ſuggeſt what were the particular Reaſons for that great Increaſe; but there was one general Reaſon which would always hold, while we kept up ſuch a large number of regular Forces, and obſerved the ſame Rules with reſpect to admitting Perſons into that Hoſpital. In Time of War there had been two Rules eſtabliſhed for intitling Soldiers to the Benefit of that Hoſpital; one of which was, a Soldier's being wounded or maimed in the Service, and diſcharged by his Colonel as unfit for further Service; and the other was, a Soldier's having been *twenty* Years in the Service, and reduced, or diſcharged by his Colonel, as an old and decrepid Soldier. While the War continued, no Man could claim a Title to the Hoſpital by either of theſe Rules, unleſs he was by his Age, or his Wounds, become actually unfit for Service; becauſe, as Recruits were then hard to be got, no Colonel would diſcharge a Soldier, as long as he was any way fit for Service; and there were but very few who could ever claim the Benefit of the laſt Rule; becauſe moſt of them were either killed or wounded before they could be diſcharged as a Soldier grown decrepid with Age: Whereas, now, in Time of Peace, we had not, it was true, many Soldiers who could claim any Title from the firſt Rule; but the Numbers of thoſe who might claim a Title from the ſecond would be increaſing every Day; for as Recruits were now eaſily procured, the Officers were very apt to diſcharge an old Soldier, as often as they could find a clever, well-looked young Fellow ready to liſt in his ſtead, tho' the old Soldier might then be as fit for real Service, but not perhaps ſo proper for a Review, as the Man newly liſted; and as none of our Soldiers were in Time of Peace in any great Danger of being killed, almoſt every Soldier in our Army would at laſt come to have a Title, by his having been *twenty* Years in the Service, to claim the Benefit of being admitted into *Chelſea* Hoſpital; and that at an Age perhaps when he might not only be fit for Service, but fit for gaining an Livelihood by any induſtrious Employment; for if a young Fellow liſted when but *eighteen* Years of Age, at his Age of *eight and thirty*, if he could obtain a Diſcharge from his Officer, he would have a Title to claim being admitted into *Chelſea* Hoſpital, and by Means of a long Beard, a ragged Coat, and good Intereſt at the Board, he might even at that Age be admitted to a Share of that Charity, which was deſigned only for the Diſabled and Decrepid. From hence they could not but ſuppoſe, that a peaceable Army would always furniſh *Chelſea* with more Penſioners than a fighting

Army

Army of the ſame Number could be ſuppoſed to do; and the Penſioners drawn from the former would live longer to enjoy their Penſion, and to be a Burden upon their Country, than the Penſioners drawn from the latter. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

These Things, they ſaid, they took Notice of, not with any Deſign to oppoſe the Motion, but only to ſhew the many Diſadvantages that attended the keeping up of a numerous Standing-Army in Time of Peace; and at the ſame Time they hoped it would contribute towards making thoſe concerned as careful as poſſible, not to admit any to the Benefit of that Hoſpital, but ſuch as were truly Objects of Charity, and deſerved to be ſupported at the Expence of their Country.

To this it was anſwered, That tho' the Nation, by Means of the wiſe Meaſures purſued by his Majeſty and his Royal Predeceſſor, had been ſo fortunate as to remain for many Years in a State of Peace and Tranquillity, tho' that happy State ſhould continue for many Years to come, yet it had always been, and, they believed, would always be deemed neceſſary to keep up ſome regular Troops; and while they kept up any ſuch Troops, it would be neceſſary to grant a Subſiſtence or Relief to thoſe Soldiers who ſhould grow old and decrepid in the Service; for a poor Man had no other Way to provide for the Infirmities of old Age, but by the Induſtry and Frugality of his Youth; and if a poor Man ſhould in his Youth forſake every Sort of Buſineſs by which he might provide for the Infirmities of old Age, in order to make himſelf fit for ſerving his Country as a Soldier, and in order to be ready upon all Emergencies to venture his Life in the Cauſe of his Country, ſuch a Man, tho' he partook of the Happineſs of his Country, and paſſed thro' Life without Danger, yet he deſerved as much to be provided for by his Country in his old Age, as if he had been during his whole Life involved with his Country in Bloodſhed and Danger; and in the former Caſe he would more probably ſtand in need of it than in the latter; becauſe in Time of Peace, a Soldier had nothing but his bare Pay, out of which it could not be ſuppoſed he could ſave any Thing as a Proviſion for old Age; whereas in Time of War, Soldiers were often allowed to plunder, and ſometimes enriched themſelves by the Spoils of their Enemies.

For this Reaſon, if the Penſioners in *Chelſea* College ſhould become a little more numerous in Time of Peace than in Time of War, it was a Diſadvantage which could not be prevented, but it was a Diſadvantage that was ſufficiently compenſated by the many Advantages the Nation reaped from a State of Peace and Tranquillity; and the maintain-

admit him to the Benefit of *Chelſea* Hoſpit
he had been *twenty* Years in the Service, u
Way diſabled, or grown very old and dec
any ſuch Man was admitted, he was immed
Regiment, or to ſome of the Companies,
by that Means was made to ſerve for that
he received from his Country, as long as a
be expected from him; ſo that they belie
few or no Soldiers upon the Eſtabliſhmen
pital, but ſuch as were real Objects of C
were very ſure the Commiſſioners of that
of late as careful as poſſible not to admi
that Eſtabliſhment who was not every way
Benefit, as would fully appear if any Enquir
into that Affair; and then the particular
late Increaſe of the Charge of that Hoſpit
be made to appear, but would, they were
proved of by every Gentleman in that Ho

This was the Subſtance of what was
upon this Occaſion; after which the Queſt
the Motion, and agreed to without a Diviſi

The next Affair upon which there was
Debate in the Committee of Supply, was
9th, and *Friday* the 11th of *March*, when
made for granting *a Million* to his Maje
deeming the like Sum of the increaſed
South Sea Company, commonly called
nuities; but as this was a Sort of Reſol

r of the Supply granted to his Majeſty, Sir *Robert* *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
pole ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

Sir Robert Walpole.

SIR,

have a Propoſition to make to the Houſe, which I think tend to the Advantage of the Public, and againſt which e cannot, in my Opinion, be any Objection made, fore I hope it will be agreed to without Oppoſition; in order to make Gentlemen thoroughly comprehend Advantage of what I am to propoſe, I muſt beg Leave xplain a little the preſent Circumſtances of the Sinking-d, and the Method hitherto obſerved with reſpect to the ſing of the Produce of that Fund.

'e all know, Sir, that the whole Produce of the Sinking-d muſt be regularly, as it ariſes, depoſited in his Ma-'s *Exchequer*, and there wait the future Diſpoſition of ament, ſo that no Part of it can be applied to any Uſe hat to which it has been appropriated by ſome preceding n; and the Method this Houſe has generally taken for ſing of that Fund, has been, To reſolve itſelf into a mittee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the Appli-n of the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund. has always been the Method we have hitherto taken plying that Fund towards paying off any Part of the al Debt; and as we ſeldom or never pay off under *a* at a Time, there is generally 5 or 600,000 *l.* Part Produce of that Fund, which lies for ſeveral Months dead and uſeleſs in his Majeſty's *Exchequer*; which we look on as a great Diſadvantage to the Public, eſpecially we conſider that the Government is during that Time d to borrow Money at Intereſt for anſwering the cur-ervice of the Year.

is, Sir, has been the Caſe for ſeveral Years paſt, and always be the Caſe for every Year to come, if the ſition I am to make, or ſomething like it, be not d to; for it is well known the Funds provided by Par-nt for the current Service of the Year do not im-tely produce ſuch Sums as are neceſſary for anſwering harges of the Government, and therefore his Majeſty ry Year empowered to borrow Money for that Purpoſe the Credit of ſome of the Funds granted by Parlia-for the current Service of that Year; for which he is d to pay an Intereſt of at leaſt 3 *per Cent.* which is nual Charge of 10, 15, or perhaps above 20,000 *l.* a to the Public, and a Charge which might, I think, be ated, by enabling his Majeſty to make uſe of the Pro-of the Sinking-Fund then lying dead in the *Exche-*

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quer; and whatever Sums might be found neceſſary to be taken from the Sinking Fund for anſwering the immediate Service, might be replaced by the Produce of the annual Funds, before *Michaelmas*, the Time when the Produce of the Sinking-Fund is generally to be iſſued by Direction of Parliament for paying off a Part of the National Debt; or if the Whole ſhould not be replaced before that Time, a ſmall Sum might then, and not till then, be borrowed for making good the Deficiency; ſo that the Government would never be obliged to borrow ſo large a Sum, or for ſo long a Time, as they generally are, according to the preſent Method.

For Example, Sir, the Produce of the Sinking-Fund is generally computed from *Michaelmas* to *Lady-Day*, and from *Lady Day* to *Michaelmas*; and it is to be ſuppoſed this Houſe will, in the preſent Seſſion, order the Sum of one *Million*, being the growing Produce of that Fund from *Michaelmas* laſt till *Michaelmas* next, to be applied to the Paying off ſo much of the National Debt: This Payment cannot be made before *Michaelmas* next, and as the Produce of that Fund will bring into his Majeſty's *Exchequer* by *Lady Day* next, or ſoon after, 5 or 600,000 *l.* that whole Sum muſt, according to our former Method of ordering the Application of that Fund, lie dead in the *Exchequer*, without its being in the Power of the Public, or the Government, to reap any Benefit from it; and in the mean time, as the Produce of the annual Funds cannot anſwer the immediate Occaſions of the Government, his Majeſty may probably be obliged at *Lady Day* next, or ſoon after, to borrow 5 or 600,000 *l.* at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Credit, I ſhall ſuppoſe, of the *Malt* Tax, in order to anſwer thoſe Demands which may occur before the Produce of that Tax can come in to ſatisfy them: Now if his Majeſty were empowered to make uſe of the Produce of the Sinking-Fund in the mean time, it would prevent his being under a Neceſſity of borrowing any Money at *Lady-Day* next; and whatever ſhould be found neceſſary to be taken in the mean time from the Sinking-Fund, might be replaced by the Produce of the *Malt* Tax, or ſome of the other Funds provided for the current Service of this next enſuing Year, before *Michaelmas* next, which is the ſooneſt any Payment can be directed to be made out of the Produce of that Fund; or if the Whole ſhould not then happen to be replaced, a ſmall Sum might be then borrowed for a ſhort Term, in order to make good the Deficiency, and to make that Payment to the public Creditors, which, I ſuppoſe, will by this Seſſion be directed to be made at *Michaelmas* next.

I

I hope, Sir, I have explained myſelf ſo as to be underſtood by every Gentleman that hears me; and if the Houſe thinks fit to agree to what I propoſe, the proper Method of doing it will, in my Opinion, be, To come to a Reſolution in this Committee, to grant his Majeſty *a Million* towards redeeming the like Sum of ſome of the public Debts; and when we take this Affair into our Conſideration in the Committee of Ways and Means, we may reſolve, That towards raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the Sum of *one Million* out of ſuch Monies as have ariſen, or ſhall or may ariſe of the Surpluſſes, Exceſſes, or overplus Monies, commonly called the Sinking-Fund. This, Sir, I take to be the proper Method of carrying what I have propoſed into Execution, and if I find the Houſe approves of it, I ſhall take the Liberty to riſe up again, and make you ſuch a Motion as, I think, ought to be agreed to in the Committee we are now in. *Anno* 10. *Geo* II. 1736 7.

As this new Method of ordering the Application of the Sinking-Fund was generally approved of, the ſame Gentleman ſtood up on the 11th, when the Houſe had again reſolved itſelf into the ſaid Committee, and after a ſhort Speech, moved, to reſolve, That the Sum of *one Million* ſhould be granted to his Majeſty, towards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, as was then commonly called *Old South-Sea* Annuites.

But as many Gentlemen were of Opinion the ſaid *Million* ought not to be applied towards redeeming any Part of the *South-Sea* Capital, but towards redeeming a Part of the *Bank* Capital, there enſued a long Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were by Mr. *Pultney* and others to the Effect as followeth, *viz.* *Mr. Pultney, Sir William Windham, Mr. Walker.*

SIR,

As the Sinking-Fund is one of the moſt uſeful Funds that ever was eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, as it is the only Fund from which we can expect a Diminution of our Taxes, and an Eaſe to ourſelves or our Poſterity, and as the Diſpoſition of that Fund is left intirely to the Wiſdom of Parliament, we ought to be extremely careful of applying it yearly to that Purpoſe from which the greateſt Benefit may redound to our native Country; and when we happen to be in Circumſtances ſo lucky as to be able to apply the whole Produce towards diſcharging ſo much of the National Debt, the only two Queſtions that can fall under our Conſideration, are, What Part of the public Debts are moſt grievous to the Nation in general? and, What Part may be paid off with the greateſt Eaſe to thoſe who are the Creditors of the Public?

ano 10. Geo. lic? The firſt Queſtion deſerves, and will certainly meet
I. 1736-7. with our greateſt Regard; but if it ſhould appear, that the Intereſt of the Public is no way concerned, which Part of the National Debt ſhall be firſt paid off, the ſecond Queſtion will then deſerve our Attention; becauſe the greater Regard we ſhew to the Creditors of the Public, the more we ſhall eſtabliſh the public Credit; and the more the Credit of the Nation is eſtabliſhed, the more eaſy will it be for us to reduce the Intereſt now payable upon our public Funds.

If there were any of our public Debts that bore an Intereſt higher than the reſt, that Debt would certainly be the moſt grievous to the Nation, and, conſequently, ought to be the firſt to be paid off; but as the whole Debt of the Nation is now reduced to 4 *per Cent.* or under, except about 1,600,000 *l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Intereſt of 6 *per Cent.* and which cannot be redeemed till their Term be expired, therefore, the Rate of Intereſt can be of no Weight in the preſent Queſtion. With Regard to the Intereſt of the Public, I can think of but three other Motives that can induce us to pay off any one of the public Debts, or a Part of any one of the public Debts, rather than a Part of any other: The firſt I ſhall take Notice of is, the Amount of the Sum due; for where ſeveral Debts are due to ſeveral different Perſons, natural or political, that Debt which is the largeſt is certainly the moſt grievous, and ought firſt to be paid off, or at leaſt diminiſhed ſo as to bring it upon a Par with others. The next Motive may be drawn from the Taxes which are mortgaged for paying the Intereſt; for thoſe Creditors to whom the moſt burdenſome Taxes are mortgaged, ought to be firſt paid off, in order that we may have it the ſooner in our Power to free the Nation from thoſe Taxes: And the third Motive depends upon the Nature of thoſe Companies or Corporations, to whom our preſent Debts are owing; for a Company that is engaged in Trade, and is enabled to extend their Trade further than they could otherways do, by Means of the Intereſt which is payable to them from the Government, deſerve better to have that Intereſt continued to them, than a Company, or Sett of Men, who carry on no Trade, or whoſe Trade can receive no Increaſe, by means of the Debt due to them by the Public; and, therefore, no Part of the Debt due to the former ought to be paid off, as long as there is any Thing due from the Public to the latter.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to every one of theſe Motives, I think, they militate ſtrongly in favour of the Motion now made to you. The Debt due to the *South-Sea* Company is vaſtly larger than the Debt due to any other Company in the

ngdom, and, therefore, not only according to the *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
of Proportion, but according to that Rule which
ways, I hope, be the chief Director of our Reſo-
I mean the Intereſt of the Nation in general, what-
ayments we are able to make ought to be generally
towards diminiſhing the Debt due to that Company:
s to the Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our
Debts, thoſe which are mortgaged to the *South-Sea*
ny are the moſt burdenſome, as will appear to any
man who examines into that Affair; and of the three
Companies who are the chief Creditors of the Pub-
muſt be granted, the *South-Sea* Company carries on
ſt Trade, and is the leaſt capable of extending their
by means of that Intereſt or Annuity which is due
n from the Public. Thus in every Light we can
if we have a proper Regard for the Intereſt of the
in general, we muſt conclude, that we ought to ap-
e Produce of the Sinking-Fund towards paying off a
of the Debt due to the *South-Sea* Company, rather
ny other; and as the Debt due to them is now di-
into three different Parts, I think, the next Payment
to be applied to that Part now called *Old South-Sea*
ties; becauſe the Annuities ought to be all paid off,
we pay off any Part of their Trading Stock; and as
t Payment was made to the *New South-Sea* Annuities,
xt ought to be made to the *Old*.

ſuppoſe, Sir, that the Intereſt of the Nation in general
way concerned, which Part of the public Debt ſhall
paid off; in that Caſe we ought to ſhew a Regard to
ſe and Advantage of the ſeveral public Creditors, by
g the next Payment to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt
h Payment's being made to them. It is now the
Fortune of this Nation to have its Credit ſo well
ſhed, that all our public Funds ſell at an advanced
ſo that it is a Diſadvantage and Loſs to every one of
blic Creditors to have any Part of the Debt due to
paid off; therefore, if the Intereſt of the Nation be
unconcerned, we ought to direct the Payments to be
to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt by having a Part of
Capital paid off; and of all the public Creditors, the
ietors of the *South-Sea* Annuities are certainly thoſe
ill ſuffer the leaſt; becauſe as there is a much larger
due to them than to any other Sett of public Creditors,
oſs cannot fall ſo heavy upon each particular Perſon;
the Fund they are in Poſſeſſion of does not ſell at a
near ſo high as either the *Bank* or the *Eaſt-India*
, conſequently the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities

cannot

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cannot be ſuch Loſers as the Proprietors of *Ba*
India would be, in caſe the next Payment were
be made to either of them; for a Proprietor o
Annuities can loſe but 12 or 13 *l.* by having 10
Capital paid off; whereas a Proprietor of *Bank* S
loſe above 50 *l.* and a Proprietor of *Eaſt-India* S
loſe near 80 *l.* by having 100 *l.* of his Capita
From hence, Sir, it muſt appear, that if we
Regard to the Creditors of the Public, we mu
growing Produce of the Sinking-Fund for this c
to be applied to the paying off ſo much of th
Debt; and, therefore, I muſt conclude, that in
the public Creditors, as well as in Juſtice to th
the Motion now made ought to be agreed to.

The Anſwer to this, and the Arguments made
ſhewing the Reaſonableneſs of making the next
the *Bank*, were in Subſtance thus, *viz.*

SIR,

As to the Uſefulneſs of the Sinking-Fund, a
vantages the Nation may reap from it, I entirely
the Hon. Gentleman who made you the Motio
it is one of the moſt uſeful Funds that was ever
in this Kingdom; I know it is the only Fund by
or our Poſterity can expect to get free from a
Taxes which now lie ſo heavy upon our Trade
and upon our poor Labourers and Manufactur
ticular; but I cannot agree with that Hon. Ge
Opinion, That the Diſpoſition of the Sinking-F
entirely to the Wiſdom of Parliament. The
in my Opinion, evident from the very Words of
of Parliament by which that Fund was eſtabl
by them it is expreſly appropriated to the payin
of the public Debts and Incumbrances as were i
fore the 25th of *December*, 1716, ſo that the
poſition left entirely to the Wiſdom of Parliame
reſpect to the Manner and Method of payin
Debts: The Parliament may direct what Sum ſh
off at any one Time, and at what Time ſuch Pay
be made; or it may direct which of thoſe Debt
Payment ſhall be applied to; but by the original
of that Fund, it was certainly deſigned not to lea
Power of Parliament to apply that ſacred Fu
other Purpoſe than that of paying off the Nat
contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716;
far as any one Parliament can limit or reſtrain th
all future Parliaments. How far, or in what Ca
ture Parliament may or ought to break thro' that

is a Queſtion which, I hope, we ſhall have no Occaſion to diſcuſs in this Seſſion: I am glad to find we have no ſuch Intention at preſent; for the only Queſtion now before us is, Which of the public Debts contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716, the next Payment ought to be applied to? And in conſidering that Queſtion, I hope I ſhall be able to make it appear, that, if we regard the public Good, and that impartial Juſtice which is due to all the public Creditors, the next Payment ought not to be applied to the *South Sea* Stock, or Annuities. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

With reſpect to the public Good, or the Intereſt of the Nation in general, it has been granted, Sir, that if any of our Debts bore a higher Rate of Intereſt than the reſt, that Debt would certainly be the moſt grievous to the Nation, and conſequently ought to be the firſt paid off; and at the ſame time it has been granted, that there is a Debt of 1,600,000*l.* due to the *Bank*, which bears an Intereſt of 6 *per Cent.* Is it not then evident that this Debt of 1,600,000*l.* ought to be the firſt to be paid off? But we are told, this Debt cannot be redeemed till the Expiration of their Term. I know it cannot; and I likewiſe know, we cannot come at the Redemption of this Mortgage, till after we have paid off the whole of the other Debts due to the *Bank*. Is not this a ſtrong Reaſon, Sir, for our paying off as faſt as poſſible all the other Debts due to the *Bank*, in order to come at the Redemption of this Mortgage of 1,600,000*l.* which is now the heavieſt Mortgage this Nation groans under? And what ſtill adds to the Weight of this Argument is, that by the time we have paid off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, and for which they have only an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.* their Term will be expired, ſo that we can then redeem this heavy Mortgage without further Delay; whereas, if we do not now begin to pay off the other Debts due to the *Bank*, we cannot, even when their Term is expired, have it in our Power to redeem this Mortgage, becauſe, by Agreement, we cannot redeem it till we have paid off all the other Sums due by the Public to that Company. Therefore, if we have any Regard to the public Good, we ought to apply every future Payment to the *Bank* till they are entirely paid off, or at leaſt till they agree to take 4 *per Cent.* for this 1,600,000*l.* as well as for the reſt of their Fund, which would be a Saving of 32,000*l.* *per Annum* to the Public, and a Saving that would greatly contribute towards enabling us to reduce all our public Debts to 3 *per Cent.* Intereſt.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the other Motives mentioned by the honourable Gentleman, for inducing us to pay off a

Part

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Part of one Debt rather than a Part of any other, I ſhall readily admit, that it is more grievous to owe a large Debt than to owe a ſmall Sum; but I cannot admit that, therefore, of two or more Debts the largeſt ought to be firſt paid off, or at leaſt diminiſhed, ſo as to bring it upon a Par with others; for in private Life it is always reckoned better for a Man to owe a large Sum to one Perſon, than to owe a Sum of equal Value to a great Number of different Perſons; and for this Reaſon we often find Gentlemen of Eſtates borrowing a large Sum of Money from one Perſon, in order to pay off a great Number of ſmall Creditors, tho' they ſeldom or never have, or can obtain that Advantage which the Public at preſent enjoys, of making partial Payments to that large Creditor. If a private Man owed 1000*l.* to one Man, and 4 or 5000*l.* to ten or a dozen diſtinct Perſons, tho' he had a Privilege of making partial Payments to his large Creditor; yet, if he could ſave 500 or 1000*l.* a Year out of his Eſtate, he would certainly apply that Saving towards dicharging his ſmall Debts, rather than towards diſcharging yearly a Part of the large Debt. In like manner with regard to the Public, it was formerly reckoned better to owe a large Sum to the *South Sea* Company, than to owe the ſame Sum to a great Number of private Perſons; which was one Reaſon among others, for inducing the Legiſlature to grant them a Power to take in by Purchaſe or Subſcription, or pay off all the irredeemable and redeemable Debts then due by the Public to a great Multitude of private Perſons. This, I ſay, was then deemed to be a Benefit to the Public, and will certainly appear to be ſuch, as often as the Public has any Propoſition to make to its Creditors; ſo that the Largeneſs of the *South Sea* Debt, in Compariſon with the Debt due to any other Company, ſhould rather be an Argument for making no partial Payments to them till all the other ſmaller Debts be firſt paid off.

But, Sir, there is another Advantage which will accrue to the Public from paying off the Whole, or a great Part of the Debt, due to the other Companies, which will appear evident to every Gentleman, who conſiders, that a Trading Company poſſeſſed of an excluſive Privilege, muſt always come to be a great Diſadvantage to the Trade of every Country, where ſuch a Company is eſtabliſhed, and continued; for tho' in the Infancy of any particular ſort of Trade, it may be neceſſary to erect a Company for ſetting it up; yet, when the Trade comes to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, when great Numbers of our own People are well acquainted with it, and willing to carry it on in a private way, the continuing of the Company, or at leaſt the continuing

nuing of their exclusive *Privilege*, must be a Disadvantage to the Trade of our Country; because a Company can never carry on a Trade at so cheap a Rate as private Persons can do, and are therefore not so capable of preventing Foreigners from interfering with us in the Trade; for as they are always at a great Expence, they must have great Profits, and great Profits not only tempt, but enable Foreigners to interfere with us in any Trade. It is not now necessary to shew that the exclusive Privilege enjoy'd by the *Bank* and *East-India* Company is a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation in general: It is sufficient at present to observe, that this exclusive Privilege cannot be taken from either of them, till every Shilling due to them by the Public be paid off; so that the Expiration of the Term for which that Privilege has been granted signifies nothing, as long as there is any Money due to them; and surely it would be an Advantage to the Public, to have it in our Power to put an End to that Privilege as soon as the Term expires, in case it should then appear to be a Disadvantage to the Trade of the Nation; which Power we cannot acquire but by paying off, in the mean Time, a great Part of the Capital of each. This is an Advantage we cannot acquire by any Payment made to the *South-Sea* Company; because the exclusive Privilege granted to and enjoy'd by that Company, is a Privilege granted to them for ever; and therefore the public Good of the Nation is not so much concerned, nor can ever be so much concerned, in the paying off the whole Capital due to them, as it may be in paying off the whole Capital due to either of the other two.

From what I have said, Sir, in relation to Trading Companies with an exclusive Privilege, it must appear, that when the Trade is once generally known, and thoroughly established, if you can redeem and abolish their exclusive Privilege by the Redemption of the Annuity or Interest payable to them, you ought as soon as possible to redeem both the one and the other; because, by laying the Trade open you will increase rather than diminish the Trade of your Country. Indeed, if the Company has an exclusive Privilege which you cannot take from them, even after you have paid off the whole Debt due to them, the paying off such a Debt may be a Disadvantage to your Trade, because you may, by so doing, prevent the Company's being able to push their Trade so far as they might otherwise have done; and at the same Time all private Adventurers are precluded from engaging in it by the Continuance of the Company's exclusive Privilege; therefore, it is inconsistent with the public Good to pay off any such Debt, or any Part of

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ſuch a Debt, as long as there are any other public Debts be paid off; and does not every one ſee, that this is a good Argument againſt making any future Payments to the *South-Sea* Company? For the Intereſt payable upon their Annuities may contribute as much as the Intereſt payable upon their Stock, towards enabling them to extend their Trade; becauſe, the only Way by which either can contribute towards enabling them to extend their Trade, is, by the Money's lying for ſome time in their Hands, before they be obliged to iſſue it to the Proprietors; and the Intereſt Money of their Annuities lies as long in the Company's Hands before they be obliged to iſſue it for paying the half-yearly Annuities grown due to the Annuitants, as the Intereſt Money of their Stock can do, before they be obliged to iſſue it for paying the half yearly Dividends grown due to the Proprietors of their Trading Stock.

As for the Taxes mortgaged to the *South-Sea* Company, or to any other Company, they can be of no Weight in the preſent Debate; for whenever we have a Mind to abolish any of our preſent heavy Taxes, we know, Sir, there is no Company, nor public Creditor in *England*, but will be glad to conſent to the aboliſhing of any ſuch Tax, and to accept of an Annuity payable out of the Sinking-Fund, in Lieu of the Annuity payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax. This we know by a late Experiment in the Caſe of the *Salt Duty*, which was once by this Houſe reſolved to be the moſt grievous Tax in *England*, and was therefore aboliſhed. In that Caſe we know, Sir, how readily the *South-Sea* and other Companies agreed to take Annuities payable out of the Sinking-Fund, in Lieu of the Annuities payable to them out of the Produce of that Tax; but ſo variable are the Sentiments of ſome Gentlemen, that in *two* Years Time, that very Tax was deemed not near ſo grievous as a *Shilling in the Pound* upon Land, and therefore it was re-eſtabliſhed for *three* Years, and granted for ſupplying the current Service of the Year, in order to prevent our being obliged to lay an additional *Shilling in the Pound* but for *one* Year upon Land; and I think it has ſince been continued for ſeven Years longer, for the very ſame Reaſon and Purpoſe: Nay I am afraid we are loaded with it for ever; for as it is a Tax that creates a great deal of Power, tho' it produces but little Money, I believe it will always be preferred by a certain Sort of Men to any Tax that may produce a much greater Revenue without propagating any Sort of Power. As for my own Part, I ſtill continue to think it one of the moſt burdenſome and dangerous Taxes we are ſubject to; and notwithſtanding the low Intereſt paid for the Money due upon

on it, I ſhould think, one of the beſt Uſes we could con- *Anno* 10 Geo. II. 1736-7.
the Sinking-Fund to, would be, to apply it towards
ſeeming and aboliſhing of this Tax; becauſe if we
ſider the Expences of collecting it, and add that Ex-
ce to the Intereſt paid for the Money borrowed upon it,
muſt conclude, the Nation pays a heavy Intereſt for that
ney, beſides the Danger our Liberties may be expoſed to
continuing a Tax which creates ſo much Power and pro-
es ſo ſmall a Revenue, and beſides the Danger our Trade
y be expoſed to by a Tax which enhances the Price of
bour in every Branch both of our Manufacture, Agricul-
e, and Navigation. Nor would the applying the Sinking
nd to ſuch an Uſe be a new Perverting of it; for as this
x was formerly one of the Taxes appropriated to the
yment of our Debts contracted before *December* 25,
16, the applying the Sinking Fund towards aboliſhing it,
d then reviving it for ſupplying the current Service of
Year, was the ſame Thing as if we had then taken ſuch
um from the Sinking-Fund, as would have been ſufficient
only for ſupplying the current Service of the Year, but
redeeming the Tax we had then a Mind to aboliſh, for
Eaſe of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers. But as
ve at preſent no Intention to make any Propoſition for
ying the Sinking-Fund to ſuch a Purpoſe, I ſhall inſiſt
nger upon this Subject.

The proper Queſtion now before us I take to be, Sir,
ther the next Payment from the Sinking Fund ought
e made to the *South-Sea* Company or the *Bank*? And as
out with ſaying, that if we ſhew any Regard to the
ic Good, or to that impartial Juſtice which is due to all
public Creditors, we ought not to apply the next Pay-
t to the *South-Sea* Company, I think I have ſhewn
, with reſpect to the public Good, none of the Motives
tioned can induce us to apply the next Payment to that
pany, but that on the contrary, every one of thoſe Mo-
are ſtrong Arguments for not making any future
ment to them, till all or moſt of our other Debts be
ely paid off. Now, Sir, with regard to that impartial
ce which we ought to ſhew to all our Creditors, I ſhall
t the Credit of the Nation is now ſo well eſtabliſhed,
all our public Funds ſell at an advanced Price, and that
efore it is a Diſadvantage to the public Creditors to be
a Part of what is due to them; but the only Way of
erving the Credit we now have, is to pay off our Debts
aſt as poſſible without contracting any new Debt, and in
cing ſuch Payments, to ſhew no Partiality or Favour to
Sett of public Creditors more than another. No Man

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can find Fault with us, or complain of Partiality, on account of our having a Regard to the public Good, and paying off thoſe Creditors firſt, whoſe Debts, by reaſon of any Intereſt, Privilege, or Circumſtance attending them, are moſt burdenſome or inconvenient to the Nation in general; but ſo far as our Creditors are upon an equal Footing with reſpect to the public Good, as it is a Diſadvantage to every one of them to receive Payment of the whole, or any Part of the Debt due to him, we ought to regulate our Payments in ſuch a Manner as that the Diſadvantage may fall upon all, exactly in Proportion to the Share each Man, or every Sett of Men, have in thoſe Debts.

According to this Proportion, Sir, we have already done Injuſtice to the *South Sea* Company; for to take the Capitals of the *South-Sea*, *Bank*, and *Eaſt India*, as they ſtood in the Year 1727, when the great Reduction of public Intereſt took Place, and to which National Advantage the *South-Sea* Company contributed a great deal more than its Share, we muſt reckon that every *fourth* Payment at leaſt ought to have been made to the *Bank*, and every *eleventh* or *twelfth* to the *Eaſt India* Company; whereas we have already made five ſeveral Payments of *a Million* each to the *South Sea* Company, and one of 500,000 *l.* without paying ſo much as one Shilling of the Capital either of the *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* Company; for tho' *one Million* has been paid to the *Bank*, yet Care was taken their Capital ſhould not be thereby diminiſhed, becauſe the *very next* following Year, a new Sum of 1,250,000 *l.* was borrowed from them, which muſt be redeemed, as well as *every other* Shilling due to them, before the Nation can get free of their excluſive Privilege. Can this, Sir, be called impartial Juſtice, or can it be ſaid we have ſhewn this partial Favour to the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India*, for the Sake of public Good, and becauſe it is for the Intereſt of the Nation to ſupport theſe two Companies, and continue them in Poſſeſſion of that excluſive Privilege they now enjoy, and by which they have for many Years made ſo great an Advantage? No, Sir; I have ſhewn that if the public Good be engaged on either Side of the Queſtion, it is on the Side of the *South-Sea* Company, both becauſe the greateſt Debt is due to them, and becauſe we cannot redeem their excluſive Privilege by the Redemption of their Capital, which we may do with reſpect to the other two.

But, Sir, we are told we ought to ſhew a Regard to the private Intereſt of the public Creditors, by directing all future Payments to be made to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt by having a Part of their Capital paid off. With all

Sir, let us ſhew as much Regard to the private our Creditors as the public Intereſt will admit; let us ſhew a partial Regard to any one of them, ſett of them. We have already ſhewn a partial he *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* Company; we have al- Injuſtice to the *South-Sea* Company. This is Reaſon for their Annuities ſelling at ſo low a from this, which is the Effect of our former nd Injuſtice, an Argument is now drawn for con- Injuſtice in all Times to come. I ſay in all me, at leaſt till our Debts be all paid off, which ery long time, if we are to form a Judgment of Management for theſe *twenty* Years paſt; for if ent be now of any Force, it will every Year Vigour, becauſe the Partiality we ſhew to our s, will make them increaſe in their current Va- ear to Year. From hence we may ſee the Weak- Argument, and ſurely if we are to ſhew a Fa- of our Creditors, or a partial Regard to the reſt of any Sett of them, it ought to be to thoſe nade the leaſt Advantage by lending their Money ernment; conſequently the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* e the firſt paid off, becauſe the Proprietors of Companies have been for many Years receiving onal Dividends from the Profits of their Trade; e Proprietors of *South-Sea* Stock or Annuities received ſo large additional Dividends from the heir Trade, nor have they received any ſuch r ſo long a time.

Reaſon, Sir, it muſt be granted, that tho' the of *Bank* and *Eaſt India* ſhould really loſe a little the Proprietors of *South-Sea* Annuities, the for- much better able to bear that Loſs than we can latter to be; becauſe the more they have got by Dividends, the better able will they be to bear ey may ſuſtain by being paid off. But, Sir, I this Occaſion take Notice, that the *South Sea* re not at ſo low a Price in Proportion to our as ſome Gentlemen may imagine, nor will the between the Loſs they may ſuſtain by having ayment applied to them, and the Loſs the *Bank* Proprietors might ſuſtain by its being applied near ſo great as the honourable Gentleman has to repreſent. For *South-Sea* Annuities, in Pro- heir Dividend, are really at a higher Price than is at preſent; becauſe, if 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, d of theſe Annuities, gives 113*l.* their preſent Price

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Price 5*d.* ½. *per Cent. per Annum*, the Dividend upon Eaſt Stock, ought to give above 155*l.* which is more than the preſent Price of *Bank* Stock; and with reſpect to *Eaſt-India* Stock, the preſent Price of it is not, in Proportion to its Dividend, much above the preſent Price of *South Sea* Annuities; for if 4 *per Cent. per Annum* give 113*l.* 6 *per Cent. per Annum*, the preſent *Eaſt India* Dividend, ought to give near 170*l.* ſo that at 180*l.* the preſent high Price, it is but 10 *per Cent.* above the Proportion, and this Advance, we may believe, is in a great meaſure owing to the Certainty the Proprietors have of not being obliged to refund any partial Payments for many Years to come.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to the Loſs either of theſe Sorts of public Creditors may ſuſtain by having the next Payment applied to them, it is certain the *South-Sea* Annuitants will loſe the whole Advance Price, that is, every one of them will loſe at the Rate of 13*l. per Cent.* upon whatever Money he receives as his Share of that partial Payment; but we are not to ſuppoſe, that the Proprietors of *Eaſt-India* Stock will loſe at the Rate of 80*l. per Cent.* or that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock will loſe at the Rate of 50*l. per Cent.* upon whatever Money any of them ſhall receive as his Share of this next Payment, if it were to be made to either of them: becauſe, tho' a proportional Part of the Annuity due from the Government will ceaſe in every one of the three Caſes, yet, in the Caſe of the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* Company, the Proprietors have another Sort of Annuity, an additional Dividend, which ariſes from their Trade; and as the Trade of neither of them cannot either ceaſe or be diminiſhed by this next partial Payment's being made to them, by the Reduction of their Capital, this additional Dividend muſt of courſe increaſe upon the whole remaining Capital, and, conſequently, the current Price of the whole remaining Capital muſt riſe a great deal above the preſent Market Price.

To illuſtrate what I have ſaid, Sir, by Figures, as far as the preſent Opportunity will permit, I ſhall ſuppoſe the Capital of the *South Sea* Old Annuities not to exceed 10,000,000*l.* the Capital of the *Bank* not to exceed the like Sum, and the Capital of the *Eaſt-India* Company not to exceed 3,000,000*l.* I know every one of theſe Capitals exceed the Sums I have mentioned, but in the preſent Caſe the Calculations will be the ſame, let their Capitals amount to what they will; and, I ſuppoſe theſe round Sums, that my Calculations may be the more eaſily underſtood. Now, ſuppoſe the next Payment is to be made to *South-Sea* Old Annuities, as the honourable Gentleman has propoſed; in

In that Caſe a Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital will receive 100*l.* of his Capital, and, conſequently, will for the future, without a new Purchaſe, ſtand poſſeſſed of 900*l.* Capital only; ſo that he will loſe the advanced Price, being 13*l.* upon the 100*l.* paid off, no Part of which Loſs can be replaced to him by any Advantage his remaining Capital will receive, by means of the Payment then made by the Public. Let me next ſuppoſe the Payment now under our Conſideration to be made to the *Bank*: In that Caſe a Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital *Bank* Stock will receive 100*l.* conſequently he muſt have 100*l.* of his Capital annihilated, and will, therefore, for the future, without a new Purchaſe, ſtand poſſeſſed of 900*l.* Capital *only*; ſo that he will loſe the advanced Price, being 50*l.* but I ſhall now ſhew that a great Part of this 50*l.* will be replaced to him by an Advantage his remaining Capital muſt neceſſarily receive, by means of the Payment made by the Public; for as the *Bank* make at preſent an additional Dividend of 1*d.* ½. *per Cent. per Annum*, out of the Profits by their Trade, upon their whole Capital of 10,000,000*l.* as that Capital will then be reduced to *nine Millions*, and no Part of the Profits by their Trade will ceaſe or be diminiſhed, becauſe of the Payment thus made to them by the Public, their whole Profits which were formerly divided upon *ten Millions* Capital, will for the future come to be divided upon *nine Millions* Capital only, which muſt neceſſarily increaſe their future Dividends, and conſequently enhance the Price of every Man's remaining Stock: As the *Bank* divides at preſent 1*d.* ½. *per Cent.* from the Profits of their Trade upon the ſuppoſed Capital of 10,000,000*l.* we muſt reckon the nett Profits of their Trade to amount to 150,000*l.* *per Annum*, and as this 150,000*l.* *per Annum* will afterwards come to be divided upon *nine Millions* Capital only, the additional Dividend from the Profits of their Trade will then amount to 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per Cent.* inſtead of 1*l.* 10*s.* therefore the future Dividend of the *Bank*, if this Payment be made to them, muſt neceſſarily be 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and if a Dividend of 5*l.* 10*s.* makes their Capital ſell at 150*l.* *per Cent.* a Dividend of 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* will make their remaining Capital, after *a Million* paid off, ſell at 154*l.* 10*s.* and upwards; ſo that every Proprietor of 1000*l.* Capital, will gain by the advanced Price of his remaining 900*l.* Capital, very near 41*l.* and, conſequently, we muſt reckon, that no Proprietor of *Bank* Stock will loſe more than at the Rate of about 9*l.* *per Cent.* by this next public Payment's being made to the *Bank*; whereas every Proprietor of *South-Sea* Old Annuities

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ties will loſe at the Rate of 13*l. per Cent.* by its being made to them.

By the ſame Method of Calculation, Sir, we may find, that if *a Million* were to be paid at *Michaelmas* next to the *Eaſt-India* Company, and their Stock ſuppoſed not to exceed 3,000,000*l.* the Proprietors would not loſe above 20*l. per Cent.* upon the Stock annihilated by ſuch Payment; becauſe, as the whole Profits of their Trade would then come to be divided upon *two Millions* Capital, inſtead of *three*, every Man's remaining Stock would riſe in Proportion to the Increaſe of the Dividend, which Advantage upon his remaining Stock would atone for the far greateſt Part of the Loſs upon his annihilated Stock. But, as I do not intend at preſent to make any Propoſition for applying the growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to the *Eaſt India* Company, I ſhall not trouble you with the Particulars of the Calculation. I know it may be ſaid, that as every Payment made by the Public ſends a greater Number of Purchaſers to Market, the Price of *South-Sea* Old Annuities will certainly riſe by ſuch Payments being made to them; but this I have taken no Notice of, becauſe it is an Advantage will accrue equally to the three Companies, or to which either of them the Payment ſhall be made to; and, therefore, can make little or no Difference with reſpect to the Loſs the Proprietors of either of them may ſuſtain by having a Part of their Capital paid off.

Thus, Sir, it muſt appear, that if we have a *Mind* to ſhew a proper and impartial Regard to the public *Creditors*, we cannot order the preſent growing Produce of the Sinking Fund to be applied towards paying off any Part of the *South Sea* Company's Capital; and if we have a Mind to direct this next Payment to be made to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt by having a Part of their Capital paid off, I have ſhewn that the Proprietors of the *Bank* will ſuffer the leaſt, and therefore the next Payment ought to be made to them. But if we have a Mind to ſhew a partial Favour to any one Sett of public Creditors, certainly the *South Sea* Old and New Annuities deſerve it more than any other; for upon Examination it will be found, there are among them more Creditors in Proportion for ſmall Sums, than there are in any of our other public Funds; and as a rich Man is better able to bear a Loſs than a poor Man, that Fund which has the greateſt Number of poor Men in it deſerves ſurely moſt of our Compaſſion, and conſequently moſt of our Favour. To this I ſhall add another Motive for ſhewing more Favour to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, than to any other Sett of public Creditors, which is this: It will, I believe, upon Examination

mination appear, that among the *South-Sea* Annuitants, there is a much ſmaller Number of Foreigners in Proportion, than there is among the Proprietors of any other of our Funds; and I muſt think, that Fund deſerves moſt Favour from a *Britiſh* Parliament, which is moſt generally poſſeſſed by *Britiſh* Subjects, or at leaſt it deſerves equal Favour, which is all I have Occaſion for at preſent, for ſhewing that the next Payment ought not to be made to the *South-Sea* Company. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736 7.

And now, Sir, I ſhall conclude with taking Notice of a Circumſtance relating to the *Bank*, which ought, I think, to be a prevailing Argument for our reſolving that the next Payment ſhall be made to that Company. I mean the Expiration of their Term which now draws pretty near; for upon the *firſt* of *Auguſt* 1743, we may, upon giving proper Notice, pay off all that ſhall then remain due to that Company, and ſo put an End to their ſubſiſting as a Corporation, unleſs they obtain from Parliament a Renewal of their Term, which certainly will not be granted without a very valuable Conſideration. While the Debt due to them continues as large as it is at preſent, they need be under no Uneaſineſs, were their Term to expire To-morrow; becauſe they know the Parliament cannot pay them off in *two* or *three* Years; and while they are under no Uneaſineſs it is certain they will not be ſo fond of renewing, nor will they offer ſo large a Conſideration. For this Reaſon I think it is abſolutely neceſſary to begin now to pay them off; in order that we may have it in our Power, at the End of their Term, or ſoon after, to pay off the Whole, in Caſe we ſhould then find it neceſſary to put an End to the Corporation, or in Caſe they ſhould refuſe to give ſuch a Conſideration for a Renewal as may be then thought juſt and reaſonable.

I hope, Sir, I have now ſhewn that it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the public Good, and with that impartial Juſtice which is due to all the Creditors of the Public, to apply the preſent growing Produce of the Sinking Fund towards paying off any Part of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that by applying it towards paying off the Annuitants of that Company, we do an Injuſtice to thoſe who are beſt intitled to our Compaſſion and Favour. On the other hand, I think I have ſhewn, that if we have any Regard for the public Good, if we have a Mind to diſtribute Juſtice impartially to all our Creditors, if we have a Mind to ſhew a Regard to the private Intereſt of our Creditors, by applying the next Payment to thoſe who will ſuffer the leaſt by its being made to them, we ought to reſolve, *That the Sum of one Million ſhall be granted to his Majeſty, towards redeeming*

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the like Sum of the increaſed Capital of the Governor and Company of the Bank *of* England. Therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will amend his Motion by leaving out the Words, *of the* South-Sea *Company, as is now commonly called* Old South-Sea *Annuities*, and inſerting in their ſtead, theſe Words, *of the Governor and Company of the* Bank *of* England.

To this it was replied in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

As to the Power of Parliament over the Sinking-Fund, I muſt ſtill think it abſolute and unlimited, notwithſtanding all that has been now or formerly ſaid to the contrary; and I have this Advantage, that I have ſeveral joint Reſolutions of all the Branches of our Legiſlature in Favour of my Opinion. I cannot eaſily imagine the Parliament which eſtabliſhed the Sinking-Fund had any Intention to limit or reſtrain the Power of all future Parliaments, with reſpect to the Diſpoſition of the Produce of that Fund: They knew it was an Intention they could not make effectual, and I cannot think the Wiſdom of the Nation would propoſe or form to themſelves an Intention which they knew they had no Power to make effectual; but this is not the Queſtion now before us, and therefore I ſhall not take up your Time with expatiating upon the Subject.

If we could immediately redeem the original Fund of the *Bank*, which now bears an Intereſt of 6 *per Cent.* I muſt acknowledge, Sir, it would be a very good Argument for our applying this next Payment to that Company: Nay, it would be a good Argument for our borrowing Money at 4 *per Cent.* ſufficient to pay off their whole Capital, in order to come at the Redemption of that Part of it which bears ſo high an Intereſt, in caſe they refuſed to comply with our Terms; but we know we cannot redeem or pay off that original Fund, till the Expiration of their Term, which has *ſix* Years to run from the *firſt of Auguſt* next; therefore, the high Intereſt upon that Part of their Capital can be no Reaſon for applying the preſent growing Produce of the Sinking-Fund towards redeeming any other Part of their Fund, which bears the ſame Intereſt now payable upon almoſt all the public Funds. We have at leaſt *five* Years to think of Means for reducing the Intereſt payable upon their original Fund; and if at the End of that Term, it ſhould be thought neceſſary to aboliſh that Company, or put an End to their excluſive Privilege, it will be then eaſy, more eaſy than at preſent, to find Money at 4 *per Cent.* for paying off their whole Capital, tho' not a Shilling of it ſhould be paid off before that time; for as the Number of Lenders

upon

upon public Securities will be every Year increaſing by the Payments made out of the Sinking-Fund, let them be made to whom they will, it will of courſe become every Year more eaſy for the Public to borrow Money at 4 *per Cent.* nay, perhaps, even at 3 *per Cent.* than it can be now, or in any preceding Year. On the other hand, if upon the Expiration of that Term, it ſhould be thought proper to continue the *Bank*, and to continue them in the Poſſeſſion of their preſent excluſive Privilege, the more Capital they are then poſſeſſed of, the more able will they be to pay a large Conſideration to the Public, for a new Term; and if they ſhould refuſe to comply with any reaſonable Terms that may then be propoſed by the Public, I am convinced the larger their Capital then is, the more eaſy will it be to find a new Company of Adventurers ready to accept of the Terms offered by the Public, and willing to advance Money ſufficient for paying off and aboliſhing the old Company; for every one knows, it muſt always be a great Advantage to a *Banking* Company to have a large Capital, and conſiderable Sums of ready Money coming in to them weekly from his Majeſty's *Exchequer*. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736

I confeſs, Sir, I am a little ſurprized to hear it inſinuated, that it would be more advantageous or convenient for the Public, to owe a large Debt to any one Company, than to owe a Debt of equal Value to three or four different Companies. If the whole Debt we now owe were in the Hands of any one Company, it would be in the Power of that Company to diſtreſs the Public whenever they had a Mind; whereas, while that Debt is in the Hands of ſeveral Companies, if one ſhould reſolve to diſtreſs, the others would probably reſolve to ſupport, and by that Means the Public can never be in Danger of being diſtreſſed by either. Likewiſe, while the Debt continues to be in the Hands of ſeveral Companies, and while it continues to be a Diſadvantage to each of them to be paid off, as long as the Sinking Fund produces any Thing, it will be in the Power of the Public to keep every one of them in Awe, and in ſome Manner to preſcribe to each, by threatning to apply the Sinking Fund ſolely to that Company which ſhall refuſe to comply with any reaſonable Propoſition that may be offered. In private Life, as well as public, it is not ſo convenient to owe a large Debt to one Perſon, as to owe a Debt of equal Value, and at the ſame Intereſt, to ſeveral, provided the Debtor can be aſſured, that none of his Creditors will demand Payment till he is ready to offer it; for the Reaſon why Gentlemen of Eſtates generally borrow a large Sum from one Perſon, is becauſe a Man of Eſtate can

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borrow a large Sum at a lower Rate of Intereſt than he can borrow ſmall Sums; or becauſe ſome one or other of his ſmall Creditors is every Day teazing him for Payment, which keeps him in a conſtant State of Uneaſineſs and Trouble; but if a private Man owed 10,000*l.* to ten different Perſons, neither of whom, he was ſure, would ever aſk Payment till he was ready to offer it, he would not ſurely, in common Prudence, offer to borrow 10,000*l.* at the ſame Intereſt from any one Perſon, in order to pay off theſe ten different Creditors; and if a Man had ſeveral Mortgages upon his Eſtate, and could make partial Payments, without irritating his Creditor, I believe common Prudence would direct him to apply all his partial Payments towards diminiſhing the largeſt Mortgage; becauſe a Creditor for a large Sum, has it always more in his Power to diſtreſs his Debtor, than a Creditor for a ſmall Sum can have, unleſs the Debtor be a Man who has neither Fortune nor Credit. I ſhall grant it is better for the Public to owe a large Debt to a Company, than to a great and diſunited Multitude of private Perſons; becauſe to ſuch a Multitude the Public can offer no new Terms, nor can it enter into any Treaty or Tranſaction with them; whereas a Multitude united in a Company is always governed by the Majority, and is in Effect but one Perſon, ſo that Means may always be found for getting them all to agree to any new and reaſonable Terms that may be offered. This was a good Reaſon for the Legiſlature's enabling the *South Sea* Company to purchaſe in, or pay off all our redeemable and irredeemable Debts; but this can be no Reaſon for ſaying, that it would be better to have the whole public Debts placed in the Hands of one great Company, than to have it placed in the Hands of three or four different Corporations; becauſe the Public may treat with each, and will always be able to treat more upon the Par with each, than if it had only one powerful and numerous Body to deal with.

As for the Diſadvantage which an excluſive Privilege may be of to the Trade of the Nation in general, it cannot be of any Weight in the preſent Debate; becauſe, if at the End of the Term granted to the *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* Company, it ſhould be found neceſſary to aboliſh the *Bank*, or not to renew the excluſive Privilege of either of the two, it will, I am certain, be in the Power of the Public to borrow as much Money, at a moderate Intereſt, as will be ſufficient for redeeming either the one or the other, tho' not a Shilling ſhould be paid to either of them before the Expiration of their Term; and if it ſhould be thought fit to continue them, and to renew their excluſive Privilege, it would

would be a Diſadvantage to both, but eſpecially the *Bank*, even with reſpect to their Trade, to have a great Part of their Capital paid off; in which Caſe the making of ſuch Payments would certainly be an Injury done to the Trade of the Nation. But tho' in moſt Sorts of Trade, an exclusive Privilege may be of bad Conſequence, I am nevertheleſs of Opinion, that with reſpect to the *Banking* Trade, and the Trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, neither the one nor the other can be carried on with ſuch Succeſs, or in ſuch an extenſive manner, by private Adventurers, as by a public Company with ſuch an excluſive Privilege as our preſent Companies have; and in this Opinion I am ſupported by the Example of our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who, I believe, underſtand Trade as well as moſt of their Neighbours, and, I may ſay, I hope, without giving any Offence, that they generally ſhew as diſintereſted a Regard for the Good of their Country, as any Nation now in *Europe*. The Circulating of *Bank* Bills, or Caſh Notes, muſt certainly increaſe the current Caſh of any Country, and muſt therefore be of great Uſe in Trade; conſequently the more extenſive and the more general ſuch a Circulation is, the better will it be for the Inland Trade of that Country. It is true, a private Man, or a Sett of private Men, may, by a long Series of good Management, gain a very extenſive Credit, but that Credit can never come to be ſo extenſive, or near ſo general, as the Credit of a rich public Company, that has ſupported itſelf with Honour for perhaps ſome Ages; becauſe the Credit of a private Man always depends upon himſelf, ſo that when he dies, his Credit, as to any future Circulation, generally dies with him; for it muſt require ſome time, before thoſe who ſucceed can revive or regain it; whereas a public Company never dies, nor can their Credit meet with any ſuch Interruption; and as their Managers are always choſen annually by the Company, there is a greater Security for its being under good Management, than a private *Bank*, whoſe chief Managers are always appointed by the Chance of natural or legal Succeſſion; therefore I ſhall always think it better for a Trading Country to have a public *Bank*, than to truſt entirely to private *Bankers*. Then as to the *Eaſt-India* Trade, it is certain that Trade could not be carried on by private Adventurers, unleſs the Nation ſhould be at the Expence of ſupporting the Settlements, Forts, and Factories now ſupported by the Company; and even in that Caſe, the Ships proper for the Trade are ſo large and expenſive, and the Cargoes ſo rich, that I queſtion much if it could be carried on by private Men trading ſeparately. In ſhort, Sir, we know how our *Banking* and

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ble that their Conſent will always be readily obtained, *Anno* 10. *Geo.* ring them a Security upon the Sinking-Fund, for an II. 1736-7. y equal to the yearly Produce of the Tax ſo to be ed, yet the obtaining of ſuch a Conſent is what we pretend to be infallibly ſure of; and therefore I ink it moſt prudent for us to proceed as faſt as poſſible Redemption of thoſe Taxes which are allowed to be oſt burdenſome to the Nation in general. As for has been ſaid with regard to the *Salt-Duty*, it can no Relation to the preſent Queſtion, therefore I ſhall ke much Notice of it; but I muſt declare I am far hinking it near ſo burdenſome or inconvenient as the Gentleman was pleaſed to repreſent, nor did I ever it ſo grievous as the *Land Tax*. There is not a Man Kingdom that feels or complains of what he pays e *Salt-Tax*, but moſt of the Land-holders in *England* ly feel every Shilling that is laid upon their Land, oſt of them would complain if they were not con- that the Parliament takes every Opportunity to re- them. We muſt remember, that when the *Salt-Duty* oliſhed, there was then no Competition in Parliament it and the *Land-Tax*; if there had, I make no but that both Houſes of Parliament would have been ſame Opinion they afterwards were, and would then, as afterwards, have determined that the *Land-Tax* far the moſt grievous of the two. But however or dangerous the *Salt Duty* may be, there can be aſion for applying the Produce of the Sinking-Fund -its Redemption; becauſe in *ſeven* or *eight* Years it courſe expire; and if any Attempt ſhould hereafter e for continuing or reviving it, the Hon. Gentleman en give his Reaſons againſt it, when I am perſuaded ill have great Weight, as they always have with Man that hears him.

ope, Sir, I have now ſhewn that all the Arguments can be drawn from the public Good of the Nation eral, plead ſtrongly for your applying the next Pay- towards redeeming ſo much of the *South-Sea* Capital, at there is no Weight in any Thing that has been o the contrary. I ſhall next conſider that impartial e which is due to all our Creditors, and the Regard ght to have for the private Intereſt of every one. that Rule of Proportion which has been laid down, cording to which it has been ſaid we ought to make future Payments, I cannot think it would be either impartial, or that it would ſhew a proper Regard for Creditors in general; for as every Payment we make muſt

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muſt be attended with a Loſs to thoſe to whom it is made, we ought to make our Payments in ſuch a Manner as that the Loſs may always fall upon the greateſt Number of Perſons: A Loſs that falls upon 3 or 400 Perſons may be almoſt inſenſible to every one, whereas if the ſame Loſs is made to fall upon 100 Perſons only, it will be ſeverely felt by every one, and may in all Probability prove ruinous to a great many. For this Reaſon we ought to make all or moſt of our Payments to that Capital which is the largeſt, till ſuch Time as it be reduced upon a Par, or near upon Par, with ſome one of the other Capitals; conſequently our next Payment, and perhaps ſeveral future Payments, ought to be applied to the *South-Sea* Company, becauſe their Capital is by much the largeſt, and their Proprietors by far the moſt numerous, and therefore the Loſs cannot fall ſo heavy upon thoſe to whom the Payment is made.

'Tis true, Sir, there are, I believe, among the *South-Sea* Annuitants a great many Proprietors for ſmall Sums, perhaps more in Proportion than in any of our other public Funds; but ſuch Proprietors have all ſomething elſe to depend on, and therefore are not ſo much Objects of Compaſſion as the Hon. Gentlemen would repreſent. They are generally Perſons concerned in ſome Sort of Trade or Buſineſs, and the ſmall Sum of Money that will fall to each Perſon's Share, out of any Payment to be made by the Public, will, or at leaſt may, be uſefully employ'd by them in the Buſineſs they are engaged in. The greateſt Objects of Compaſſion are the Proprietors for middling Sums, ſuch as have 1000 *l. two*, or *three*, in ſome one of the public Funds, and have no Trade or Buſineſs, nor any Thing to depend on for a Subſiſtence, but the Annuity or Dividend they receive from the Company. By ſuch Proprietors the Loſs will be ſeverely felt, becauſe they can make no Uſe of the Money they receive, but by laying it out again upon the Purchaſe of Stock or Annuities at a very great Diſadvantage, and many of them may perhaps be tempted to waſte it in ſome Sort of Extravagance; but of ſuch Proprietors there are, I believe, in Proportion, as many in our other Funds as in the *South-Sea* Annuities, and therefore the latter deſerve no particular Favour upon that Account. As for Foreigners, I ſhall not take upon me to ſay which of our public Funds are moſt generally poſſeſſed by them; but I am ſurprized to hear it ſo much as inſinuated, that we ought to ſhew any greater Favour to our own Subjects than to thoſe Foreigners who have put ſuch a Confidence in the Honour of this Nation, as to truſt us with the whole or the greateſt Part of their Fortunes: I hope I ſhall never ſee any

ſuch Doctrine eſtabliſhed, becauſe I am of Opinion it would tend both to the Diſhonour and Diſcredit of the Nation, and might be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, if ever this Nation ſhould again be plunged in a War as expenſive as the laſt. I wiſh it had not been mentioned; but ſince it has, I thing it one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments can be made uſe of for inducing us to agree to the Motion, in order to convince the whole World, that this Houſe will never give the leaſt Countenance to ſuch a Doctrine. I muſt now, Sir, beg Leave to conſider the Calculations that have been made for ſhewing that the *South-Sea* Annuitants will ſuſtain a greater Loſs by the next Payment's being made to them, than the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would ſuſtain, if the next Payment ſhould be applied to them. The Calculations I muſt confeſs are ingenious enough, but they are all founded upon two Suppoſitions, neither of which, I am afraid, will hold. They are all founded upon theſe two Suppoſitions, that neither the Trade of the *Bank* or *Eaſt-India* Company will be in the leaſt diminiſhed by our paying off a Part of their Capital, and that the remaining Stock will riſe in its Value according to the Increaſe of the future Dividends. As to the firſt of theſe Suppoſitions, I am convinced it will not hold, eſpecially with reſpect to the *Bank*; for by paying *a Million* to them, we ſhall make them loſe near 800 *l.* a Week, which is now coming in to them weekly from the *Exchequer*, as a Supply for the ready Specie they find it neceſſary to keep always by them, in order to circulate the Caſh Notes or *Bank* Bills they have out; therefore, upon the ceaſing of that weekly Supply, they muſt either diminiſh the Number of Notes they now have in Circulation, or they muſt keep a greater Stock of ready Specie by them; by either of which they muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the Profits of their Trade, and conſequently this Suppoſition muſt appear not to be well founded. Then as to the other Suppoſition, I do not think there is the leaſt Foundation for it, becauſe we know, the Price of any Sort of Stock depends as much upon the particular Whim or Humour that may happen to prevail, as the Price of any Commodity whatever. It neither depends upon the Dividend to be made, nor upon the Certainty or Probability that the Dividend will be increaſed or continued. Of this the preſent Market Prices of our Stocks is a convincing Proof; for if one were to judge from common Senſe, or the Reaſon of Things, it is certain the Price of *Bank* Stock ought to be higher in Proportion to its Dividend than the Price of any other public Fund in *England*, and yet we find it is lower than either *Eaſt-India* Stock or *South-Sea* Annuities;

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ties; therefore to ſuppoſe that any Stock will riſe in Proportion to the Increaſe of its Dividend, muſt be a very uncertain and deceitful Foundation for any Calculation. On the contrary, our directing the next Payment to be made to the *Bank* would, I believe, poſſeſs the Generality of Mankind with an Opinion, that we were reſolved to aboliſh the Company at the End of their Term, which would of courſe run the Price of their Stock down to very near Par, and conſequently I think it moſt reaſonable to believe, that the Proprietors of *Bank* Stock would not only loſe at the Rate of 50 *l. per Cent.* upon their Stock annihilated, but very near 50 *l. per Cent.* upon all their remaining Stock, in Caſe we now reſolve that the next Payment ſhall be made to them.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, and a great many others, which I ſhall wave troubling you with at preſent, I am ſtill of Opinion, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid by the Hon. Gentlemen on the other Side of the Queſtion, that if we have a Mind to ſhew a proper Regard to the public Good, and to the private Intereſt of our public Creditors in general, we ought to apply the preſent growing Produce of the Sinking-Fund towards redeeming the like Sum of the *South-Sea* Company's Capital; and that, conſidering the great Amount of that Company's Capital, conſidering how far it exceeds the Capital of any other Company, neither our having applied ſo many ſucceſſive Payments towards the reducing of that Capital, nor our applying this next Payment to the ſame Purpoſe, can be charged with any Injuſtice or Partiality; therefore, I am for agreeing to the Motion as it now ſtands, and, I hope, the Houſe will join with me in Opinion.

After this Debate, the Queſtion was put upon the Motion, and carried in the Affirmative without a Diviſion.

The Speakers for the Motion were, Sir *Robert Walpole*, *Thomas Winnington*, Eſq; *John Bance*, Eſq; *Samuel H——e*, Eſq; Sir *William Younge*, Mr. Alderman *Heathcote*, and the Lord *Sundon*; and the Speakers againſt the Motion were, Sir *John Barnard*, *William Pultney*, Eſq; Sir *William Windham*, Sir *John Hind Cotton*, Sir *John Ruſhout*, Sir *Thomas Sanderſon*, the Lord *Baltimore*, *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; and the Maſter of the *Rolls*.

On Monday the 14th this Reſolution was reported to the Houſe, and agreed to without any formed Debate; but upon that Occaſion, Sir *John Barnard*, and ſome others, ſpoke to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir John Barnard.

SIR,

I ſhall not now oppoſe our agreeing to the Reſolution of the Committee; but the only Argument made uſe of in

the

the Committee in favour of the Motion, which to me ſeemed to have any Weight, was, That at the End of the Term laſt granted to the *Bank*, and which expires in *Auguſt* 1743, it would be eaſy for the Government to raiſe Money at 4 *per Cent.* ſufficient to pay them off, in caſe it ſhould be thought fit to aboliſh the Company, or put an End to their excluſive Privilege; or in caſe the preſent Company ſhould refuſe the Terms offered for renewing their excluſive Privilege. I confeſs, Sir, this Argument had very little Weight with me; becauſe, in my Opinion, it will be impoſſible for the Government to raiſe 10,000,000 *l.* Sterling at once, at 4 *per Cent.* or any other Intereſt, eſpecially when we have ſuch a powerful and rich Company to oppoſe it, as the preſent *Bank* is, who, by the Indulgence that has been of late Years ſhewed them, are in ſome Meaſure become Maſters of the public Credit of the Nation, and who will certainly oppoſe, with all their Might, a Scheme concerted for the Ruin of their Company, and for making every particular Man in it loſe at leaſt 50 *l. per Cent.* of what he may then call himſelf worth: This, I ſay, appears to me impoſſible; and if we judge from the Experience of paſt Times, I am ſure we muſt conclude it will be impoſſible; but ſuch ſeems to be the Fatality of ſome Gentlemen, that when the Experience of what's paſt ought to perſuade us to take any particular Meaſure for the public Good, they then judge from very improbable Conjectures of what may happen in Time to come, and when probable Conjecture of what may happen ought to prevail with us to take any particular Meaſure for the public Good, they then determine themſelves by the Experience of paſt Times, tho' the Circumſtances are very far from being the ſame. *Anno* 10. II. 1736

This, Sir, is the very Caſe, with reſpect to their Method of judging about the future Price of *Bank* Stock. 'Tis true, while a Spirit of Stock-jobbing prevailed in this Kingdom, while that Spirit was encouraged by thoſe who ought to have behaved in a quite different Manner, the Price of Stock very much depended upon what was called the Whim or Humour of *Change-Alley*, which was never governed by Reaſon, but by Art and fraudulent Practices; but ſince that Spirit has ſubſided, and the chief Method of keeping it up has been aboliſhed by Act of Parliament, People now begin to judge reaſonably, and, therefore, the Price of Stock now depends very much upon the Dividend made, and the Probability that the ſame Dividend will be continued, or perhaps increaſed. For this very Reaſon *Bank* Stock does now ſell, and ought to ſell, at a lower Price in Proportion than *South-Sea* Annuities; becauſe Peo-

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ple know that the *Bank*'s Term is near expiring, that a large Sum of Money muſt ſoon be paid for a Renewal, and that that Sum muſt be taken from the Capitals they have or may have in *Bank* Stock, or from the future Dividends they may expect from ſuch Capitals. This I was aware of when I made my Calculation; and, therefore, I founded it upon the preſent low Price of *Bank* Stock, and not upon that Price it ought to bear in Proportion to *South-Sea* Annuities; and by our doing Juſtice to the other public Creditors, no Man can be induced to believe we will do Injuſtice to the *Bank*, by paying them off ſooner than any of the other public Creditors; for if the *Bank* be willing to pay a juſt Price for the Continuance of their Company, and if that Continuance be no Detriment to the Public, it would be unjuſt to make any more than proportional Payments to them; ſo that by our reſolving that the next Payment ſhould be made to the *Bank*, the Proprietors could take no Alarm, unleſs they either think that the Continuance of their Privilege would be a Detriment to the Public, or are reſolved not to pay a proper Conſideration for it; in either of which Caſes it would be a juſt Alarm, an Alarm we ought not to prevent; becauſe it would be better the Loſs ſhould fall upon them by Degrees, than that it ſhould fall all at once, as in either of theſe Caſes it muſt do at the End of their preſent Term. As to the Profits the *Bank* makes, or may make by its Trade, I ſhall only take Notice, that the Quantity of ready Specie they are obliged to keep by them, depends but very little on the Value of Notes they have out, but upon the Extent of their Credit, and the Circumſtances of public Affairs at the Time: A *Bank* newly ſet up, or of a very ſmall Capital, muſt keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have out, than a *Bank* of eſtabliſhed Credit, or of a larger Capital than their Trade can poſſibly require, which is the Caſe of our preſent *Bank*; and when public Affairs are in a variable and unſettled Condition, every *Bank* ought to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them in Proportion to the Notes they have in Circulation, than when the Sky is clear and every Thing appears ſerene: Therefore the paying them off *a Million*, I am convinced, would neither diminiſh their Circulation, nor oblige them to keep a greater Quantity of Specie by them, than they do at preſent, and conſequently could no way diminiſh their Trade.

Thus, Sir, I could ſhew there is no Weight in any one Argument that has been made uſe of for preventing our making the next Payment to the *Bank*; but this I did not riſe up for, nor ſhould I have taken any Notice of the chief

Argument

ment made uſe of, but that I think, if there be any *Anno* 10. *Geo.* g at all in the Argument, it muſt be of great Weight H. 1736-7. reſpect to what I am to propoſe; and, therefore, I hope ll have the Concurrence of all thoſe who thought it a Argument, and particularly of the Hon. Gentleman made uſe of it. Sir, if we are now in ſuch Circum- s as that we may any way expect in 6 Years Time to le to raiſe 10,000,000 *l.* at once, and that in Spite of moſt opulent Company in *England*, I am ſure we may begin to think of reducing the Intereſt payable to the e Creditors, and may begin to take ſome Meaſures hat Purpoſe. I wiſh ſome ſuch Propoſition had come the other Side of the Houſe; for ſome Gentlemen to be reſolved not to approve of any Propoſition or me but what comes from themſelves, and, to return Compliment, their Reaſons are ſo weighty, that they rally prevail. As for my own Part, if my Reaſons any Weight with thoſe that hear me, I am ſure I have ldom been heard by the Majority of this Houſe, ever I had the Honour to ſit in Parliament, and yet I have ys raiſed my Voice as much as I could. This has ys made me ſhy of making any Propoſition to the le, or of offering any Scheme, which I thought might to the Good of my Country; but the pleaſing Proſpect Hon. Gentlemen have given us of the flouriſhing and y State of our Country 6 Years hence, emboldens me to make you a Propoſition, becauſe from what they e ſaid, I cannot but expect their Concurrence, and from ce I have good Reaſon to expect Succeſs.

'tho' my Hopes are not quite ſo ſanguine, tho' I am of nion we can never be in ſuch Circumſtances as to be to raiſe 10,000,000 *l.* at once, in Spite of the *Bank*, Sir, I am convinced, it is now high Time for us to k of reducing the Intereſt payable to our public Cre- rs; and my Reaſon for thinking ſo is neither founded n paſt Experience, nor upon future Conjecture, but upon preſent Circumſtances: I mean, Sir, the preſent high e of all our public Funds, and in particular the high e of our public Securities, which bear an Intereſt only *three per Cent.* When ſuch Securities are at *five* or *ſix Cent.* above Par, it is a certain Proof that the natural reſt of Money, upon public Securities at leaſt, is below r *Cent.* that many of the public Creditors would be to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* rather than be off, and that the Government might borrow ſome ey. I ſhall not pretend now to aſcertain the Sum, at r *Cent.* in order to pay off a Part of thoſe public Cre-

ditors,

Bank Capital down to 3 *per Cent.* in tw
If we had ordered *a Million* to be paid to
mas next, we might, without doing an
dered that no Part of that Payment ſhould
towards ſuch of the Proprietors of the *Ba*
to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* u
the Capital which belonged to them; b
ſhould have been applied towards diminiſh
thoſe who were not willing to accept of
and for this Purpoſe the Government mig
powered to open Books of Subſcription for
tors to come in and ſubſcribe for that Pa
which belonged to each of them: And
couragement for the Proprietors of the *Ba*
ſubſcribe, it might have been ordered that
ſhould have been applied towards payi
the Capital ſo ſubſcribed, as long as t
Part of the *Bank* Capital unſubſcribed.
do not know but we might, even at *Mich*
brought the whole Capital of the *Bank*
Part of it which can be paid off before
Term, down to 3 *per Cent.* In which
could then have been iſſued from the
Michaelmas next, we would have had abo
have diſpoſed of next Seſſion of Parliamen
two Millions in ready Money, and what we
borrowed, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Ba*
I do not know but it would have been

r Aſſiſtance, we might be able to borrow *eight* or
ns at once at 3 *per Cent.* eſpecially if the Proprie-
ar Funds were enabled to ſubſcribe their reſpective
with an Aſſurance that no Part of the Capital ſo
l ſhould be paid off for a certain Term of Years.
Propoſition, Sir, would certainly have had the
nd the moſt uſeful Effect, if upon theſe Terms
Payment had been ordered to be made to the *Bank*;
ſuppoſe we ſhould agree with our Committee, ſup-
ſhould reſolve that *a Million* be granted to his Ma-
wards redeeming the like Sum of the increaſed Ca-
the *South-Sea* Company, as is now commonly called
h Sea Annuities, the ſame Propoſition may, I think,
ed to them, and may have a very good Effect, at
m ſure it can be attended with no bad Conſequence;
e delaying to pay off any Part of our public Debts
Favour, it is both juſt and reaſonable that Favour
e beſtowed upon thoſe who are willing to accept of
reſt of 3 *per Cent.* inſtead of 4. Therefore my Pro-
now is, that in order to ſee which or how many
ld South Sea Annuitants are willing to accept of 3 *per*
r a certain Term of Years, rather than be paid off
of their preſent Capital, the Government, or the
ſioners of the Treaſury, ſhould be impowered to
ooks of Subſcription for ſuch of the *Old South-Sea*
nts as are willing to accept of an Intereſt of 3 *per*
or 14 Years certain, rather than be paid off any Part
preſent Capital at *Michaelmas* next, or at any other
uring that Term; and that it ſhould be ordered,
Part of the *Million* to be paid at *Michaelmas* next
applied towards paying off any Part of the Capital
ribed, but that the whole ſhall be divided and ap-
o rata towards diminiſhing the Capital of ſuch of
South-Sea Annuitants as ſhall not ſubſcribe before
naas next. If all the *Old South-Sea* Annuitants
ſubſcribe, the Conſequence will be, that no Part of
lion can then be iſſued from the Sinking-Fund at
mas next; in which Caſe we ſhall have *two Millions*
ſe of in next Seſſion of Parliament, and with theſe
illions, we may, I am confident, be able to reduce the
of the *Bank* likewiſe to 3 *per Cent.* at the very
Michaelmas following; after which we ſhall have no
ty to reduce the *New South-Sea* Annuities and all our
ublic Funds to the ſame Rate of Intereſt.

Reſolution ſeems now to be formed, that none of
er Creditors ſhall have a Shilling paid to them, till
South-Sea Annuities be paid off, I ſhall ſhew that it

is

which Loſs, by the yearly Diminution o
the yearly Increaſe of the Sinking-Fu
every Year ſo faſt, that in five or ſix Yea
Proprietor will loſe 1 *per Cent.* upon
poſſeſſed of, by every Payment made h
which Reaſon every Proprietor of *South*
he underſtands his own Intereſt, would
accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years certa
main ſubject to the Annihilation of ſo m
yearly, and the Trouble of receiving ſuch
and of replacing thoſe Payments ſome v
inveſting them in ſome Sort of Trade o

I have made the Calculation, Sir, up
South-Sea Annuities taken together, for
and Perſpicuity; but it will come out the
the Calculation upon the two, ſeparately;
think there is a great Probability in ſup
Old South-Sea Annuitants will become Sub
ing 3 *per Cent.* upon their Capital, for
before *Michaelmas* next, if we give them
ſo doing; becauſe, if any Number of the
the Loſs will fall extremely heavy upon
which will of courſe be a prevailing Ar
moſt obſtinate. But ſuppoſe no one of th
to ſubſcribe, it can be attended with no
the Government will then have nothing
the *Million* at *Michaelmas* next, and it wil
rata among the *Old South-Sea* Annuitan

re that time, the Conſideration muſt be paid wholly in y Money, which will enable us to pay off any Debts may be ſtill ſtanding out at 4 *per Cent.* *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

hus, Sir, I have laid before you a Propoſition, which, I ſure, may tend greatly to the Benefit of the Public, and be attended with no bad Conſequence, nor with the Danger of any bad Conſequence; yet, nevertheleſs, ould not, I believe, have had the Courage to offer it, if great Hopes given us by ſome Honourable Gentlemen e Committee, of our being able to do Wonders 5 or 6 rs hence, had not made me imagine, that I ſhould cer- y have their Concurrence. Whether we can now pro- y take this Affair into Conſideration, I do not know; f it ſhould be thought we cannot, I think we ought to ve ourſelves into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to der of the National Debt, or into ſome ſuch Committee, rder to take this or any other Propoſition of the ſame ure that may then be offered into our Conſideration; for ly we ought not to ſit here and ſee 3 *per Cent.* Securities ng at a *Premium*, without endeavouring to take ſome antage of that favourable Conjuncture, for lowering the reſt of theſe National Debts which now bear an Intereſt 4 *per Cent.*

pon this it was ſaid by Sir *Robert Walpole*, and ſome rs, That public Credit was a Thing of ſuch a tickliſh ure, it was dangerous to meddle with it at any Rate, much more, to make any Step which might affect it, bout the moſt mature Conſideration. That in a very Years we might, perhaps, be able to reduce the whole, the greateſt Part of the public Debts to an Intereſt of r *Cent.* but they were afraid it was not yet Time to ke any ſuch Attempt. That to make any ſuch Attempt hout Succeſs, would certainly be attended with bad Con- ences; for as public Credit depended intirely upon the inion of the Generality of Mankind, a vain and un- ſuccſsful Attempt to reduce the Intereſt payable upon any our public Funds, would be attended at leaſt with this Conſequence, that it would give many People a mean inion of the Wiſdom and Prudence of the Government; no Man would truſt, or continue to truſt his Fortune in Hands of thoſe whoſe Wiſdom and Prudence he had good Opinion of; ſo that the attempting to reduce the reſt might give a much greater Check to public Credit n ſome Gentlemen ſeemed to be aware of, and might it out of their Power to reduce the Intereſt payable n any of the public Funds, for a much longer Time *Sir Robert Walpole.*

the National Debt; after which 'twas or
of the National Debt, as it was the *firſt*
ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

Which was accordingly laid before th
18, and is as follows;

An Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund *in the Year* 1736, *and to the Payment of what Debts contracted* December 25, 1716, *the said* Fund *has been applied.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*	Dr.		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
The Exchequer to Cash of S. Fund on *Dec.* 31, 1735, is					137730	13	10	*Per Contra.* By Money iſſued towards diſcharging the National Debt between *Dec.* 31, 1735, and *Dec.* 31, 1736.			
To the Produce of S. Fund between *Dec.* 31, 1735, and *Dec.* 31, 1736, *viz.*								To the *S. S.* Comp. in Diſcharge of ſo much of their Capital Stock of New Annuities.	1000000		
On the aggregate Fund.	697996	15	9								
General Fund.	381616	13	11								
S. S. Comp. Fund.	123834	9	9	2	1203447	19	6	To *Geo.* Lord *Middleton*, *& aliis*, for a Debt on the Bankers Annuities, the Money reſerved for the Payment of the ſaid Ann. being carried to the S. F. by an Act 13 *G.*	2439	16	11
								To compleat the 1000000 *l.* granted for the Year 1735.	57984	16	9
								To make good the Deficiencies of Lotttery Annuities in 1731, at *Chriſtmas* 1735.	10043	3	10
								To pay Intereſt on the Loan on the Salt Duty further continued, 1735.	10000		
					1341178	13	4	To pay the Annuities on 600000 *l.* at 3 *per Cent.* granted 1736, due at *Chriſtmas* 1736.	9000		
									1089467	17	6
									251710	15	10

A State of the National Debt, *provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it ſtood* Dec. 31, 1735, *and* Dec. 31, 1736.

	Amount of the National Debt upon Dec. 31, 1735.				*Increaſed between* Dec. 31, 1735, *and* Dec. 31, 1736.	*Paid off within the ſaid Time.*	*Amount of the National Debt upon* Dec. 31, 1736.			
EXCHEQUER.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*	*l.*	*l.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
Annuities for long Terms, being the Remainder of the original Sum contributed and unſubſcrib'd to the *S. S. C.*	1836275	17	10	3			1836275	17	10	3
Ditto for Lives, with Benefit of Survivorſhip, being the original Sum contributed.	108100	0	0				108100			
Ditto payable on 2 or 3 Lives, being the Sum remaining after what is fallen in by Deaths.	127899	8	0	3		1700	126199	8	0	3
Annuities at 9 *l. per Cent. per Annum.*	161108	6	8				161108	6	8	
Ditto on Lottery 1710.	109290	0	0				109290			
Annuities on the Plate Act 6 *Georgii primi Regis.*	312000						312000			
Ditto on *Nevis* and St. *Chriſtopher*'s Debentures at 3 *l. p. Ct.*	37821	5	1	1			37821	5	1	1
Annuities at 3 *l.* 10 *s. per Cent.* for the Year 1731.	400000						400000			
Exchequer Bills on the Victuallers Act *Anno* 1726.	481400						481400			
Ditto made out for Intereſt on old Bills exchanged.	2200						2200			
Duties on Salt continued *Anno* 1734.	950000				500000	160000	790000			
Duties on Salt continued *Anno* 1735.							500000			
The Land-Tax and Duties on Malt being annual Grants, are not charged in this Account, nor the 100000 *l.* charg'd on the Deductions of 6 *d. per* Pound.					600000		600000			

For cancelling Exchequer-Bills *Anno* 3 *Georgii primi.*	1500000							1500000			
Purchaſed of the *South-Sea* Company.	4000000							4000000			
Annuities at 4 *l. per Cent.* charged on the Duty of Coals ſince *Lady Day* 1719.	1750000							1750000			
Ditto charged on the Surpluſſes of the Funds for Lottery 1714.	1250000							1250000			
Ditto for Lottery 1731.	800000							800000			
SOUTH-SEA Company.											
On their Capital Stock and Annuities 9 *Georgii primi Regis.*	29302203	5	6	3			1000000	28302203	5	6	3
	47928298	3	3	2	1100000	1161700		47866598	3	3	2

On

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On *Monday*, *March* 21, the Houſe having reſ
into a Committee of the whole Houſe, to conſi
National Debt; and the above State of the Nati
having been referred to the ſaid Committee, as
Charles Turner had taken the Chair, Sir *John Bar*
up and made a Motion, for enabling his Majeſ
Money either by the Sale of Annuities for Years
at ſuch Rates as ſhould be preſcribed, or by borro
Intereſt not exceeding 3 *per Cent.* to be applie
redeeming of the Old and New *South Sea* Annui
that ſuch of the ſaid Annuitants as ſhould be
ſubſcribe their reſpective Annuities, ſhould be p
all others.

Upon this Motion there were long Debates, f
Committee did not come to any Reſolution t
therefore, 'twas reſolved, That the Houſe wo
that Day Sevennight, reſolve itſelf into a Commit
whole Houſe, to conſider further of the Nation
and it having been much inſiſted on, in this De
there was a great Part of the *South-Sea* Old and
nuities in the Hands of Widows and Orphans, an
who were Proprietors for very ſmall Sums, there
Day 'twas ordered, That an Account ſhould be l
the Houſe, of the Quantity of Old and New
Annuity Stock, and the Number of Annuitants
intitled to any ſuch Stock, not exceeding 1000*l.*
Annuitant; and alſo, 'twas ordered, That an
ſhould be laid before the Houſe, of the Quantity
and New *South-Sea* Annuity Stock, holden by
cutors, Adminiſtrators, and Truſtees, and the Na
ſuch Truſts: Which Accounts were preſented to t
by Mr. *John Briſtow* on the *Friday* following
Monday the Order of the Day being read, and t
counts referred to the Committee, the Houſe reſo
again into the ſaid Committee, when the Debate
aforeſaid Motion was reſumed; in which Sir *John*
ſpoke in Subſtance as followeth, *viz.*

SIR,

As ſome Things I mentioned in the Com
Supply, gave Riſe to the Houſe's reſolving itſelf
Committee, I think it incumbent upon me to ri
order to explain and enforce what I then menti
ſuperficially, and to make you ſuch a Propoſition a
may at this Juncture be made effectual, for redu
Intereſt payable upon a Part of the National D
for eaſing the People of a Part of that heavy
Taxes they now groan under. In the Committee

nentioned only the Application of the *Million*, to be d at *Michaelmas* next, to ſuch of the *South-Sea* Old An- tants only, as are not willing to accept of an Intereſt of *r Cent.* for if there are any who are willing to accept ſuch an Intereſt, and I am convinced there are a great ny, I muſt think it a very abſurd Sort of Conduct in the blic, to make any Payment to them, as long as there is one public Creditor who will not accept of ſuch a low ereſt: However, as this Houſe ſeems to be of a contra- Opinion, I ſhall readily ſubmit; but as the Houſe then lved upon the Committee we are now in, I thought ſelf obliged as a Member of this Houſe, and as one o ſincerely deſires to ſee the Nation freed from its Debt, the People freed from their perpetual Taxes, I mean h as are made perpetual by Parliament; I ſay, I thought ſelf obliged to turn my Thoughts that Way; and from ſidering our preſent Circumſtances, and the preſent low e of Intereſt, I am of Opinion, that the Scheme for cing the Intereſt of the public Debts may be puſhed her than I then propoſed or thought on.

Every one knows, Sir, that the Price of all our public ds is now at a higher Rate than ever it was before, n any reaſonable Foundation: Every one knows, that n thoſe publick Securities, which bear an Intereſt of 3 Cent. only, now ſell at a Premium in *'Change Alley*; d I muſt be of Opinion, it would be an unpardonable glect in us, not to endeavour to take Advantage of that ppy Circumſtance, for the Benefit of the Public. I am ſuaded there are few or none, who are willing to give a mium for any 3 *per Cent.* Security, but would willingly d his Money to the Government at the ſame Intereſt, Books of Subſcription were opened for that Purpoſe, with Aſſurance that no Part of his Principal ſhould be paid for 14 Years; and therefore, I think, we ought to have h Books always lying open at the *Exchequer*, or ſome her convenient Place, for taking in the Subſcriptions of oſe who are willing to lend at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay the ſooner ſuch of the public Creditors as are not wil- g to accept of a lower Intereſt than *Four*. If this were e, it would convince all our public Creditors, who are w intitled to an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.* that the Govern- ent is in earneſt, and firmly reſolved to pay them off as on as poſſible; and as the only Conteſt among the public reditors now is, which of them ſhall be the laſt in being id off, 'tis more than probable, the far greateſt Part of would come in and ſubſcribe what is due to them ſtively, at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* rather than run

the

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the Risk of being quickly paid off the whole, or the greatest Part of their Capital, by means of the *Sinking-fund*, and the Money Subscriptions at 3 *per Cent.*

That the Rate of Interest upon public Securities has always had, and always will have, a great Influence upon the Rate of Interest between Man and Man, is what, I believe, Sir, no Gentleman will question; for as upon public Securities a Man is always sure of having his Interest regularly paid, and may have his Principal whenever he has a Mind, which are two Advantages he can never be assured of, in lending upon the most undoubted private Security, it is certain the natural Rate of Interest upon public Securities will always be lower than the natural Rate of Interest upon private; therefore the only Method of reducing the latter is, to reduce the former; and when you have reduced both, then, and not till then, you may safely venture to reduce the legal: And that a low Rate of Interest upon private Securities, is of great Advantage to every Nation where it can be brought about, is what can be as little questioned by those who have any Regard to Experience, or to the Nature of Things. But as this depends upon Speculations, and upon Facts which some Gentlemen may not perhaps be acquainted with, I shall beg Leave to enlarge a little upon the Subject.

'Tis certain, Sir, the Strength and Power of a Nation can be increased only by multiplying its Inhabitants, increasing its Trade, or improving its Lands; for Extent of Territory weakens, instead of strengthening a Nation, if that Territory lies desart and thinly inhabited; because the greater Frontier a Nation has to defend, the more they will be exposed to Insults and Incursions, unless every Part of the Frontier be so well stock'd with People, that they are able to defend themselves against any sudden Invasion; and the Frontiers of every Country will always be worst stocked with People; for Mankind always retire from Danger, if they can; which is the Reason for the Heart or Middle Part of every Country's being generally the most populous. As to the multiplying or increasing the Number of Inhabitants in any Country, it must always proceed from the Increase of its Trade, or the Improvement of its Land; for let the People be as prolific as possible, let them be as prolific as ever the Northern Parts of *Europe*, or of this very Island, have appeared to have been, if they cannot find Imployment and Subsistence at home, they will wander abroad either in armed Bodies, or as single Adventurers, to seek for that in foreign Countries, which they cannot find in their own. It is therefore highly requisite for every Nation

Nation to take every poſſible Method for increaſing its Trade, and improving its Land; and nothing can tend more to either of theſe Purpoſes, than a low Rate of Intereſt for the Uſe or Forbearance of the Payment of Money between Man and Man. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736-7

With reſpect to Trade, Sir, it is either foreign or domeſtic, and both depend in a great Meaſure upon the low Rate of Intereſt; for Mankind naturally purſue that which is their greateſt Advantage, and but few Men will be either frugal, diligent, or induſtrious, if they can live otherwiſe; therefore, if a Man can live indolently upon the Intereſt of his Money, he will generally follow no Trade or Imployment; and if he can make more of his Money by lending it at Intereſt, than he can make by imploying it in Trade or the Improvement of Land, he will always chuſe the former. For this Reaſon the People of a Country, where the Rate of Intereſt is high, will never carry on any Trade for ſo ſmall a Profit, as the People of a Country will do where the Intereſt of Money is low; nor will the Perſons engaged in Trade ever be ſo numerous or ſo rich in the former, as in the latter. Suppoſe in this Country, a Man may make 5 or 4 *per Cent.* of his Money, by lending it at Intereſt upon a certain Security; we cannot, in that Caſe, ſuppoſe that any Man will take the Trouble of carrying on any Trade, by which he cannot make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit: Whereas in *Holland*, where a Man can never get more than 3 and often not above 2 *per Cent.* by lending his Money at Intereſt upon a certain Security, we muſt ſuppoſe that in that Country, a Man will be glad to engage in any Trade, by which he can make 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; and an additional Advantage is, that in *Holland* a Man who has but 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* Capital muſt neceſſarily engage in Trade, becauſe he cannot live upon the legal Intereſt of his Money; whereas a Man of that Capital in this Country, may live comfortably in moſt Corners of the Kingdom upon the legal Intereſt of his Money; ſo that more Men, and Men of greater Stocks, are neceſſarily drove into Trade in that Country than in this; and their People will willingly engage in a great many Branches of Traffic, which no Man in this Kingdom will touch at; becauſe he can make as much, or very near as much, by imploying his Money in our Funds, as he could expect to make by that Traffic.

This, Sir, gives the *Dutch*, and the *French* too, a great Advantage over this Nation, in all Branches of Trade which muſt be carried on at a ſmall Profit, ſuch as the *Carrying-Trade*, and the *Fiſhing-Trade*, but eſpecially the laſt, which

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I hope ſome Gentlemen who hear me will take particular Notice of; and I ſhall add this other Obſervation, That in thoſe two Trades there are more Ships, and more Seamen employed in Proportion, than in any other; and the Seamen thus employed are more uſeful for the Defence of their Country, becauſe they are always at Hand upon any ſudden Emergency; which I hope every Gentleman will take particular Notice of, who has any Regard to the Naval Power, or the Security of his Country.

All the Branches of foreign Trade, Sir, which any Nation does or can carry on, muſt conſiſt either in the *Carrying-Trade*, the *Fiſhing-Trade*, or the *exporting* their Manufactures and Produce to foreign Markets, and *importing* thoſe foreign Commodities which they have Uſe for at home. In the firſt *Two*, we are under ſuch a Diſadvantage, by the high Rate of Intereſt among us, and the ſmall Profit to be expected by the Trade, that few or none of our People will engage in either; and in Fact we have but very little of either, and would have none at all, if it were not for the many natural Advantages we are bleſs'd with above any other Country upon the Face of the Globe. And as to our Trade of *importing* and *exporting* our own Commodities, and ſuch foreign Commodities as we have Uſe for, it depends upon the Cheapneſs of our Navigation, and proper Laws for its Encouragement. As to the Cheapneſs of our Navigation, it will always depend upon our People's imploying their Money in that Way, at a ſmall Profit; ſo that in this too, our Neighbours have a great Advantage over us; for they will be glad to imploy their Money in that Way, if they can make but 6 or 4 *per Cent.* Profit; whereas we cannot ſuppoſe any of our People (except ſuch as venture, or, as they call it, throw away a little Money for the Service of a Friend) will imploy their Money in that Way, at a Profit leſs than 8 or 10 *per Cent.* ſo that both Ship-building, Ships and Freight, would be cheaper in our neighbouring Countries than in this, by at leaſt 4 *per Cent.* if it were not for ſome natural Advantages we are likewiſe bleſſed with in this Particular, and the great Supply we now receive from our Colony of *New England*; but, notwithſtanding all theſe natural Advantages, 4 *per Cent.* Difference is ſuch a great Advantage in Favour of ſome of our Neighbours, that if it were not for the Navigation Act, and other Laws in Favour of our own Shipping, I am convinced we ſhould ſee our Ports every Day full of *Dutch* Ships and Seamen; and even as it is, we may obſerve that the Number of *Hamburgh*, *Harborough*, *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Ships, is every Day increaſing in the River *Thames*; and for what I know, in ſeveral other Ports of the Kingdom.

Then

But, Sir, I need not inſiſt ſo much upon the Prejudice a high Rate of Intereſt does to our Navigation, with reſpect to our Importation and Exportation; for if our preſent Rate of Intereſt, and our preſent Taxes continue for ſome Years longer, I am afraid we ſhall have very little either of Manufactures, or Home Produce, to export; and in that Caſe our Importation muſt likewiſe decreaſe in Proportion; becauſe we ſhall not then be able to give either Money, or other valuable Conſideration in return. With reſpect to our Home Manufactures, it is certain the Exportation of them can proceed from nothing but our Merchants being able to ſell them cheaper, or at leaſt as cheap in foreign Markets, as any foreign Manufactures of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs can be ſold. Let us then ſee how the Difference of Intereſt may affect this Branch of Trade. An *Engliſhman* will not inveſt his Money in the Carrying on of any Manufacture, unleſs he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* Profit; a *Dutch* or a *Frenchman* will gladly inveſt his Money in the Carrying on of a Manufacture, if he can make 4 or 6 *per Cent.* Profit; therefore, ſuppoſing all other Charges equal, a *Dutchman* or *Frenchman* will ſell his Manufactures to the Merchant Exporter 4 *per Cent.* cheaper than the *Engliſhman* will do. Here is an Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market. Again, an *Engliſh* Merchant will not employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of our Manufactures, unleſs he can make 8 or 10 *per Cent.* of his Money; a *Dutch* or a *French* Merchant will employ his Money in the Exportation and Sale of the Manufactures of his Country, if he can thereby make but 4 or 6 *per Cent.* of his Money: Here is an additional Overload of 4 *per Cent.* upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market; ſo that all the Manufactures of this Kingdom, by means of the high Rate of Intereſt, carry with them to every foreign Market, a Load of 8 *per Cent. per Annum*, more than the *Dutch* or *French* Manufactures carry with them to the ſame Market, without mentioning the Difference of Freight, and ſeveral other additional Overloads, that naturally ariſe from the high Intereſt of Money in this Kingdom, above what it is among our Neighbours and Rivals.

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This ſingle Advantage, Sir, is of itſelf ſufficient to exclude our Manufactures from every Market in the World, where our Rivals can come in Competition with us: but if we conſider, what a heavy Load is added to the prime Coſt of all our Manufactures, by the Taxes laid upon ſeveral Materials neceſſary for working them up, and by thoſe

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Taxes which are laid upon many of the Neceſſaries of Life, we may have ſome Reaſon to be ſurprized there is at this Day *a Shilling's* worth of any Sort of Manufacture exported from *Great Britain*; for that we ſtill do export great Quantities of Manufacture, is certain; and becauſe this may be an Argument with ſome for concluding there is nothing in what I have ſaid, I muſt beg Leave to conſider ſome of the natural or acquired Advantages we ſtill enjoy.

Before the Peace of *Utrecht*, we had no Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade but the *Dutch*, and over them we have many natural Advantages both as to our Situation, the Goodneſs of our Ports, and the principal conſtituent Materials of that Manufacture, all of which they are obliged to furniſh themſelves with at ſecond Hand. To this I ſhall add, that when the Woollen Manufacture was firſt chiefly eſtabliſhed in *England*, which was in the long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Intereſt of Money was pretty much the ſame in both Countries, and the *Dutch* were engaged in a bloody and dangerous War, and in eſtabliſhing their Commonwealth and their *Eaſt India* Trade, ſo that their People had not much Time to think of improving any Sort of Manufacture. By theſe Means we got ourſelves riveted in the Poſſeſſion of all the principal Marts for Woollen Manufacture both in *Aſia* and *Europe*; and that Poſſeſſion we in good Meaſure kept, till the Beginning of the laſt War with *France* and *Spain*, when we were ſo wiſe as to prohibit Trade with both. During that long Period, the People in *Turkey*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and even in *France* too, till the Revolution, became ſo accuſtomed to the wearing of *Engliſh* Cloths and Stuffs, that it was not eaſy to make them change their Merchant; for a long eſtabliſhed Cuſtom in any Country, eſpecially in *Turkey*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, is not eaſily altered, nor are People apt to go to a new Shop, as long as they meet with tolerable Uſage at the old. Thus by getting Poſſeſſion of the Trade, and keeping that Poſſeſſion for ſo long a Time, we acquired an Advantage, which could not eaſily nor ſpeedily be taken from us; and this acquired Advantage is, I am afraid, the chief Support of our preſent Exportation: But in a long Courſe of Time we may entirely loſe this Advantage; and we are in the more Danger, becauſe we have now got a Rival in the Woollen Manufacture Trade, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and of much more dangerous Conſequence.

Before our late happy Revolution, Sir, they had but few Manufactures of Woollen Cloth in *France*, and ſuch as they had were of the coarſeſt Sort; ſo that they were furniſhed

el with all their fine Cloths either from *Holland* or
land; but after the Revolution we found ourſelves, it
s, under a Neceſſity of prohibiting all Manner of Trade
Intercourſe with that Kingdom. This prevented its
g in their Power to have any Woollen Manufacture
ſtly from *England*, which laid them under a Neceſſity,
at the ſame Time furniſhed them with the Means, of
roving what they had of their own; ſo that before the
d War broke out, they had come ſome Length in the
ufacture of Woollen Cloths, eſpecially Stuffs or Cam-
; and by our prohibiting Trade with *Spain* as well as
, at the Beginning of that War, we furniſhed them
only with a new Opportunity of improving their
llen Manufacture, but likewiſe with an Opportunity of
ducing it by Degrees into the Kingdom of *Spain*; and
Peace of *Utrecht* confirmed their Manufacture in the
ntage it had reaped by the War.

er ſince that Time, Sir, they have enjoy'd almoſt an
terrupted State of Tranquillity; during which time, it
be confeſſed, they have made the beſt Uſe of the Be-
we beſtowed upon them; for they have now brought
Woollen Manufacture to ſuch Perfection, that they
ſuperfine Woollen Cloths almoſt as fine and as good
e can do, and ſell them much cheaper; by which
, they very much interfere with us in *Turkey* as well
ain; in both which Places they as yet meet with ſome
ality, by reaſon of the Attachment the People in
al have to the Manufactures of this Kingdom; but
Attachment will at laſt wear off, and then it will be
of our Power to preſerve any Share of the Trade, un-
we can ſell all Sorts of Woollen Manufactures as
as the *French*, or any other Nation can poſſibly do.
ow, Sir, with reſpect to the Rivalſhip in this Trade
een the *French* and us, it is very different from that be-
n us and the *Dutch*. The Situation of the *French* is
er more convenient for that Trade than ours, and their
s are as good; then as to the Materials, the only Ad-
tage we have over them, conſiſts in our Wool; but they
ſo convenient for ſtealing it away from us, that 'tis
ly poſſible to prevent it; and as to *Spaniſh* Wool,
ch is the chief Material in the Manufacture of all ſuper-
Cloths, they lie more conveniently for having it, and
have it at a cheaper Rate than we can. From all which
muſt conclude, the chief Advantage we now enjoy in
Manufacture, is the ſuperior Skill, Dexterity, and
mbers of our Workmen, and the old Attachment to the
oollen Manufactures of this Kingdom, ſomething of
which

foreign Nation whatſoever.

Thus, Sir, I have ſhewn what bad
high Rate of Intereſt may have upon ou
and our Home Manufactures; and now
Advantages a Nation may reap from a lo
with reſpect to the Improvement of their
taining a great Number of Inhabitants.
let me obſerve, that the Riches of a Nat
ſiſt in the aggregate Total of every Man'
cular; for a Nation, where the Subjects a
rich, will be able to maintain an expenſive
than a Nation can do, whoſe Subjects ar
poor; becauſe the Subjects of every Na
under a good Government, will contribut
can towards a neceſſary War, and rich Sub
be able to contribute more or longer than
theſe Riches of particular Men muſt be
Lands, Houſes, Goods, ready Coin, Bu
they muſt not be ſuch as conſiſt in large
tereſt among their Fellow-Subjects: for
nothing to the Riches of the Nation, nor
be one bit the poorer, if they ſhould decl
bilee by a public Law: Whatever ſuch M
contribute towards the public Expence, m
Power of others to contribute; and ther
the Intereſt of every Nation to have a g
ſuch Men, or to encourage the heaping u
among them.

ſubſiſt *one* Man; whereas the ſame Acre, with proper improvements, may perhaps be made able to imploy and ſubſiſt *two* or *three*. Now, Sir, ſuppoſe a Gentleman of 500 *l.* a Year Land Eſtate, has in a Courſe of Years ſaved 5000 *l.* Suppoſe, upon looking over his Eſtate, he finds, that by laying out this Money in Improvements, he could make his Eſtate worth at leaſt 1500 *l.* a Year: He would moſt naturally conſider which was the moſt profitable Way of laying out his Money, whether to lay it out upon theſe Improvements, or to lay it out on a Purchaſe of another Eſtate, or to lend it upon a Mortgage. In this Caſe, if the Intereſt of Money were at 5 *per Cent.* he would certainly lay out his Money upon a Purchaſe or Mortgage, becauſe he would have as much yearly Profit by laying out his Money in either of theſe Ways, as he could expect by laying it out in Improvements; and in either of theſe two Ways he would ſave himſelf all that Trouble and Fatigue, which the laſt would neceſſarily ſubject him to. Tho' this Gentleman, by laying out his Money in ſuch a Manner, certainly improves his own Revenue, tho' he has added to the Riches of his Country by his Frugality, yet he adds nothing more to the Riches or the Revenue of his Country, by his Purchaſe or Mortgage; nor does he enable or make his Country fit for imploying or maintaining any greater Number of Inhabitants. On the other hand, if the natural Intereſt of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* the Price of Lands would riſe very near in Proportion; in which Caſe he would certainly lay his Money out in Improvements, becauſe, in this way, he would make near 200 *l.* a Year more of his Money than he could do by Purchaſe or Mortgage; and by laying it out in ſuch a Manner, he would not only add to the Riches and Revenue of his Country, as well as to his own, but he would make his Country able of imploying and maintaining a greater Number of Inhabitants than it could do before.

The Caſe, Sir, will be the ſame in ſmall Sums as well as large. Suppoſe a Farmer has taken a 21 Years Leaſe of a ſmall Tenement, and after ſtocking his Tenement has 20 *l.* over: Suppoſe he finds that by laying that 20 *l.* out in improving his Tenement, he may improve its Value 5 *l.* a Year: While Money is at 5 *per Cent.* he will certainly chuſe to lend out his Money at Intereſt, rather than lay it out upon ſuch an Improvement; but if the Intereſt of Money were at 3 *per Cent.* only, he would certainly lay it out upon the Improvement; and by ſo doing would add to the Revenue of his Landlord, as well as to the Revenue of his Country. This, the Landed Gentlemen that hear me,

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me, will, I hope, have a particular Regard to; hence they may ſee how naturally a low Rate of tends to the Improvement of their Eſtates, as well their Price, and that a high Intereſt prevents both and the other.

I hope, Sir, I have now ſhewn, even to a Demo that the Lowering of Intereſt muſt be attended w Advantages to the Nation in general, and to th Gentlemen in particular; and I have ſhewn, I h wiſe to a Demonſtration, that if the Intereſt of continued for any Number of Years at the preſe this Kingdom, which is much higher than it is Countries which are our greateſt and moſt formidab both in Trade and naval Power, it muſt be attr the gradual Decay of our Navigation, our foreig and our Home Manufactures, which will at laſt b trievable Ruin upon the whole Nation. Whoev vinced of this, muſt have a Heart of Stone, he no Bowels towards his native Country, if for End he oppoſes, if in ſpite of every ſelfiſh Vie not promote any practicable Scheme, that may te bringing the Intereſt of Money in this Country with what it is in our neighbouring Countries, eſp thoſe neighbouring Countries, which are our grea in Trade and naval Power. And, I am ſure, n man will ſay, it is poſſible to bring down either t or the legal Intereſt of Money between Man and after we have reduced the Intereſt payable upo public Securities; for by the long and regular P the Intereſt upon ſuch Securities, and by the gre viſion we have made for paying off the Princip grees, they are got into ſuch Credit, that no Man upon a private Security for the ſame Intereſt he upon a public; except a very few Perſons who l Sums, which they are willing to lend at the ſam upon Mortgages of Land only.

I ſhall not pretend, Sir, it is in our Power, Power of any Nation, to make what Regula have a Mind, with Regard to the legal Intereſt o The natural Intereſt of Money is always the St which the legal ought to be regulated; and t Intereſt of Money does not depend upon the Reg Men, but upon natural and ſometimes very Events: But this I will ſay, that by a prudent an ſpect Adminiſtration of the public Affairs of any ſuch Meaſures may be taken as muſt neceſſar bute towards reducing the natural Intereſt o

and when ſuch Meaſures are obſerved to have taken Effect, the legal Intereſt of Money ought then to be reduced; for the legal ought always to be kept at a Rate equal to, or but a very little above the natural; becauſe a great deal of *Money is* in every Country borrowed by the young and extravagant, in order to ſupport their Luxury and Extravagance; and as ſuch Perſons are apt, and generally obliged, to pay a higher Intereſt for it, than thoſe who borrow, in order to imploy it in Trade, one of the moſt effectual Ways to prevent their Luxury and Extravagance, (which every Government ought to prevent as much as poſſible) is, to make it dangerous for Men to endeavour to reap great Profits, by ſupplying them with the proper Medium for ſupporting their Luxury and Extravagance. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Even in this Country, Sir, if the Supplies of the Year had been duly raiſed within the Year, and the Sinking-Fund wholly and regularly applied to the Diſcharge of our public Debts, ever ſince its firſt Eſtabliſhment, I will be bold to ſay, the Intereſt upon any public Funds we had remaining, would not now have been above 2 and a $\frac{1}{2}$, nor would the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, where there was any tolerable Security, have been above 3; for the natural Intereſt of Money muſt always depend upon the Proportion between the Quantity of Money ready to be lent at Intereſt, and the Quantity wanted to be borrowed; ſo that public Loans of all Kinds, muſt tend towards enhancing the natural Intereſt of Money, and public Payments muſt as neceſſarily tend towards its Reduction. Therefore, from the preſent low Rate of Intereſt upon public Securities, notwithſtanding our being now very near as much in Debt as we were at the End of the War, I am ſure I may venture to ſay, the natural Intereſt upon all Sorts of Securities would have been at or below 3 *per Cent.* if we had paid off the greateſt Part of our old without contracting any new Debt: And if we had done ſo, I am convinced, the Trade of this Kingdom would have been in a much more flouriſhing State than it is at preſent, and the Nation much better able to ſupport its Friends or avenge itſelf of its Enemies.

Theſe, 'tis true Sir, are but melancholy Reflections, however they may ſerve for making us more circumſpect in Time to come, and for making every Man contribute with the greater Alacrity towards whatever Sums may hereafter be thought neceſſary for the current Supplies, in order that the Sinking-Fund may for the future be applied wholly to diſcharge the national Debt, and to relieve the People from thoſe heavy Taxes they now groan under;

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under; for either of which Purpoſes it will be made more effectual by a Reduction of the Intereſt pay the *South Sea* Old and New Annuitants, from 4 *Cent.* if ſuch a Thing can be brought about with Danger to public Credit, or Breach of public Fai that this may in all Probability be done, is what now endeavour to demonſtrate. That there are Kingdom large Sums ready to be lent at an Inter *per Cent.* is evident, from the ready Acceſs the Gov has for ſome Time had, to the Borrowing of Mony Intereſt for the yearly Supplies, and upon every that has been lately eſtabliſhed. But this is ſti evident from the high Premium now daily given public Securities, that bear an Intereſt only of 3 Therefore, I think, it is reaſonable to believe, Books of Subſcriptions ſhould be opened, the Mo ſcriptions would amount at leaſt to *two Millions*, whole *Million* to be paid to the *South Sea* Old Ann *Michaelmas* next, would, I believe, be ſubſcribed new Fund; ſo that ſoon after *Michaelmas* next, th would have a Fund of *three Millions* in ready M pay off a Part of thoſe Annuities, whoſe Proprieto not appear willing to accept of an Intereſt for certain, at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.*

Now, Sir, as there is *one Million* to be paid off at *mas* next, the Total of the remaining Annui amount to about 23,600,000 *l.* and if the wh *Millions*, raiſed by Money Subſcriptions, togethe *Million* from the Sinking-Fund, were to be appli *Michaelmas* following, towards paying off the like Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities, which for Calc Sake I ſhall ſuppoſe to be *twenty four Millions* full, amount to 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per Cent.* That is to ſa Proprietor would have ſo much *per Cent.* of his S nihilated, ſo that he would loſe the whole advanc upon that 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Stock ſo annihilated, the preſent advanced Price, (being 13 *per Cent.*) above 2 *l. per Cent.* entirely loſt; and if the pr vanced Price of Stocks ſhould riſe, every Proprieto by ſuch a Payment, would riſe in Proportion. this immediate Loſs, we may ſuppoſe, that ſom preſent Proprietors of *South Sea* Annuities would their reſpective Shares in thoſe Annuities, and willing to accept of the 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Ye demable: Suppoſe theſe Subſcriptions amount whole but to *three Millions*, this would make the fall ſtill heavier upon the Obſtinate; becauſe

Millions in Money would then come to be divided upon *twenty one Millions* Capital, inſtead of *twenty four Millions* Capital, which would make their Loſs, by the Payment of *four Millions* at once, amount to very near 2 and a ½ *per Cent.* But ſuppoſe they continued obſtinate, let us inquire what they would gain by their Obſtinacy. The whole Capital of Old and New *South-Sea* Annuities remaining at 4 *per Cent.* after *Michaelmas come a Twelvemonth*, would be but *ſeventeen Millions*, to the Diſcharge of which we muſt ſuppoſe the Sinking Fund afterwards wholly and regularly applied; in which Caſe, we muſt ſuppoſe that a Sum of at leaſt 1,300,000 *l.* would be yearly applied to the Diſcharge and Annihilation of the like Sum of that Capital: Therefore, ſuppoſe the advanced Price of thoſe Annuities ſhould riſe no higher than it is at preſent, it will appear by Calculation, that upon the very firſt Payment, which would be at *Michaelmas* 1739, every one of the Proprietors of this *ſeventeen Millions* would have above 7 *l. per Cent.* of this Stock annihilated, and would thereby loſe 19 *s.* 10 *d.* ½; at the next *Michaelmas* following, every ſuch Proprietor would have above 8 *per Cent.* of his Stock annihilated, and would conſequently loſe above 1 *per Cent.* and this Loſs will increaſe yearly, in Proportion as the Sinking-Fund increaſes, and the Capital to which it is to be applied diminiſhes, if the advanced Price ſhould continue as high as it is at preſent; and no Man can reaſonably expect the Price of any of our Stocks will fall lower than they are at preſent, as long as Peace continues, and the Sinking-Fund is regularly applied.

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From theſe Calculations it muſt appear, Sir, that, if Books were opened for taking in Subſcriptions either in Annuities or Money, with a Right of Preference to the former, a Subſcription of *two Millions* in Money, and the *three Millions* in Annuities, any Time before next *Michaelmas*, with the Money-Subſcriptions that might then be expected from the *Million* to be paid off, would make it the immediate Intereſt of all the reſt of the Annuitants to come in and ſubſcribe their reſpective Annuities at an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irredeemable, rather than continue them at 4 *per Cent.* ſubject to the Trouble and Loſs of having a Part of their Capital every Year annihilated, by means of Payments from the Sinking-Fund. That *three Millions* of Annuities would be immediately ſubſcribed, I make no Queſtion; becauſe, even ſuppoſe Things ſtand upon their preſent Footing, every Annuitant muſt loſe above a *half per Cent.* by the yearly Payments to be made; and I am ſure the Trouble of replacing their partial Payments is by many thought worth the other *half*

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per Cent. at leaſt. Then as to the *two Millions* in Money, I am confident, that is the leaſt Sum that would be ſubſcribed, if there ſhould be Occaſion for it; for I am ſure the 3 *per Cent.* Funds could not bear ſo high a Premium, if there were not a great deal of Money in the Nation ready to be lent at that Intereſt; but I am in ſome Doubt, whether or no there would be Occaſion for accepting of any Money-Subſcriptions at all; becauſe every Man may, from the general Circumſtances of our Affairs, find Reaſon to believe, and I have particular Reaſons to believe, that a great Number of our Annuitants are uneaſy in their preſent Situation, and would be glad to accept of 3 *per Cent.* if they were aſſured of not being obliged to receive any Payment for 14 Years to come; and if *one Third* of them, or any Number above *one Third*, ſhould readily come in, it would make it the immediate Intereſt of all the reſt to come in and ſubſcribe; becauſe they would loſe above 1 *per Cent.* yearly by the future Payments to be made from the Sinking-Fund; beſides the Trouble they will be annually put to, in receiving and replacing the partial Payments which would be made them from that Fund only; and beſides the Danger they would be in, of having the whole ſoon paid them by a large Money-Subſcription.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, and the eaſy and obvious Calculations I have made, it is evident, that we may in all Probability before *Michaelmas* next, or very ſoon after, reduce the Intereſt upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, both New and Old, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* Intereſt, without any Danger to public Credit, or Breach of public Faith, which would make the Sinking-Fund amount from thenceforth to above 1,400,000 *l. per Annum*, to be applied only towards redeeming the Capital of our ſeveral trading Companies. This would bring every one of them ſo much within our Power, that I am convinced we could then get every one of them to accept of 3 *per Cent.* Intereſt upon any reaſonable Terms we had a Mind to propoſe, which would be a new Addition to the Sinking-Fund, of above 170,000 *l.* a Year: From which Time the Sinking-Fund would amount to about 1,600,000 *l. per Annum*, and then we might venture to annihilate above *one half* of it, by freeing the People from the Taxes upon *Coals*, *Candles*, *Soap*, *Leather*, and ſuch other Taxes as now lie heavy upon our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and thereby enhance their Wages in every Part of the Kingdom, but eſpecially in the City of *London*; by which the prime Coſt of all our Manufactures is ſo much enhanced, that it is impoſſible for our Merchants to ſell them in foreign Markets ſo cheap, as

Manufactures

es of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs are ſold by *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
nts, even of thoſe Countries, where the Intereſt
is as high as it is in this.

aining Part of the Sinking-Fund might then,
lied towards paying off thoſe Annuities and pub-
which now bear an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* only,
hat, towards diminiſhing the Capitals of our
ing Companies, till the Expiration of the Term
s to be granted to the Annuitants; at which
Sinking Fund would again amount to above *a*
rly, which would be ſufficient for paying them
eeing the Nation entirely from all its public
ſhort Time; for if the People ſhould be im-
elieved from Taxes to the nett Amount of
or *a Million per Annum*, it would have, I am
ſuch a happy Influence upon all the Branches of
and Manufactures, eſpecially if it ſhould be at-
the Reduction of the natural Intereſt of Mo-
n Man and Man, which it neceſſarily would,
t Produce of every one of our remaining Taxes
aſe in proportion to the Increaſe of our Trade;
our People continue ſubject to all their preſent
the preſent high Rate of Intereſt continues, it is,
lent to a Demonſtration, that our Trade and Ma-
uſt yearly decreaſe, and conſequently the Number
le will be diminiſhed yearly, and the Rents of all
ſtates will ſink gradually, from whence muſt ne-
ſue a gradual Decreaſe in the Produce of every
preſent Taxes; and when the People in general
theſe melancholy Effects, I am afraid, all Re-
ublic Credit and national Faith will then be
p in the Ruins of the Public, and *Salus Populi*
Lex will become the general and the only Cry.
y ſenſible, Sir, that the Reduction of Intereſt
blic Securities, from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* will fall
, and will be grievouſly felt by thoſe who have
apitals, and who have nothing elſe to truſt to
ence, but that Annuity or Intereſt they have
ublic Funds. I have as great a Compaſſion for
rſons as any Gentleman of this Houſe can, or
ve; for there can hardly be any public Miſchief
uſt contribute to the Advantage, perhaps to the
of ſome private Men; nor can there be any
ken for the public Benefit but what may be at-
a Loſs to ſome private Men. But when we
ing what may tend to the Good of the Nation
we muſt lay aſide all Compaſſion for particular
Perſons,

numerous, and the Sufferings the moſt g
nuing the preſent Taxes and high Rate
Merchant, every Tradeſman, every La
every Perſon in the Kingdom, will ſuffer
the Decay of our Trade many will, in
Year, be utterly undone; whereas, by the
tereſt from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* no Merchan
no Labourer, as ſuch, will ſuffer, no M
undone: The only great Sufferers will
very well bear it, I mean our overgrown
moſt of whom do not near ſpend their ye
the Funds; and even as to thoſe who hav
tals, and have nothing elſe to truſt to for
one of them can be utterly undone; for n
without Doubt, take their Money and
Trade or Buſineſs, which will be an Adva
tion in general; and thoſe who are gro
tering into any Trade or Buſineſs, can
other Suffering, except that of being o
their yearly Expence, which they may th
becauſe upon aboliſhing ſome of our mo
the Neceſſaries, as well as all the Conv
muſt neceſſarily become a great deal che
at preſent. From whence I muſt conc
Reduction of Intereſt, a few *Thouſands* wi
they ſuffer, by their not being able to heap
or to live ſo luxuriouſly or conveniently, as
wiſe have done; but by continuing our T

nabled to take every poſſible Method to raiſe Money for
ing the Intereſt of the public Funds, or paying off
e who will not accept of a leſs Intereſt than they have
reſent, I think Books of Subſcription ſhould likewiſe be
ned for the Sale of Annuities for Terms of Years to all
ts of Perſons, or for Life to ſuch Perſons as are not
reigners, nor under the Age of 44 or 45, at ſuch
es as this Houſe ſhall deem reaſonable, ſuppoſing the
e of Intereſt not to be above 3 *per Cent.* As the Cir-
ſtances, Humours, and Inclinations of Mankind are
ious and very different, there may be ſome Perſons who
uld chuſe to purchaſe ſuch Annuities, rather than to lend
r Money at 3 *per Cent.* therefore the Public would cer-
ly reap ſome Benefit from this Alternative; and a great
y of thoſe Annuitants who have but ſmall Capitals,
are too far advanced in Years, for engaging in any
of Trade of Buſineſs, would have an Opportunity of
eaſing, inſtead of diminiſhing their preſent yearly In-
e.

have now, Sir, explained, as fully as I am able, the
me I have thought of for an immediate Reduction of
reſt upon all the *South-Sea* Annuities, and I have given
my Reaſons for thinking it practicable; but ſuppoſe
ould be diſappointed; ſuppoſe that, upon opening ſuch
ks of Subſcription as I have mentioned, no Man ſhould
e in to ſubſcribe either Stock or Money at an Intereſt
per Cent. what Harm can enſue either to the Public
any private Man? The Annuitants will remain upon
ame Footing they were on before this Propoſition was
tioned, or the Scheme attempted; They will continue
njoy their 4 *per Cent.* Intereſt till the Parliament can
them off; and if it be an Advantage not to be ſoon
off, the Price of their Annuities will rather riſe than
upon its being made apparent to the World, by an
eriment, that the Parliament has no Way of paying
n off but by the regular Application of the *Sinking-*
d. Then as to the Public, I cannot ſo much as ſuggeſt
yſelf any Prejudice that can enſue from the total Miſ-
ng of this Scheme; for ſurely no Man can have the
ſe Opinion of our Management, on account of our en-
vouring to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to pay
thoſe Debts for which we pay 4; but on the contrary,
e ſhould make no ſuch Attempt, when there is ſuch a
bability of our meeting at leaſt with ſome Succeſs, it
, in my Opinion, make the whole World conceive a
Opinion of our Conduct, which can no Way add to
Credit; and it will make the whole Nation believe,
that

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that the Intereſt of the public Creditors in partic got, by ſome unjuſtifiable Means, a greater Influen Houſe, than the Intereſt of the Nation in general: an Opinion ſhould prevail, the Conſequences a fatal to the Principal as well as the Intereſt of o Debts; for from ſuch an Opinion the People w turally conclude, that they muſt for ever be lai heavy Taxes, in order that the public Creditors m joy a high Intereſt, and that either the Nation or lic Creditors muſt be utterly undone. In ſuch ma it is eaſy to ſee which Side the People woul and an enraged People have ſeldom any great R ther to public Credit or public Faith.

This is a Conſequence, Sir, which I dread to which I dread to think of; but it is a Conſequenc in my Opinion, is unavoidable, unleſs ſome M ſpeedily taken for reducing the Intereſt, and for People of ſome of thoſe heavy Taxes of which ſo long in vain complained. There are many of lic Creditors, I know, who ſeem highly diſpleaſed for making any Sort of Propoſition towards red Intereſt payable upon any of the public Funds; with the utmoſt Sincerity declare, that my tur Thoughts this Way, proceeded from a Regard for well as from a Regard for my Country; and if th I have now propoſed, or ſome ſuch a one, be not put in Execution, I am fully convinced they will Years have Reaſon to wiſh my Scheme had met w ceſs, and will then acknowledge their being obli for having endeavoured to prevent their impendi At preſent I am very eaſy about what ſome of th ſay or think; for I ſhall always direct my Conduc Houſe by that which, in my own Conſcience, I th and right, without any Regard to the falſe Gloſſ ſome People, from ſelfiſh Motives, or miſtaken may put upon it. Truth will always at laſt appe full Splendor; and as I am convinced what I have plained to you, will contribute towards the Goo Public, and conſequently towards the true Intere Creditors of the Public, at leaſt of ſuch of them Natives of *Great Britain*, and for that Reaſon an Intereſt in, and may, I hope, be ſuppoſed to ha gard for, every Thing that can contribute to the H of *Great Britain*; therefore I ſhall conclude with you this Motion, *That*, &c.

To this it was anſwered in Subſtance as follows:

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SIR,

I am extremely ſorry to find myſelf under a Neceſſity of poſing the Scheme now laid before you. I am perſuaded honourable Gentleman would neither have thought of nor propoſed it, if he had not imagined it would contribe both to the Good of the Public, and the Good of the editors; but as I think it will tend to the Prejudice of h, I am therefore, for the ſame Reaſons, obliged to oppe it. I wiſh with all my Heart we were in a Condition pay off, honourably and fairly, all the Debts due by the blic, and to give the People an immediate Relief from all ſe Taxes which are appropriated to the Payment of incipal and Intereſt; but as it is impoſſible to do this at e, as there is no Way of paying off our Debts, or liſhing our Taxes, but by Degrees, by Means of the king Fund; and as this is a certain Way of paying off, a few Years, all our Debts, and freeing the People from moſt all thoſe Taxes, which have been made perpetual by liament, I ſhall always be fearful of coming into any eme which may diſturb, and perhaps entirely diſappoint t certain and regular Method we are now in, whatever uſible Appearances it may have at firſt View.

Alderman *Heathcote*, *Peter Burrel*, *Eſq*; *Mr. Holden*, *Sir Charles Wager*, *General Wade*, *Mr. Oglethorpe*, *Mr. Knight*,

To reduce the Intereſt payable upon all, or any Part of public Debts, and thereby to add to the yearly Produce the Sinking-Fund, or to enable us to annihilate a Part of by aboliſhing ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, is a Pro-, Sir, which at firſt View ſeems mighty alluring. In vate Life, a Gentleman who had a large Mortgage upon Eſtate, would think himſelf highly obliged to a Man o ſhould offer to put him in a Way of reducing the Inereſt payable upon that Mortgage, in order to enable him live better than he did before, or to pay off the Mortgage, clear his Eſtate ſooner than he could otherwiſe do; but upon examining this Project, he ſhould find Reaſon to ieve, he might be diſappointed as to the raiſing of a ſufent Sum at a leſs Intereſt, and that the Attempt would tainly exaſperate all his old Creditors, and excite every of them to file Bills of Foreclоſure againſt him, by hich his Eſtate might be brought to immediate Sale at a Market, and he and his Family brought to utter Perion; he might, perhaps, thank his Friend for his kind fer, but ſurely he would be a Madman, if he ſhould emace it, or openly attempt to carry the Project into Execun. This I take to be our Caſe at preſent; but before I deavour to ſhew the Probability, or the Danger of our ing diſappointed, I ſhall beg Leave to conſider a little at the Hon. Gentleman has ſaid about the Intereſt of

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Money, and the Influence it has upon our Trade, Manufactures, and Navigation, and upon the Improvement of our Land Eſtates.

I ſhall agree with him, Sir, That in a Country where the Intereſt of Money is at too high a Rate, there can be little or no Trade, or Improvement of Land; becauſe it is a certain Sign, there is little or no Money in that Country; and without Money no Sort of Trade can be carried on, nor any Land Improvements made: But, I hope, it will likewiſe be granted, that the Intereſt of Money may be too low as well as too high; for thoſe who have more Money than they can employ in any Trade or Buſineſs, ought to be allowed to make ſome Profit by lending it; in order to tempt them not to hoard, or to hide their Talent in the Earth, but to lend them to thoſe who can employ them to Advantage in ſome Sort of Trade or Buſineſs; and the Hopes of getting a moderate Intereſt or Profit for Money, will always be a great Incitement to Men of all Ranks and Conditions, to get and to ſave as much as they can. What do Men engage in Trade for? What do they toil and fatigue, and ſave for, during the greateſt Part of their Lives, but to provide a comfortable and eaſy Subſiſtence and Relief for the Infirmities of old Age? And after they have done ſo, what do they continue their Toil and their Saving for, but to ſatisfy their Ambition by eſtabliſhing and enriching their Families? If they could make little or no Uſe of their Money after they have got it and ſaved it, no Man would toil, no Man would carry on any Trade or Manufacture farther than was abſolutely neceſſary for his daily and immediate Subſiſtence. Therefore to encourage Men to engage in Trade, or to lend their Money to thoſe that will, to encourage Men to get and to ſave Money, it is abſolutely neceſſary to leave them in a Condition of receiving ſome Profit or Benefit from their Money after they have got it and ſaved it; and this Profit muſt be great or ſmall according to the Circumſtances of the Country where they are, and according to the Humour and Inclinations of the People, among whom that Profit is to be ſettled or regulated.

A very low Rate of Intereſt for Money, Sir, is ſo far from being the Origin or firſt Cauſe of a flouriſhing Trade, that a flouriſhing Trade is always the Cauſe of a low Rate of Intereſt; and in every Country, their Trade muſt have flouriſhed for ſome conſiderable Time before the Rate of Intereſt in that Country can be brought very low. The firſt Origin of Trade in every Country is owing to a well-regulated Conſtitution, and a prudent Adminiſtration of public Affairs, which Advantages may be very much improved

proved by concurring Accidents. In this Country, before the Reign of *Henry* VII. tho' our Conſtitution had a Face of Liberty, yet that Liberty was almoſt entirely confined to the noble and great Families, under whom moſt of the Commons lived in a Sort of Bondage or Dependance; ſo that our Conſtitution, tho' free, was not very well adapted to the Encouragement of Trade; and the continual Wars we were engaged in from the Conqueſt till that Time, made the Spirit of the Nation run more upon the Arts of War than of Peace; but that wiſe King having very much broke the Power and the Influence of our noble Families, and eſtabliſhed the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, our Trade began even in his Reign to rear its Head; and the wiſe and long Reign of Q. *Elizabeth* eſtabliſhed what her Father and Grandfather had begun; for in her Reign, which upon this Occaſion ought to be particularly remarked, our Trade flouriſhed more, and increaſed faſter, than it ever did in any the like Period before or ſince, tho' the Intereſt of Money was then at 10 *per Cent.* at which Rate it continued till the 21ſt of *James* I. when it was brought down to 8; and at that Rate it continued till after the Reſtoration, when it was reduced to 6 *per Cent.* from whence 'tis plain the Eſtabliſhment and Proſperity of Trade do not proceed from a low Rate of Intereſt, but that a low Rate of Intereſt proceeds from the Eſtabliſhment and Proſperity of Trade; and the common Rate of Intereſt having ever ſince been upon the Decline, is to me a convincing Proof, that our Trade has been ever ſince that Time in a flouriſhing Condition, and increaſing daily rather than decreaſing. *Anno* 10. *Geo* II. 1736 7.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt think it a little odd to hear ſome Gentlemen pretend, our Trade is now, and has been for ſome Years, in a declining State, and yet at the ſame Time inſiſt, that within theſe 10 Years the Intereſt of Money has ſunk from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* for I muſt obſerve that this pretended Fall of Intereſt is greater in Proportion than what happened in that long and for the moſt Part happy Period of Time, from the 37th of *Henry* VIII. to the 21ſt of *James* I. the former being *one fourth*, whereas the latter was but *one fifth*. Surely if our Trade had been upon the Decline, our national Stock of ready Money would have diminiſhed in Proportion; and if our Stock of ready Money had been diminiſhed, the certain Conſequence would have been, an Increaſe of the natural Intereſt of Money. Therefore, either our Trade is in a flouriſhing Condition, or the natural Intereſt of Money muſt be higher than it was 10 Years ago. If our Trade be in a flouriſhing Condition,

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it would be dangerous, and conſequently imprudent, to take any new Meaſure for rendering it more flouriſhing, leſt that new Meaſure ſhould have a contrary Effect; and if the natural Intereſt of Money be higher than it was 10 Years ago, it will be impoſſible for us to reduce the Intereſt payable upon any of the public Funds, without Fraud or Compulſion; neither of which we can make uſe of, without a Breach of National Honour and Parliamentary Faith.

But I am convinced, Sir, our Trade is ſtill in a flouriſhing Condition, and I am of Opinion a further Reduction of Intereſt, unleſs the Circumſtances of the Nation ſhould very much alter, will tend towards a thorough Change, rather than Improvement of that Condition. The preſent Rate of Intereſt is ſo low, it can no way injure our Trade; for in this Country, as well as every other, moſt Men will chearfully engage in and carry on any Branch of Trade, if they can make but 1 or 2 *per Cent.* nett Profit of their Money in that Trade, more than they can make by lending their Money out at Intereſt. We are not to preſume, People put a higher Value upon their Labour and their Trouble in this Country, than they do in *Holland*, becauſe the Rate of Intereſt is higher here than there; if there is any Difference, it muſt proceed from the different Nature of the People, and not from the Difference of Intereſt; and as the Difference of Intereſt is not above 1 *per Cent.* it can give them no Advantage in Trade, at leaſt not ſuch an Advantage as can be equal to the many Advantages we have in other Reſpects over them.

I am therefore of Opinion, Sir, that our preſent Rate of Intereſt can no Way injure our Trade; but, on the contrary, that it is no more than what ſeems neceſſary in this Kingdom, for prompting our People to engage in Trade and to be induſtrious; becauſe by ſo doing they may probably get ſuch a Sum of Money as may, by being laid out at Intereſt, afford them a comfortable Subſiſtence, when they are old and paſt their Labour; which is what very few could expect, if the Intereſt of Money were much lower than it is at preſent; and if a Man ſhould in his Youth deſpair of ever being able to provide a comfortable Subſiſtence for old Age, he would never think of ſaving, he would think only of getting as much as was neceſſary for his daily Subſiſtence, and would never engage either in Labour or Trade further than he found abſolutely neceſſary for that Purpoſe, according to the frugal or extravagant Manner he choſe to live in.

To this I muſt add another Conſideration, for ſhewing that

the Intereſt of Money may be too low, and that is, the t Encouragement which is thereby given to Luxury Extravagance; for as too high an Intereſt encourages Luxury and Extravagance of the Lender, too low an reſt will always encourage the Luxury and Extravagance hoſe who have either Credit or Pledge upon which can borrow. Therefore, I muſt think it is not a very Intereſt, but a moderate Intereſt, that is the Parent of Induſtry and Frugality; and what ought to be cal- moderate Intereſt in any Country, muſt depend upon Circumſtances, the Humours, and the Inclinations of People.

om theſe Conſiderations I am of Opinion, that the ering of Intereſt would be hurtful inſtead of being be- ial to our Trade; and I may, I think, declare my ion the more boldly, becauſe, I find, the famous Mr. was of the ſame Opinion, and was therefore againſt owering of Intereſt in his Time, tho' it was then at *Cent.* For a Project having been offered, in the Year , for reducing the national Intereſt, in order to enable overnment to borrow Money at an eaſier Rate for the nces of the War, that great Man wrote a Pamphlet ſt it, which is ſtill extant, and reprinted with his other s. But as the low Rate of Intereſt in *Holland* has much inſiſted on, and repreſented as a great Advan- they have over us in Trade, it lays me under a Ne- of conſidering the Difference between what may be a moderate Intereſt in one Country, and that which be called a moderate Intereſt in another; which, as e ſaid, depends not only on the Circumſtances, but the ours and Inclinations of the People.

Holland they have little or no Land, their chief Fund oney; and as their rich Men have little or no other es but Money, there can be few or no Borrowers g them, but ſuch as have a Mind to employ it in e; for a rich extravagant Man, whoſe Riches conſiſt in Money, can have no Occaſion to borrow; as long Money laſts, he makes uſe of it for ſupplying his vagance, and when his Money is gone, he has neither e nor Credit whereon to borrow; therefore no extra- nt Men can be Borrowers in *Holland*, and a Man who ws Money to be employed in Trade, neither can nor give a high Intereſt for it. On the other hand, in Country, our chief Fund is Land, which muſt always e Occaſion of our having a great Number of Bor- s, who borrow Money only for ſupplying their own vagance, or for attoning for the Extravagance of their Anceſtors;

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Anceſtors; for every landed Man who is extrava
who ſucceeds to an extravagant Anceſtor, is le
rower, and perhaps for large Sums, before he be
Seller. From hence we may ſee, that the natural
of Money in this Kingdom muſt always exceed
Holland, till ſuch Time as the total Value of ou
ney Eſtates exceeds the total Value of our Land
as far as the former exceeds the latter in *Holland*.
fore, from this Difference in our Circumſtances
Cent. may be a very moderate Rate of Intereſt
Kingdom, and yet 3 *per Cent.* may be an extrava
in *Holland*.

Then, Sir, as to the Humours and Inclinatio
People, it muſt be granted, that our People neithe
can live ſo penuriouſly, as the Generality of the
Holland do; therefore a *Dutchman* may live, as
think, comfortably upon 3 *per Cent.* for his Money,
no Man of this Country would propoſe to live up
Sum, unleſs he could have 4 *per Cent.* for it at le
this Reaſon an Intereſt of 3 *per Cent.* in *Holland*
ſufficient for prompting their People to engage i
and to get and ſave as much as they can by their
in order to provide for old Age and Infirmities; a
per Cent. may be the leaſt that is neceſſary for t
Purpoſes, with reſpect to the People of this
And with regard to thoſe who are apt to borrow,
to ſupply their Extravagancies, I have already
there can be few or none ſuch in *Holland*; therefo
them there is in this way no Danger to be
hended from the Lowneſs of their Intereſt; but
Country, we have in this way a great deal to
hend, if we ſhould ever reduce our Intereſt t
Thus it muſt appear, that if Lowneſs of Intereſt
Advantage in Trade, it is a natural Advantage th
have from the Circumſtances of their Count
from the Nature of their People; and that it is
vantage we cannot take from them, without do
ſelves an Injury of a worſe Conſequence in another
but for this very Reaſon we have many Advantag
them, and ſuch as greatly over-balance this one A
they have of us. From our Lands we have, or ma
Proviſions ſufficient for all our Workmen, and al
the Materials neceſſary for any Sort of Manufacture
the firſt Production of Nature to the utmoſt Perfe
Art; whereas they have within themſelves neit
Materials for any Manufacture, nor Proviſions for
their Workmen, ſo that both muſt come dearer to t

aſt the Freight, and other Charges of tranſporting them n one Country to another: And from the Nature of People, we have likewiſe an Advantage; for as our ple live better, they work with greater Spirit, and more erity than their People can do, and, conſequently, muſt great deal of more Work in a Day's Time. Let us, efore, think of improving thoſe Advantages Nature given us: for if we neglect them, in order to catch at e which Nature has given to others, we ſhall loſe the in Hand, by endeavouring to catch at that in the Buſh. s to our Neighbours the *French*, I am ſurprized to hear id they have any Advantage over us, with Regard to Intereſt of Money. The legal Rate of Intereſt in that ntry is as high as it is in this; and the natural Intereſt Money, at leaſt upon their public Securities, is, I am ſure, h higher. Nor have they any natural Advantage in de over us worth mentioning, except that of the frugal penurious Temper of their People, eſpecially their La- rers and Manufacturers, for the Freight of a Ship from Port in *England* to *Spain* or *Turkey*, is very near as p as from any Port of *France*, at leaſt the Difference have no Influence upon a rich Cargo; and if it could, Expence of carrying their Goods to their Port for port, is generally much higher in *France* than in *England*, ch will more than atone for any Difference there may n the Freight: And for the ſame Reaſon a Quantity of *Iriſh* Wool may always come cheaper to the Manu- urer in *England*, than the ſame Quantity can come to Manufacturer in *France*. But then, as to the Advan- s we have over them, they are innumerable, and the le one of our Wool, is ſuch a one as we may, by proper e and Diligence, make inſurmountable; for the more ful and diligent we are in preventing its Exportation, greater the Riſk of exporting it will be, and the greater Riſk, the higher its Price will be in *France*; ſo that at we may raiſe its Price ſo high, as to make it impoſſible their Manufacturers to work it up with any Advantage. Now, Sir, with Regard to our Taxes, as I have ſaid be- e, I wiſh we could immediately get free of them, but y muſt all be continued, or our Debts muſt remain un- d, the more of them we aboliſh, before all our Debts paid, the longer we muſt remain under thoſe that are aboliſhed. I do not know but ſome of the Materials Manufacture, and ſome of the Proviſions neceſſary for e, may, by Means of our Taxes, be rendered dearer n they would otherwiſe be. However, it cannot be ſaid, either the *Dutch* or the *French* have in this the Ad-

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vantage of us; for in both theſe Countries their Taxes are as numerous and as heavy as they are in this, and in *France* 'tis certain, the Method of collecting them is much more grievous; therefore, if Proviſions, Wages, or Labour, be dearer in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, it muſt proceed from there being a greater Plenty of Money in this Country than in either of the other two: This, I believe, is really the Caſe, with reſpect to all the Counties near *London*; and as for our remote Counties, I believe, Proviſions, Wages, and Labour, are as cheap in them as in any Part of *France*, and much cheaper than in any Part of the *United Provinces*. From all which, I muſt conclude, that neither the *Dutch* nor the *French* have any Advantage of us in Trade; but on the contrary, that we have, upon the Balance, a great Advantage of both; and from hence, as well as from the preſent low Rate of Intereſt, I think I have Reaſon to believe our Trade is now as extenſive as ever it was; tho' it neither does nor can now increaſe ſo faſt as it did in its Infancy, nor can the Profits from any Branch of Trade be now ſo great as when that Channel was firſt opened. It is not now, indeed, ſo eaſy, for a Man to get into a Method of growing rich, or to heap up Riches ſo faſt, by Trade, as it was 50 or a 100 Years ago; but this proceeds from the Nature and certain Conſequences of Things, and not from any Decay of Trade; yet this is, I believe, the chief Ground of all our Complaints, and the ſole Reaſon moſt People have for imagining our Trade in general to be upon the Decline.

I hope, Sir, I have now made it appear, that the preſent low Rate of Intereſt can have no bad Influence upon our Trade, and that therefore it would be imprudent and dangerous for us to take any extraordinary Meaſures for reducing it, but that we ought to let Things go in their natural and preſent Courſe, till the total Value of our money'd Eſtates has begun to exceed that of our Lands: and then I make no Doubt but the Intereſt of Money, upon all Sorts of Securities, will fall of itſelf, and without our taking any extraordinary Meaſures to enforce it. I ſhall next examine what Effect a Reduction of Intereſt would have on our Lands; and here I muſt obſerve, our Landed Gentlemen are extremely miſtaken, if they think the Price of their Lands will always riſe in Proportion to the Fall of Intereſt. If Land ſells for 20 Years Purchaſe when Intereſt is at 5 *per Cent.* he would find himſelf very far out in his Calculation, who ſhould imagine that if Intereſt could be reduced to 1 *per Cent.* he might get 100 Years Purchaſe for his Land: But ſuppoſe he did, what the better would

he

be? For if he ſold his Eſtate, he would then become a *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
oney'd Man, and the 100 Years Purchaſe in Money at 1 *Cent.* would produce no more than the 20 Years Purſe would have produced when Money was at 5 *per Cent.* hen as to the Improvement of a Land Eſtate, if Money ould become ſo plenty as to yield but 1 *per Cent.* Intereſt, e Price of Labour, and all Sorts of Materials proper or ceſſary for Improvement, would riſe in Proportion; ſo t any Improvement of an Eſtate would then coſt *five* mes as much as when Money bore an Intereſt of 5 *per t.* from whence we muſt conclude, that a low Intereſt of oney can no way contribute to the improving of any ate; and as no Man would toil or labour for the Sake ſaving any Money, if he could get little or nothing by fter he had ſaved it, we cannot ſuppoſe, that any Gentlen or Farmer would get Hands enow to aſſiſt him in any h Improvement; ſo that the Reducing of Intereſt too , would, in my Opinion, rather prevent than encourage provements of every Kind.

Thus it appears, Sir, that a further Reduction of Inſt, till the Circumſtances of the Nation, and the Hurs of the People, be very much altered, would neither d to the Increaſe of our Trade, nor to the Improveat of our Lands, but might probably contribute to the n of both. And as to the more ſpeedy Payment of our ts, the Difference is not ſo great as ought to induce us an a Riſk of diſabling ourſelves from ever paying any t of our Debts, in order to pay them off a little ſooner; if we ſhould annihilate no Part of the Sinking-Fund n the Reduction of Intereſt propoſed, ſuppoſing it to nd to the whole of our Debts, it would be near 22 rs before we could pay off all our Debts, by means of Sinking-Fund ſo increaſed; and as our Affairs ſtand at ſent, we can pay them all off in leſs than 25 Years; ſo all we get by bringing ſo many Families into great treſs, and running the Riſk of loſing our Trade, is to rid of our Debts about 3 Years ſooner than we could rwiſe have done. But if we ſhould annihilate any Part he Sinking-Fund, if we ſhould annihilate only that added to it by the Reduction of Intereſt, it will be near 27 Years and a half before we can pay off all Debts; ſo that we ſhall be 2 Years and a half longer Debt than we need be, if Things ſtand as they are at ent.

have now conſidered the public Benefits which, it is ended, would ariſe from a Reduction of Intereſt, and ſhewn the great Reaſon there is for apprehending a

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quite contrary Effect; but, Sir, if we conſider the Diſadvantages and Inconveniencies which muſt ne from thence enſue, they are numerous, and wo Men of every Rank and Degree. The Landed men, and all our noble and great Families, wou ſoon be undone, or their younger Children, both Daughters, eſpecially the latter, muſt be left in a Beggary: 5000*l.* may now be a ſuitable Fortun younger Son or the Daughter of a noble Famil Intereſt ſhould be reduced much lower than it is, hardly enable them to keep Company with th Brother's Cook or his Coachman; and to charg Eſtate with a greater Sum to each of the younger would very much encumber the Heir, and might ruin the Family. Merchants, Shop-keepers, an men, would be in no better Condition; for every Trade and Buſineſs is already overſtocked, and duction of Intereſt would bring ſuch Numbers o venturers into Trade, that they would all be under-ſelling and under-working one another: I who might have the good Luck to eſcape the gen wreck, and to get a little Money by the utmoſt duſtry, and Penuriouſneſs, could never expect much as would enable them to paſs their old Day neſs and Security. Our preſent Sett of Farm moſtly be turned out of their Farms, and oblige Cottagers; becauſe our Farms, upon the Expirati preſent Leaſes, would moſtly be let to Gentlemen Sons, or Perſons of much greater Stock or Fort our preſent Farmers are poſſeſſed of. But the mo tunate of all would be our Widows and Orphans, have their Money in the Funds, or upon Land and have nothing elſe to truſt to for a Subſiſtence Intereſt payable yearly or half yearly upon that Such Perſons could not engage in Trade, or turn t ney to any other Uſe; becauſe Orphans cannot t they come of Age, and Widows generally have th only ſettled upon them during their Lives: Nay, t not ſo much as take the Benefit of that hard A propoſed to be offered, of purchaſing Annuities for Years or Life. In ſhort, Sir, it would, in my bring ſuch a Deluge of Diſtreſs upon all Ranks that the Conſequences might be fatal to our pre Eſtabliſhment and Conſtitution; ſo that if we are with Compaſſion for the Diſtreſſes of others, at leaſt to have a Regard for ourſelves and Families.

But in particular, Sir, I muſt take Notice of the great Prejudice this Scheme would do to the Landlords of Houſes, the Shop-keepers, the Tradeſmen, and all Perſons concerned in the Retail Trade, within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Counties next adjacent. Many of our Stockholders and Annuitants, being rendered unable to live in or near the City of *London*, would, of courſe, retire to the remote and cheap Counties; by which Means their Houſes would be left empty in the Hands of their reſpective Landlords, and the Butchers, Bakers, Chandlers of all Sorts, Grocers, and other Tradeſmen and Shop-keepers they uſed to deal with, would for ever loſe their Cuſtom. Even thoſe Stockholders and Annuitants who might continue in *London*, or near to it, would every one be obliged to contract their Expence, which would be an additional Loſs to the Shop-keepers and Tradeſmen in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Counties adjacent; and this double Loſs would likewiſe conſiderably affect the Cuſtom theſe Shop-keepers and Tradeſmen have from one another. This Conſequence of the Scheme propoſed is ſo obvious, that I muſt ſay I am ſurprized to find it patronized by ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who have always ſhewn a particular Regard for the Citizens of *London*. I am ſure they do not view it in the ſame Light I do; for if they did, they would certainly have been ſo far from patronizing it, that they would have oppoſed it to the utmoſt of their Power. *Anno.* 10 II. 1736

Theſe, Sir, are ſome of the Dangers, which I think are juſtly to be apprehended from the Scheme now before us, ſuppoſing it ſhould ſucceed; but I have the Comfort to think it would fail in the Execution, tho' every Branch of the Legiſlature ſhould agree to it; and I ſhall beg Leave to give you ſome of my Reaſons for thinking ſo; after which I ſhall take the Liberty to ſhew you ſome of the bad Conſequences ſuch a fruitleſs Attempt may be attended with. But I muſt firſt make an Obſervation upon the two Ends propoſed by the Scheme, which are, that we may the ſooner get rid of our Debts, and immediately relieve the People from ſome of their burdenſome Taxes. Theſe two Ends are, I confeſs, mighty plauſible, but the Misfortune is, that they are, as I think, abſolutely incompatible. It is impoſſible to relieve the People from any of the Taxes appropriated for the Payment of our Debts, without prolonging that Payment; and tho' our Taxes are certainly very burdenſome, yet Experience has ſhewn they are not altogether inſupportable. In this Caſe therefore the firſt Queſtion that occurs is, Whether it be more for the Advantage of the Nation in general to continue our Taxes till the Nation

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be quite free, or very near free from Debt, and then aboliſh them all at once, which may be done in a ſmall Number of Years, if the Sinking-Fund be duly and regularly applied? Or whether we ought now to aboliſh ſome of the Taxes, which we may do without reducing the Intereſt or ruining any of the public Creditors, and thereby leave the Nation incumbered with a large Debt for a much larger Time? If this were to be a Queſtion, I ſhould, according to my preſent Sentiments, be for the firſt Method; becauſe I think it is not only the moſt advantageous to the Nation, but the moſt juſt with reſpect to our Creditors. I think it is our Buſineſs, before all Things, to rid the Nation of Debt; for till then we can never propoſe to act with ſuch Vigour as we have formerly done, either in aſſiſting our Allies, or avenging ourſelves of our Enemies; and I cannot think it abſolutely juſt, with reſpect to our Creditors, to annihilate any Part of the Sinking-Fund, till they are all paid; becauſe by the expreſs Words of the Law by which it was eſtabliſhed, and by many Laws ſince that Time, it ſtands appropriated to the Payment of thoſe Debts which were contracted before the Year 1716. This was always my Opinion, and was formerly the Opinion of ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, who ſeem to be great Lovers of the Scheme now before us, and with whom I have generally joined in Opinion ever ſince I have had the Honour to ſit here; but when they change their Opinion, I ſhall not think myſelf any way bound to join with them, unleſs they give me ſome better Reaſons than I have yet heard, for ſuch a Change.

Now, Sir, to come to my Reaſons for thinking the Scheme impracticable as well as incompatible. There may, I grant, be ſome People in this Nation, who are willing to lend their Money at 3 *per Cent.* that there are ſuch is evident from the Sums that have lately been borrowed at that Intereſt, and the Premium ſuch Securities are ſold at; but I am convinced, we ſhould find ourſelves vaſtly miſtaken, if we ſhould expect to borrow *two Millions* or *half a one* at that Intereſt; for with reſpect to the Sums lent for the current Supplies, they are lent by ſuch Perſons as cannot be out of their Money for any Term of Years; and with reſpect to the Premium upon 3 *per Cent.* public Securities, it proceeds entirely from the ſmall Quantity of ſuch Securities that are or can be in the Market. Thoſe who lend upon ſuch Securities are generally Men of vaſt Fortunes, and who do not intend to be chopping and changing, ſo that few or none of them are ever in the Market; therefore a very ſmall Sum of Money brought to Market,

in

rder to be laid out upon ſuch Securities, raiſes their *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
e above Par: Even ſuch a ſmall Sum as 50,000 *l.*
ught to Market at any Time, more than ſufficient to
chaſe all that are then to be ſold, would raiſe them to a
mium higher than that they are now ſold for; and being
e got to a Premium, they muſt continue at it, becauſe
or none of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of ſuch Securities,
ever under a Neceſſity of Selling. And as for *Eaſt-*
a Bonds, and ſuch like Securities, they are always
ght up by thoſe who do not think proper to let their
alth be known, or by ſuch as muſt always have thoſe
urities which they can turn into Money upon an Hour's
rning. From hence we may ſee, Sir, that none of
e who lend Money for the current Supplies, or who
me Purchaſers of Bonds at 3 *per Cent.* would become
ſcribers upon this new Scheme; and if you ſhould open
Books as are propoſed, your other Securities at 3 *per*
. would ſoon come to ſell under Par; becauſe many of
preſent Proprietors would chuſe to ſell out of the Old,
rder to become Subſcribers to the New, on account of
being made irredeemable for 14 Years; which would
g ſuch a Glut of the Old to Market, as would certainly
g them under Par; and this would of courſe put a
to any Man's coming to ſubſcribe for any new Security
at Intereſt.

here may likewiſe be ſome few of the overgrown rich
uitants, eſpecially ſuch as live at a Diſtance from *London*,
would rather accept of 3 *per Cent.* for 14 Years irre-
table, than be at the Trouble of receiving yearly, or
y 2 Years, a partial Payment, and replacing that Pay-
in Stock or Annuities; but the Number of ſuch
ns is ſo ſmall, that I am convinced their Subſcriptions
d not amount to *half a Million*, and much leſs to *three*
ons. I am afraid the Hopes Gentlemen have of great
riptions in Money and Annuities, are founded chiefly
a wrong Suppoſition. From the Premium given for
per Cent. they ſuppoſe the natural Intereſt of Money
w at 3 *per Cent.* but that this is a Miſtake, is, I think,
nt from the Price of all our other Funds; for if the
al Intereſt of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.*
per Cent. Annuities ought to ſell at 133 and *one*
; *Bank* Stock at 183 and *one Third*; and *Eaſt India*
0 *l. per Cent.* which is very far from being the

t, Sir, if the natural Intereſt of Money lent upon
es of Jewels or Plate, or upon good and undoubted
gages of Land, were at 3 *per Cent.* we are not from
thence

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thence to infer, that the natural Intereſt of Money upon all Sorts of public Securities, eſpecially Annuities, could be no higher. Our Annuitants are far from being in as good a Condition as a Pledge of Jewels or Plate, or a Mortgage of Lands. If War or any other Accident ſhould raiſe the natural Intereſt of Money, a Pledge or Mortgage could inſiſt upon Payment, or a higher Intereſt, otherwiſe he would bring his Bill of Foreclоſure, and ſell the Pledge or the mortgaged Lands ſold, by which Means he would certainly recover his Principal and all Arrears of Intereſt, and would then get a higher Intereſt for it from ſome other Borrower. On the other hand, let the natural Intereſt of Money riſe as high as it will, an Annuitant can neither inſiſt upon Payment, nor can he bring a Bill of Foreclоſure againſt the Public; if he wanted his Money, he could recover it no way but by Sale at the Market Price, which would certainly, in that Caſe, be much below Par; nay, perhaps he might find it impoſſible to meet with a Purchaſer, and then he could have no other Reſource, but to take his 3 *per Cent.* while the Government remained in a Condition to pay him: for even as to the Payment of his Annuity, he has no ſuch abſolute Certainty as a Pledge or Mortgage. For which Reaſon, if Money were now commonly lent upon Pledges or Mortgages at 3 *per Cent.* we could hardly expect Subſcriptions for Annuities at 3; and, I muſt think it a little extravagant to expect any ſuch, eſpecially for ſuch a large Sum; when 'tis well known, that the common Rate of Intereſt upon Pledges or Mortgages is 5 *per Cent.* and the loweſt 4.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that however plauſible this Scheme may appear in Speculation, it will be found impracticable in the Execution; and the more ſo, becauſe, it is to be expected, all the money'd Men in the Kingdom will join in Meaſures for preventing its taking Effect. And now, Sir, with regard to the Conſequences of our being diſappointed in ſuch an Attempt, they are various, and may be fatal. I ſhall begin with one which, I think, will be certain, whether the Scheme takes Effect or not. The very Attempt will make all Foreigners, eſpecially the *Dutch*, draw their Money out of our Funds as faſt as they can; for the chief Reaſon any Foreigner has for truſting his Money in our Funds, is, becauſe he makes a greater Profit of it here than he can do in his own Country, upon any Security equally certain and good. It has been allowed, the *Dutch* may make 3 *per Cent.* of their Money at Home; and if we examine into the Loſs they are at by the partial Payments made upon our Funds,

and

and the Expences they are at for Commiſſion, Poſtage of Letters, and other incident Charges, we ſhall find they do not now make much above 3 *per Cent.* of their Money; ſo that if we ſhould reduce 1 *per Cent.* of the Intereſt now paid them, they would not then make much above 2 ½; for which Reaſon I think it is moſt juſtly to be apprehended, they would all at once draw their Money out of our Funds; and what a Shock the drawing of ſo much ready Caſh out of the Kingdom at once muſt give to our public Credit, to our Trade both Foreign and Domeſtic, and to the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, I ſhall leave to Gentlemen to conſider; only I muſt acquaint them, it is generally computed the *Dutch* have above *ten Millions* Sterling in our ſeveral Funds. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

The Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion pretend, the World will be apt to conceive a bad Opinion of our Conduct, if we ſhould not endeavour to take Advantage of the preſent advanced Price of 3 *per Cent.* Securities; but I have ſhewn the Premium upon ſuch Securities is by much too narrow a Foundation for us to build any Hopes on, of reducing all our Annuitants to 3 *per Cent.* and if we ſhould fail in the Attempt, I am ſure the World will have better Reaſon to ſuſpect the Wiſdom of our Conduct, or the Honeſty of our Intentions. A Man who never attempts but what appears by the Event to be within his Reach, is certainly a wiſer Man, tho' not perhaps a Man of ſo much Courage, as he who aims at extraordinary Heights, and falls headlong from the Precipice. By making ſuch an Attempt, and failing in that Attempt, we may very probably be like thoſe vapouriſh Ladies, who fancying themſelves ill, ſwallow Draughts and Bolus's, till they have actually thrown themſelves into a Diſtemper much worſe than the imaginary.

Then, Sir, as to the Prejudice which may accrue to private Men, I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that no ſuch Thing can be apprehended; for, in my Opinion, it is inevitable, whether we ſucceed or not. If we ſucceed, the Annuitants will certainly loſe 5 *s. in the Pound*, of their preſent Revenue; but it ſeems this Loſs is to be made good to them by aboliſhing ſome of our Taxes. Are Gentlemen ſerious when they talk ſo? What would any Annuitant ſay to a Man who ſhould tell him, Sir, we muſt take 5 *s. in the Pound* from your preſent Revenue, but in lieu of that, you ſhall have Candles *an Half penny or a Penny in the Pound* cheaper than uſual? Would not any Man take this as a Banter? Suppoſe again, which I think by much the moſt probable, that we ſhould not ſucceed; ſuch an Attempt would

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would certainly diminiſh public Credit: It wo
many, both Natives and Foreigners, reſolve no
their Money longer in our Funds. It would m
begin to think of employing their Money ſome
in order that they might take the Benefit of fi
before the Price ſhould be diminiſhed by the Re
Intereſt. This would of courſe leſſen the advan
of every one of our Funds; and would not thi
judice to every one of the preſent Proprietors,
to ſuch of them as have lately purchaſed? I do
argue from Suppoſition only; I argue, Sir, fro
Fact, from preſent Experience: Do not we ſee th
public Funds have fallen in their Price ſince this
firſt brought before us? And if an immediate Fall
has been the Effect of its being mentioned, wh
quence can we expect from its being agreed to?

I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking no
great Endeavours that have been uſed, both wit
and without, to raiſe our Compaſſion, by repreſe
deplorable State of our poor Labourers and Man
and that the Reduction of Intereſt will enable u
them an immediate Relief. For my Part, I can
their State near ſo deplorable as it has been rep
for we have no heavy Taxes upon any of the
ries of Life: All our heavy Taxes are laid upon t
ries of Life; and cannot therefore affect a poo
man who has a Mind to live frugally, and not r
himſelf or his Family in the Uſe of Things, tha
abſolutely neceſſary for their Subſiſtence; and the h
Taxes we have upon ſome of the Neceſſaries, n
Conveniencies of Life, are ſuch as our People h
long accuſtomed to, and not ſo heavy, nor collec
Manner ſo grievous, as ſuch Taxes are in *France*
land. But ſuppoſing it were otherwiſe, I have ſhe
by a Reduction of Intereſt we could not aboliſh an
preſent Taxes without ſubjecting the Nation to a
and more dangerous Inconvenience, I mean the pa
for a longer Term the entire Diſcharge of the
Debt; and if by a Reduction of Intereſt our Trad
be diminiſhed, which may probably, as I have
ſhewn, be the Conſequence, eſpecially in and ab
City of *London*, then many of our poor Labour
Manufacturers would be ruined, inſtead of being
by a Reduction of Intereſt; conſequently all th
paſſion that can be pleaded in the preſent Caſe, m
rate ſtrongly againſt a Reduction, and in Favour

or Widows and Orphans, who certainly would be *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
ably undone by the great Reduction propoſed.
confeſs, Sir, I cannot well comprehend the Mean-
hat Diſtinction, uſually made upon this Occaſion,
the Public and the Creditors of the Public. By
lic I always mean the collective Body of the Peo-
is Nation; and as our Creditors are a Part of our
ple, as thoſe Foreigners who have truſted their
to our Faith, will, I hope, be always looked on
and treated in the ſame Manner with our native
, therefore I ſhall always look upon the Creditors
blic to be a Part of the Public, and ſhall always
o Injury can be done to them, without injuring
c: I believe they cannot ſo much as be ſubjected
convenience, but what will at laſt prove to be an
ience to the Public as well as to them; and, I
will be granted, that the taking *one fourth* Part
Revenue from them, would at leaſt be a great In-
ce; in my Opinion, it would be a great Injury to
of them. We have had lately great Complaints
equality of the Land Tax, and of the Injuſtice
e Land-holders, by ſubjecting them to that Bur-
many Years together; for which Reaſon one of
es, which moſt certainly and moſt generally affect
was lately revived, in order to free the Land-
om *a Shilling in the Pound* for *one Year* only. The
Doctrine then was, and it is but a few Years
mpoſe ſuch Taxes as might fall equally upon all;
it ſeems, we are to lay a Tax of *five Shillings in*
upon that Part of our People, who have the Mis-
f being Creditors to the Public, in order to free
n from ſome of thoſe ſmall Taxes it now pays,
id for many Years.
ll which, I think, Sir, it will appear, that the Pro-
ow before us will be of the moſt dangerous Con-
o our Trade, to our Landholders, to the Cities of
Weſtminſter, and to our People in general; that
attended with no conſiderable public Advantage,
will be a great Injuſtice done to our public Cre-
herefore, I ſhall think myſelf fully juſtified in
Negative to the Queſtion.

ply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.* *Sir J. Barnard, Sir J. Jekyl, Mr. W. Montague, Mr. Howe, Mr. Gore, Mr. Sandys,*

ot ſuppoſe, that any of the Gentlemen who ſeem
nſt this Queſtion, are conſcious of their being in
; but, I muſt ſay, that with reſpect to ſome Ar-
hey have made uſe of, they treat us as thoſe Peo-

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ple generally do, who are conſcious of their having the wrong Side of the Queſtion. They ſtate the Caſe quite different from what it is, and then triumph in the Arguments or Authorities they bring againſt it. By this Means Mr. *Locke* has been brought into the preſent Debate, and brought in too as a Favourer of an Opinion againſt which he has expreſsly declared. Immediately after the Revolution, our Government began to borrow large Sums of Money for ſupporting the Expence of the War, which they found they could not procure but at a very high Intereſt. This gave Foundation for a Project, in the Year 1691, for reducing the legal Rate of Intereſt at once, from 6 to 4 *per Cent.* in order, as it was vainly imagined, to enable the Government to borrow Money for the public Service at a cheaper Rate than what they found they could otherwiſe do. As the natural Intereſt of Money was then greatly increaſed above what it had been for ſome Years before, by the large Sums borrowed for public Service, every Man of Senſe ſaw that this Project would prove abortive, and that it would very much diſturb, if not entirely ruin, the Trade of the Nation; and Mr. *Locke*, among others, not only oppoſed, but wrote againſt it.

Is there now, Sir, any Queſtion before us for reducing the legal Intereſt of Money? Is there any Thing in the Propoſition that ſeems to have the leaſt Tendency that Way? No, Sir; the only Queſtion now before us is, Whether or no the Public ſhall endeavour to take Advantage of *the low* Rate to which the natural, not the legal, Intereſt of Money has fallen? And one of the Arguments made uſe of in favour of this Queſtion, is, That it would tend to the bringing the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, in this Nation, down to a Par with what it is in thoſe Countries, which are our greateſt Rivals in Trade and naval Power. Then, and not till then, it has been ſaid you may ſafely venture to bring down the legal; and it has been ſaid, I think demonſtrated, that the bringing down the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, would be an Advantage to our Trade and Manufactures, and a certain Cauſe of great Improvements in our Land Eſtates. Mr. *Locke* is expreſsly of this Opinion. His Words in that very Treatiſe are, *All the Danger lies in this, That our Trade ſhall ſuffer, if your being behind-hand has made the natural Uſe ſo high, that your Tradeſman cannot live upon his Labour, but that your rich Neighbours will ſo underſell you, that the Return you make will not amount to pay the Uſe, and afford a Livelihood. There is,* ſays he, *no Way to recover from this, but by a general Frugality and Induſtry; or by being*

ing Maſters of the Trade of ſome Commodity, which the World muſt have from you at your Rate, becauſe it cannot be otherwhere ſupplied. Theſe are his Words, Sir; and I appeal to every Man, whether he can think it Frugality in the Public to pay 4 *per Cent.* when they can have Money at 3? Whether the giving a Man 4 *per Cent.* when he can live upon, and would be obliged to take 3, can make him more frugal, or promote a general Frugality? And whether the enabling a great Number, even of your meaner Sort of Subjects, to live idly upon the Intereſt of their Money, can be a proper Method for introducing or reſtoring a general Induſtry? *Anno* 10. Ge. II 1736-7.

Fear, Sir, may be extravagant and ridiculous, as well as Courage, and ſuch I ſhould think that Fear to be which ſhould prevent a Man from borrowing, or attempting to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for clearing himſelf of a Mortgage at 4; eſpecially when he is certain, that ſhould he be diſappointed in the Attempt, his old Mortgagee would be glad to continue his Money upon the Mortgage at 4, becauſe he could not have ſo high an Intereſt, or ſo good Security, any where elſe. If a Man had 20 Mortgages upon his Eſtate of 1000*l.* each, at 4 *per Cent.* and a Gentleman ſhould offer to lend him 1000*l.* at 3, could he in Prudence refuſe it? Would not common Prudence direct him to make uſe of that Offer, for reducing every one of his old Mortgages to 3 *per Cent.* and applying it at laſt to the redeeming of him who ſhould appear the moſt ſtubborn? Could there be any Danger in this, if he were certain that none of his Mortgagees, or not above one of them, could employ his Money to a better Uſe upon any Security equally certain? This, Sir, is our Caſe at preſent. The Reduction of Intereſt may, perhaps, force ſome People into Trade, or to lend upon private Security; but I am certain there is now a much greater Sum ready to be lent at 3 *per Cent.* than would be ſufficient for replacing all that could be that Way drawn out of our public Funds; becauſe no extraordinary Profits can be made by any Trade, and a very ſmall Sum would bring the Rate of Intereſt upon any certain private Security down to 3 *per Cent.* And we have this further Security for encouraging us to try the Experiment, that, ſhould I be miſtaken in my Opinion, all our preſent Creditors would be glad to continue their Money in our Funds at 4 *per Cent.* as we may with the greateſt Certainty conclude from the advanced Price of all our Funds.

If I did not know, Sir, how much the Generality of Mankind are blinded by what they think their private In-

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tereſt, if I did not know how often they are by private In-tereſt miſled in their Judgments about what they take to be the public Intereſt, I ſhould be ſurprized to hear it queſtioned, that the lower the Intereſt of Money is in any Country, the more their Trade will thrive, the more their Lands will be improved. It is a Maxim ſo long eſtabliſhed, and ſo generally acknowledged, that I cannot think there is much Occaſion for adding to what has been ſaid upon that Subject; but that no Man may be miſled, I muſt beg Leave to anſwer, in as brief a Manner as I can, what has been ſaid in ſupport of the contrary Opinion. Low Intereſt, I ſhall grant, is not the Cauſe, but the Effect of a flouriſhing Trade; and the Trade of a Country may proſper and increaſe, tho' their Rate of Intereſt be high, with reſpect to what it is in this Kingdom at preſent, provided their Rate of Intereſt be no higher than it is in thoſe Countries which are their Rivals in Trade; but this I will ſay, that the Trade of no Country can thrive or continue, if the natural Intereſt of Money among them be higher than it is in thoſe Countries which are their Rivals, unleſs thoſe Rivals forcibly expel their Trade by ſome ridiculous public Meaſures. The Trade of *Flanders* was once in the moſt flouriſhing State of any in *Europe*, and then the natural Rate of Intereſt was certainly lower among them, than it was in this Kingdom; but the Sovereign of that Country began at laſt to lay ſuch heavy Taxes upon their Manufactures and People, a Rock we ſhould take Care not to ſplit on, that many of their rich Merchants and moſt ſkilful Manufacturers came over and ſettled in *England*, which gave the firſt Riſe to the Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom. This Advantage was greatly improved indeed, by the wiſe Conduct of *Henry* VII. *Henry* VIII. and Queen *Elizabeth*, eſpecially the latter, and was at laſt fully eſtabliſhed by the ridiculous Conduct of the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*; ſo that our Trade owes its Origin, not ſo much to the Beauty of our Conſtitution, or the Wiſdom of our Conduct, as to the ridiculous and oppreſſive Meaſures of our Neighbours; for it is always with Regret, that Merchants or Tradeſmen leave their own Country; indeed when they are forced to it, they will certainly retire to that Country, where they are ſureſt of being free from that Oppreſſion or Uneaſineſs, which made them fly from their native Land; and our Happineſs at that Time was, to have a peaceable Country, and a wiſe Adminiſtration, which made them chuſe to take Refuge here, rather than in any neighbouring Country.

This, Sir, would of courſe have brought down the natural

tural Intereſt of Money in this Kingdom, long before the End of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; but in the mean Time our People began to trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and to make Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*; by both which the Profits were ſo great, that vaſt Numbers were tempted to engage in the Trade, and to borrow Money at any Rate, to be employ'd in thoſe Branches of Trade, not only in this Kingdom, but in all the other Trading Parts of *Europe*; ſo that, tho' the Intereſt of Money here was then high, in reſpect to what it is at preſent, yet it could not then be called high, becauſe it was no higher than it was among our Rivals in Trade, and could not, therefore, lay our People under a Diſadvantage in carrying on any Branch of Trade or Manufacture. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Thus, Sir, we may ſee, that a great Proſperity of Trade may be the Cauſe of keeping up for ſome Time the Rate of Intereſt; becauſe there is then a great Demand for Money at Intereſt, in order to be employ'd in Trade; and for the ſame Reaſon, the Declenſion of Trade may, for ſome Time, be the Cauſe of ſinking or lowering the Rate of Intereſt: becauſe, when the Trade of any Country, by Accident or bad Meaſures, is laid under ſuch Diſadvantages, that their Merchants and Tradeſmen cannot carry it on to a reaſonable Advantage, no Man borrows Money to trade with; but, on the contrary, thoſe Merchants and Tradeſmen, who have got any ſufficient Sum to live on, draw their Money out of Trade, in order to lend it at Intereſt, or to employ it in the Purchaſe of Land; which lowers the natural Intereſt of Money, by increaſing the Demand for lending, and leſſening the Demand for borrowing; and it likewiſe raiſes the Price of Land, by augmenting the Demand for Purchaſes. But theſe two Effects have very different Conſequences; for in the firſt Caſe, the Stock of ready Money in the Country being every Day increaſing by the Proſperity of Trade, the natural Intereſt of Money will ſoon begin to fall, and will at laſt come to be extremely low; whereas, in the laſt Caſe, the Decay of their Trade and Manufactures will certainly at laſt turn the Balance of Trade againſt them, and from that Time their Stock of ready Money will begin to decay inſenſibly, the natural Rate of Intereſt will riſe by Degrees, the Rents of their Eſtates, and Price of their Lands will fall, the Numbers of their People will diminiſh daily, either by their going Abroad, or ſtarving at Home; and unleſs they change their Meaſures, there will at laſt come to be little or no Money left among them; nothing will remain but Barter and Paper Credit, and the Nation will in the End be certainly undone.

From

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From hence it appears, that the natural Rate of I conſidered by itſelf only, is a very bad Rule for ju the Trade of a Country; becauſe, like a conſump ſon, a Nation may look well to all outward App the natural Intereſt of Money may be lower tha was, and may continue ſo for ſome Time, and y Nation may be in a galloping Conſumption, whic may not be our Caſe at preſent.

I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſaid, that the getting a high Intereſt, or any Intereſt, for Money, makes a poor Man labour and fatigue more than h for his daily Subſiſtence. What makes a Labou Journeyman do ſo, is the Hopes of getting and much as may ſet himſelf up as a Maſter; then h ſaves Money, in order to enable him to extend h and to carry it on with the more Eaſe; he never lending his Money at Intereſt, until he has got m he can employ in his Trade, or as much as may him without any Care or Trouble; and in b he is forced to take what Intereſt he can get for as to our Merchants and Shopkeepers, who gen gin with a little Money, they engage in Trade becauſe they cannot live upon what Intereſt the for their Money, or at leaſt cannot live as they fire; and as their Stock increaſes, they increaſe th they never think of lending Money at Intereſt, have got more than they can employ in Trade, e as may maintain them in an idle and indolent W then they, as well as others, are obliged to take tereſt they can get.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, the getting of a high Intereſt ney, and ſubſiſting upon that Intereſt in their was the only Motive for People labouring, or en Trade, are there any Bounds to be ſet to People Do not we know that every Man hopes to get mo Trade or Project than he generally meets with, o than he can reaſonably expect? And ſhall we Man in his Youth, when Hopes are moſt ſangu expect to get 3000 *l.* or 300 *l.* but cannot exp 4000 *l.* or 400 *l.* and will therefore deſpair of b able to get what he may think a comfortable S old Age? This is ſo much contrary to the Nature kind, that 'tis in vain to think of building any upon it. On the contrary, as every Man muſt ge Sum before he can retire to live upon the Inter Money, when Intereſt is low, than when it is hig Man will labour with the more Ardour and Affi

Numbers of People muſt be bred up to Trade, and muſt engage in it, when Intereſt is low, who would be bred up, or would chuſe to live like Drones in the Society, upon the Intereſt of their Money, if the common Rate of Intereſt were high; and the greater Stock of Money a Man has to trade with, the leſs Profit he may ſell at, and conſequently the more able will he be to underſell Foreigners, and to improve the Trade of his Country. To this we muſt add, that a rich Merchant or Tradeſman may retire much ſooner from Buſineſs, in order to live upon the Intereſt of his Money, when Intereſt is high, than he can do when Intereſt is low; for I muſt obſerve, it is ſeldom or never Neceſſity but Choice, that makes a rich Man retire from Buſineſs: No Man can grow rich by the mere Labour of his Hands, at leaſt not ſo rich as to be able to live upon the Intereſt of his Money; a Man muſt be a Merchant or Maſter Tradeſman, before he can get ſo much Money, let Intereſt be as high as it will; and as ſuch Buſineſs is carried on by the Labour of the Head only, the common Infirmities of old Age never render a Man incapable of carrying it on; quite otherwiſe, by his Knowledge and Experience he probably becomes more capable than he was when young and healthful. Therefore we muſt conclude, that a high Intereſt for Money not only prevents the youthful Rich from engaging in Trade, but makes the wealthy Old leave it off, both which muſt be hurtful to the Trade of any Country. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

To tell us, Sir, that the *Dutch* being by Nature more penurious than our People, therefore a leſs Intereſt may encourage their People to labour, and engage in Trade, is certainly miſtaking the Effect for the Cauſe; for one of the principal Cauſes of the Penuriouſneſs as well as Induſtry of their People, is the Lowneſs of their Intereſt. Mankind are by Nature generally the ſame; a *Dutchman*, by his Make, or Conſtitution, has nothing can make him more penurious than an *Engliſhman*. It is by Laws and Cuſtoms, the Humours and Inclinations of a People are formed, and it is the Buſineſs of every wiſe Nation to invent or adopt ſuch Laws and Cuſtoms as may propagate Virtue, Induſtry, and Frugality among the People. The penurious Nature of the *Dutch* is therefore an Argument in Favour of what is propoſed, inſtead of being an Argument againſt it; and the Circumſtances of that Country, with reſpect to the Proportion between their Money and Land Eſtates, will appear to be an Argument of the ſame Sort. I ſhall admit we have a much greater Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt upon Land Eſtates, than they have in

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in *Holland*; but is it not therefore our Buſineſs to take all poſſible Methods to diminiſh that Demand, or increaſe the Demand for lending Money upon ſuch Securities? If we can reduce the Intereſt payable upon the public Funds, we ſhall be able to aboliſh ſome of the Taxes which eat up the Landed Gentleman's Eſtate, by increaſing the Expence of his Family; or we ſhall be able to pay off our Debts ſooner; if we take the former of theſe Methods, we ſhall diminiſh the Demand for borrowing Money upon ſuch Securities; if we take the latter, we ſhall more quickly increaſe the Demand for lending Money upon ſuch Securities; and as ſoon as the Proportion between theſe two Demands comes to be the ſame in this Country with what it is now, or may then be, in *Holland*, will not our Circumſtances be in that Reſpect the ſame?

Now, Sir, with reſpect to Extravagance; 'tis true, the Extravagance of ſome few Men may be increaſed, or longer ſupported, in a Country where Intereſt is low; but in ſuch a Country there cannot be ſuch a Number of extravagant Men in Proportion, as in a Country where Intereſt is high, becauſe Extravagance generally proceeds from an idle Education; and as there cannot be ſuch a Number of Perſons bred up to Idleneſs, in the former, as in the latter, therefore we may depend on it, the Extravagant will be much leſs numerous, and conſequently more deſpiſed, in the one, than in the other; and the Contempt theſe People meet with, will be a much more effectual Curb upon their Extravagance, than the higheſt Rate of Intereſt could be; from whence, I think, 'tis certain, the Reducing of Intereſt is one of the moſt effectual Methods for reſtraining the Luxury and Extravagance of the People in general; and my Argument is confirmed by Experience, for in Countries where the Intereſt of Money is high, their People generally live either in the utmoſt Penury and Want, or in the Height of Luxury and Extravagance.

The only tolerable Plea, Sir, for that Diſtinction, which Gentlemen have been pleaſed to make between a too high and a too low Intereſt, is, that if Men cannot get what the Gentlemen have been pleaſed to call a moderate Intereſt for their Money, they will lock it up in Cheſts, or hide it in the Earth. This is an Argument which has often been made uſe of, but in my Opinion without any Foundation; for in peaceable Times we know that no private Man will keep his Money by him, but will rather lodge it in ſome Bank or Banker's Hands without any Intereſt; becauſe in ſuch Hands it is ſecured againſt Pilferers, Thieves, and Robbers, which it cannot be in his own Habitation.

Indeed,

Indeed, in Times of Civil War, many Men may perhaps hide their Money in the Earth, becauſe it cannot then be ſecure, either in the Houſe of any private Man or public Bank; but ſuch an extraordinary Caſe can be of no Weight in the preſent Debate; and if much larger Sums ſhould be lodged in the Hands of any Banker than he had uſe for in Circulation, he would certainly lend it at 1 *per Cent.* nay at a ½ *per Cent.* if he could no way turn it ſecurely to any better Account; either of which is lower than the natural Intereſt of Money ever yet ſell to in any Country. However, for Argument's Sake, I ſhall ſuppoſe Money become ſo plenty in a Country, that none of their own People will give any Thing for the Uſe of it: In this Caſe, 'tis certain, their Bankers would fall upon ſome way of lending it to Foreigners, which would be an annual Advantage to the Nation; and if even this were found to be impoſſible, if every Man had as much Money at Command as he had uſe for in his Trade or Buſineſs, what Harm could enſue to the Nation, if all the reſt of their Money were locked up, and the Owners obliged to pay Warehouſe Room for it, as they do for any other uſeleſs and unvendible Commodity. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I think I may juſtly conclude, there is no ſuch Thing as a too low natural Intereſt of Money; and therefore, with reſpect to the natural Intereſt of Money in general, there can be no ſuch Thing as a moderate Rate. It is a Term to be made uſe of only when we talk of the common Intereſt in different Countries, or of the Intereſt paid by different private Men; and as that Man who has Money at the moſt moderate, that is to ſay, the loweſt Rate of Intereſt, is the happieſt and moſt thriving Man, ſo that Country where the common Intereſt is at the moſt moderate, or loweſt Rate, is the happieſt and moſt thriving Country. Therefore, every Nation ought to endeavour as much as poſſible to bring down the common Rate, I mean the natural, not the legal Rate of Intereſt, among them, in order, as Mr. *Locke* has well obſerved, *That their rich Neighbours may not be able to underſell them*; which they certainly can and will do, if they can borrow Money at a leſs Intereſt; as was, I think, fully demonſtrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate; and the Suppoſition he then made, that a Man will always expect to make by any Trade double what he pays, or may have, by way of Intereſt for the Money employ'd in that Trade, was ſo far from being extravagant, that I rather think it was too modeſt; for in carrying on any Trade or Buſineſs in Partnerſhip, where one contributes only his Skill and Induſtry, and the other the whole Stock neceſſary for

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carrying it on, there is nothing more common than an Agreement to divide the Profits between them, tho' he who furniſhes the Stock generally runs the whole Riſk; therefore I think it is but reaſonable, that a Man who borrows Money at Intereſt for carrying on any Trade or Buſineſs by his ſole Skill and Induſtry, ſhould have as great a Share of the Profits as he who lends his Money without running any Riſk; for in ſuch Caſes, the Lender has always the Borrower's Obligation, and ſometimes a Pledge, or ſome other collateral Aſſurance, for ſecuring the Repayment of the Money with a certain Profit, come of the Trade what will. And if a Man employs his own Money as well as his Skill and Induſtry, he will certainly expect, beſides the common Rate of Intereſt for his Money, as great a Reward at leaſt for his Skill and Induſtry, as he who has no Money could expect; for we always find that the richer a Man is, the greater Value he puts upon his Skill and Induſtry. From which Conſiderations I muſt conclude, that 8 *per Cent. per Annum* is the leaſt Overcharge we can reckon upon our Manufactures at every foreign Market, above thoſe of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs, which are carried thither from *Holland*, or even from *France*.

With reſpect to the latter, 'tis true, Sir, the legal Intereſt is there as high as in this Country, but the natural Intereſt of Money between Man and Man, is, by the beſt Information I can have, at a much lower Rate. In *France* they have the bad or the good Fortune not to have much public Credit. Their public Funds are below Par, even reckoning the Intereſt at 5 *per Cent.* and the Government can never borrow at that Rate; but if I am rightly informed, there is great Plenty of Money to be lent upon private Credit, and even upon perſonal Security; inſomuch that the Brokers or Scriveners in that Country are continually employ'd by the Lenders to ſeek out for the Borrowers, the Conſequence of which is, that a Merchant or Manufacturer may there borrow Money for a long Term below the legal Intereſt, and upon his perſonal Security, or perhaps getting another to join with him, and Bills are often diſcounted at the Rate of 3 *per Cent.* both which are a great Advantage to the Trade of that Kingdom, eſpecially the former, becauſe it encourages Merchants and Manufacturers to launch out upon any Project of Trade, much beyond their own proper Stock of ready Money. In this Country it is quite otherwiſe. Our public Credit is much better than our private; for if we except the Diſcounting of Bills, which is tranſacted between Merchant and Merchant, or between a Merchant and his Banker,

there

there is hardly any private Credit, properly ſpeaking, in the Nation: I ſay, properly ſpeaking, becauſe when a Mortgage or Pledge is given, there is properly no Credit given to the Borrower. We have hardly any ſuch Thing, eſpecially here about *London*, as Money lent for a long Term upon perſonal Security at 5 *per Cent.* and even moſt Bills, I am afraid, are diſcounted at a Premium much above that Rate. I believe I may appeal to all the Brokers and Scriveners about *London*, if they are ever applied to by any Lender of Money, to find them out a Perſon who will borrow their Money upon perſonal Security at the legal Intereſt. This makes it impoſſible for any Man to launch out upon the moſt hopeful Project farther than his own Stock of ready Money will reach; becauſe, if he ſhould by good Luck find a Friend to lend him Money at the Beginning, that Friend may die, or may have Occaſion for the Money, before he can ſpare it from the Trade he has undertaken; in which Caſe he muſt be entirely ruined, unleſs he can meet with ſuch another Friend, which 'tis ten to one if he does.

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By this we may ſee the great Advantage the *French* have over us, by means of the low natural Rate of Intereſt, and great Plenty of private Credit in that Country. 'Tis true, the Advantage this way is not, I believe, equal in *France* to what it is in *Holland*; but in *France* it is, I reckon, equal to 4 *per Cent. per Annum* at leaſt, which is ſufficient to deſtroy every Branch of our Trade in which they can rival us. And as to the Conveniency of their Ports, I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid we can carry on any Trade in the *Mediterranean*, ſo cheap or ſo eaſily, as the *French* can do at their Ports of *Marſeilles* and *Thoulon*; or that we can carry on a Trade with *Portugal*, or any Part of *Spain* without the *Streights*, ſo cheap as the *French* can do from their Ports on the *Bay of Biſcay*. Then as to our own Wool, I wiſh with all my Heart we could render the Exportation of it impracticable; but, I believe, the only effectual Way of doing ſo is, to enable our Manufacturers and Merchants to work it up at Home, and ſell it ſo wrought up in foreign Markets, as cheap as ſuch Manufactures can be ſold by any of our Neighbours; for if we ſhould once loſe the Sale of ſuch Manufactures at foreign Markets, we cannot make uſe of all our Wool in working up Manufactures for Home Conſumpt; and if we cannot work it all up at Home, it will, like *Spaniſh* Gold and Silver, find its way out, in ſpite of the ſevereſt Laws, and the greateſt Care we can take for preventing it. Our Laws will then ſerve only for running down the Price upon the Farmer; for as he muſt ſell, if he cannot find a Buyer at Home, he muſt take what Price he

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can get from the ſmuggling Exporter, who in that Caſe will be ſure to make the Farmer pay for the Riſk he runs in Exporting.

Now, Sir, as to Taxes, I ſhall grant, the Taxes both in *France* and *Holland* are extremely heavy, but I doubt much if they are ſo heavy upon, or ſo inconvenient to Trade, in either of theſe Countries as in this. I know it is generally thought the *Dutch* have great Taxes upon Trade, and many Exciſes; but, properly ſpeaking, they have neither the one nor the other. Their Taxes are all upon the Conſuming, and are generally raiſed, not at the Time of Importation, but upon their being carried to Market and ſold for Retail or Conſumption in the Country; for as every Province, and every City or Town, is a Sort of Sovereignty within itſelf, and raiſes, as well as impoſes, moſt of the Taxes and Duties paid by the People, Goods, upon Importation, pay but very ſmall Duties or rather Fees; the high Duties are all paid upon their being brought into any of their Cities or Villages for Retail or Conſumption; and the Nature of their Country makes it eaſy for them to raiſe thoſe Duties without ſending Officers into every Retailer's Shop, or ſubjecting their People to what we call the Laws of Exciſe. I need not deſcend further into Particulars; it will be eaſy from what I have ſaid, to ſee that the Taxes in *Holland* cannot be ſo troubleſome or expenſive to the Merchant-Importer, or to the Retailer, as the Taxes in this Country; and if we examine into the Taxes impoſed by their ſeveral little Sovereignties, we ſhall find, great Care has been taken not to impoſe any Tax which may enhance the Price of their Manufactures. In *France* again they are ſubject to great Inconveniencies, with reſpect to Smuggling, as well as we; but except their *Taille*, I do not know that they have any Tax ſo troubleſome to the People as our Exciſes are. Their *Taille*, indeed, is ſuited to the Nature of their Monarchy, it is arbitrary; but then their Gentlemen are not ſubject to it, nor have they any Land Tax, but in Time of War, and even then it is but *two Shillings in the Pound*. As for their other Taxes, there are, I believe, none of them, except that upon Salt, ſo high as the like Taxes in this Country; nor have they ſo many of them: They have no Tax upon Light, Heat, or Air; I mean, they have no Tax upon Candles, upon Firing, or upon Windows, ſo far as I have ever heard; nor have they any Tax upon Soap, becauſe they know it is a Material neceſſary for every Sort of Manufacture. Even upon Wine they have no Tax, unleſs it be brought into ſome City for Sale; and therefore, in Villages and Country Places, their People may drink

drink the beſt of *French* Wines as cheap as our People can drink common Beer; and ſmall Wines they may have almoſt as cheap as our People can have ſmall Beer. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

But, *Sir*, without taking any Notice of ſuch Particulars, we may be aſſured, that the People of this Kingdom are more heavily taxed, than the People of *France*, only by comparing the total Amount of the public Revenues in *France* with the total Amount of the public Revenues here at Home. In *France*, the total yearly Amount of the public Revenue is computed to be about *two hundred Millions* of *Livres*, which is but a little more than *nine Millions Sterling*; and let any Man look back upon the annual Reſolutions of our Committee of Supply, and add to that the real Produce of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and the Produce of that Revenue which is appropriated to pay the Intereſt and Principal of our Debts, he will find, that in *Britain* alone, I may ſay in *England* alone, we have for many Years raiſed above *ſix Millions* yearly, and often above *ſeven*; which is above *two Thirds* of what is raiſed in *France* yearly; and, I am ſure, no Man will ſay, that in the whole Kingdom of *France*, there is but *one Third* more People than in *England* alone. From hence, Sir, proceeds the Dearneſs of Labour, and of Proviſions in *England*; it is not from our having a greater Plenty of ready Money; for if ready Money were more plentiful in this Country, than in *France*, the natural Intereſt of Money would be lower here than it is there.

When I conſider theſe Things, Sir, and when I compare the preſent State of the Trade of *Europe* with what it was *forty* Years ago, I am really aſtoniſhed to hear it pretended, that the Trade of this Nation is in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever it was. *Forty* Years ago, we had no Rival in the *Eaſt-India* Trade but the *Dutch*; now there is hardly a Nation in *Europe* but interferes with us in that Trade: Then, the *French* had little or no Trade in *Turkey*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, nor exported any Woollen Manufactures to either; now, they greatly interfere with us in every one of them, and export to each, great Quantities of Woollen Manufactures. Then, we had no Rivals in the Sugar Trade; now, the *French* not only interfere with us, but, I am afraid, have out-done us: Is not every Country in *Europe* now ſetting up Manufactures of all Kinds; and, conſequently, can we ſay it is poſſible for us now to find ſuch a Sale for our Manufactures as we found at that Time? In ſhort, Sir, if it were not for our Colonies and Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, and the Exports we are enabled to make by their Means, I am convinced, the general Balance of Trade would be

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be entirely againſt us; and if that ſhould ever come to be our Caſe, as we have no Mines of Gold or Silver, we ſhould ſoon have very little of either of theſe Metals amongſt us; the Conſequence of which would be, a Stagnation of all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture, and the Departure of moſt of our Mechanics and Tradeſmen.

It is with Regret, Sir, I have taken ſo much Notice of our Circumſtances, and the melancholy Conſequences they may be attended with; but ſome People are ſo apt to aſcribe every Thing that has happened, or may happen, to the Luxury, Extravagance, and Idleneſs of our People, that I thought myſelf obliged, in Juſtice to my Countrymen and Fellow-Subjects, to ſhew that, if any ſuch Misfortune does happen to us, it will not proceed from their Luxury, Extravagance, or Idleneſs, but from the Difficulties they are expoſed to, by Means of the Intereſt of Money's being higher, and the Taxes heavier, in this Country, than in thoſe which are our Rivals in Trade and naval Power; and as I have done it with the ſole View of ſhewing the proper and the only Methods for extricating ourſelves out of thoſe Difficulties, I hope every Man who has a true Regard for his Country will excuſe me.

That the Lowering of Intereſt raiſes the Price, and encourages the Improvement of Lands, is a Maxim ſo generally received, and was ſo clearly demonſtrated by my worthy Friend in the Beginning of this Debate, that I am almoſt aſhamed to add any Thing farther upon the Subject; but, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to anſwer ſome of the Objections made againſt it. As to the Price of Lands, it muſt neceſſarily fall or riſe, very near in Proportion as the Intereſt of Money riſes or falls; becauſe, if a Man can make a great deal more annual Profit by purchaſing Lands, than by lending Money, every Man will purchaſe, no Man will lend; which muſt of courſe raiſe the Price of Lands, as well as the natural Intereſt of Money, till they come near upon a Par with one another. And ſurely the Raiſing the Value of a Man's Eſtate muſt add to his Riches; for no Man ſells in order to employ his Money at Intereſt, unleſs upon a ſudden Riſe of the natural Intereſt of Money, as happened to be the Caſe, immediately after the Revolution, occaſioned by the great Sums then borrowed at a high Intereſt by the Public. What makes a Man ſell, is generally to pay off a Mortgage, or in order to divide his Eſtate among his Children; in either of which Caſes he has a great Advantage by the Riſe of the common Price of Lands. A Man who has 10,000 *l.* Mortgage upon 1000 *l.* a Year Eſtate, muſt ſell a Moiety of his Eſtate to pay off

that

that Mortgage, when Intereſt is at 5 *per Cent.* and Lands ſell at 20 Years Purchaſe; but if Intereſt ſhould fall to 2 ½ *per Cent.* and Lands ſhould of Conſequence come to ſell at 40 Years Purchaſe, which I am told is now the common Price in ſome Parts of *Italy*, the Landed Gentleman might then clear his Eſtate of the Mortgage, by the Sale of *one Fourth* Part of it. And if a Man ſells his Eſtate to divide it, I ſhall ſuppoſe, among four Children; ſurely a Son in Trade with 10,000 *l.* or a Daughter with 10,000 *l.* and married to a Merchant, may puſh any Trade further, and conſequently be more beneficial to themſelves as well as to their Country, than if they had but 5000 *l.* each. Nay, if it be neceſſary, that Gentlemen in *England* muſt always be called, or deſerve the Name of idle Men, as they are called in *Holland*, ſuch a Gentleman will have the ſame Revenue out of 10,000 *l.* when Intereſt is at 2 ½ *per Cent.* as he could have in the ſame idle Way from 5000 *l.* at 5 *per Cent.* Intereſt, *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

As to the Improvement of Land, the only Objection that has been made to it, is, that the Price of Labour and Materials, fit for Improvement, will riſe in Proportion to the Fall of Intereſt; but this, Sir, will not hold; for the Price of nothing that can be imported will riſe in Proportion to the Fall of Intereſt; the only Reaſon why the Price of Land riſes in that Proportion, being, becauſe they cannot be imported. As to Labour, whenever its Price begins to riſe, Workmen and Labourers of all Kinds will flock in upon you from Countries where Labour is cheap; and as to all Sorts of Materials and Proviſions, ſince they may be imported from other Countries, your Home Produce can never ſell for more than ſuch Commodities can be imported and ſold for; unleſs you ſhould prohibit, or load with Duties, the Importation of thoſe Materials or Proviſions, which are neceſſary for the Improvement of your Lands, or the Subſiſtence of your Poor, which no Nation, ſurely, will ever be mad enough to do.

After having heard ſuch eſtabliſhed Maxims in Trade controverted, I hardly believed the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion would have admitted any Thing in this Debate; but, I find, Sir, they do admit, that by the Reduction propoſed, the Nation may get rid of Debt *three* Years ſooner, or may aboliſh ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, and yet get entirely rid of Debt almoſt as ſoon. However, they have endeavoured to vilify this Advantage as much as poſſible, and, therefore, I muſt give you the Trouble to hear it ſtated in its true Light. In order to do this, I muſt obſerve, that every Tax laid upon any Commo-

dity,

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dity, raiſes the Price of that Commodity a great deal higher than the Value of the Tax laid upon it; becauſe the Merchant or Retailer muſt be paid for the Riſk and Intereſt of that Money which he pays for the Tax, as well as of that Money which he pays for the prime Coſt of the Commodity: And I muſt likewiſe obſerve, that the Expences of collecting every Tax are all paid by the People; ſo that upon all our Cuſtoms and Exciſes in general, I may compute, the People pay about *one Third* more than the nett Produce brought in to the Public. Now as the Intereſt now paid yearly upon all our public Debts, and the Sinking Fund together, amount to above *three Millions* yearly, I muſt reckon, that towards raiſing this nett Sum, the People pay yearly *four Millions*; ſo that if by reducing the Intereſt upon all our public Funds to 3 *per Cent.* and continuing all our Taxes till the Whole be paid off, the Nation do get entirely rid of Debt *three* Years ſooner than we can do if the Intereſt be continued at *four*, our People will ſave the Value of this Annuity for *three* Years; and as an Annuity of *four Millions* for *three* Years at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, amounts to 12,486,400 *l.* we muſt reckon, that by this Reduction, the People of this Nation will ſave that whole Sum; a Saving which, I hope, will not appear inconſiderable, however trifling the *three* Years Difference, as to the Time of getting entirely rid of our Debts may appear.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, that upon the Reduction of Intereſt, we ſhould aboliſh Taxes equal in yearly Amount to that annual Saving. As the Amount or yearly Produce of the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles* comes neareſt to this Saving, I ſhall ſuppoſe them to be aboliſhed. Theſe two Taxes produced in the Year ending at *Midſummer* laſt, about 365000 *l.* nett; ſo that, including the Expences of Management, I reckon there was about 400,000 *l.* raiſed upon the People; and as the advanced Price upon both theſe Commodities is reckoned near double the Value of the Tax laid upon them, I am ſure, I may reckon, the People pay at leaſt 600,000*l.* a Year, on Account of theſe two Taxes; which is an Annuity they are to get free from by this Reduction 25 Years ſooner than they can do, if Intereſt be continued at 4 *per Cent.* But an Annuity of 600,000*l.* a Year for 25 Years, at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, amounts to 24,987,540*l.* In this Caſe, as the Nation will continue in Debt *two Years and a half* longer than if Things ſhould continue upon their preſent Footing, we muſt deduct from this Sum the Annuity which the People are to pay for that Time; which Annuity will conſiſt of the preſent Sinking Fund, being about 1,150,000*l.*

; 0,000*l.* and the Intereſt upon our preſent Debt at 3 *Cent.* being about 1,440,000*l.* ſuppoſing our Debts to unt to 48 *Millions.* Theſe two Sums added together e 2,590,000*l.* to which add a Third more, and it es above 3,450,000*l.* which is the Annuity the People o pay for *two Years and a half* longer than they would rwiſe do; therefore, as I have ſaid, this Annuity for Time at 3 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, being near ,0,000*l.* muſt be deducted from 24,987,540*l.* and the ining Sum, which is above 16,250,000*l.* is the Sum People will ſave by a Reduction of Intereſt, and im- iately aboliſhing the Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles*; this Saving will, I hope, be looked on as a ſufficient nement for our continuing *two Years and a half* longer Debt.

beg Pardon, Sir, for making ſo much uſe of Calcula- , but upon this Subject it is impoſſible to argue without ires, and as there is nothing myſterious or uncommon ie Calculations I have made uſe of, I hope Gentlemen forgive me; for from theſe Calculations the Advan- the Nation will reap from the Reduction only, is made ifeſt beyond Contradiction: And now I ſhall examine pretended Diſadvantages. In the firſt Place, we are our Noble Families and Landed Gentlemen muſt ruin Eſtates, in order to provide for their younger Children; it were abſolutely neceſſary the younger Children of Landed Gentlemen ſhould be bred up to Idleneſs, in r to live like fine Gentlemen and Ladies upon the In- t of their Money. Sir, this is ſo far from being ne- ry, that we certainly ought to prevent it, if poſſible; the only Way of preventing it is, to lower the common of Intereſt: The younger Son of the beſt Nobleman e Kingdom may make as good a Figure, and I am may be much more ſerviceable to his Country, by being up a Merchant, than by being bred up to follow Plays Opera's in Town, or Fox-hounds and Horſe matches in Country. But, ſuppoſe that every Landed Gentleman d be obliged to give his younger Children greater For- ; if he is frugal, and has a Mind to provide for them narrow Way of Living, he will ſave a great deal more y in the Expence of his Family, by the Aboliſhing of of our moſt heavy Taxes, by which he will be enabled ve them greater Fortunes. If he has a Mind to leave a Mortgage upon his Eſtate, a proportionable Addi- to their Fortunes will be no additional Burden upon Eſtate; for as the total Value of his Eſtate muſt increaſe oportion, and the yearly Value likewiſe may proba-

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bly be much improved, a Mortgage of 20,000*l.* for y
Childrens Portions, when Intereſt is reduced to 3 p
and the Price of Lands raiſed to above 33 Years P
will be no greater Burden upon an Eſtate, as to th
Value, than 12,000*l.* is, now that Intereſt is at 5 p
and the Price of Lands at 20 Years Purchaſe; n
the Intereſt Money, ſurely 600*l.* a Year, the In
20,000*l.* at 3 *per Cent.* can be no greater Charge u
improved Rent of an Eſtate, than 600*l.* a Year, the
of 12,000*l.* at 5 *per Cent.* upon the preſent Ren
ſame Eſtate, without any Improvement.

To pretend, Sir, that all Branches of Trade are
be overſtock'd, is a very great Miſtake, and a very
rous Miſtake, if it ſhould ever obtain ſo much Cr
influence the publick Meaſures of a Country; for
of Trade or Buſineſs relating to the Exports of a
can be overſtocked; but on the contrary, the m
are of every ſuch Trade or Buſineſs, the cheaper t
modities they manufacture or deal in will be ſold a
Markets; and the cheaper they are ſold, the mor
will be ſold, the more certainly will you prevent F
from interfering with you in the Trade; which w
be a Benefit to the Nation in general, tho' not ſo
geous to the particular Perſons concerned. I ſhall
for Example's Sake only, that the original Mate
Hat ſold beyond Seas for *a Guinea*, do not coſt a
and that the other 14*s.* are divided between the W
for their Labour; the Maſter-Manufacturer for h
and his Trouble in employing thoſe Workmen;
Merchant-Exporter, for his Profit, and Trouble i
ing: If you ſhould, by increaſing the Number o
men and Dealers in this Way, bring the Workme
for a 4th Part leſs Wages, and the Maſter-Man
and Merchant Exporter, to deal for a 4th Part l
that Hat would then be ſold in a foreign Market
6*d.* and if by ſelling ſo cheap you ſhall engroſs the
you would probably ſell *two* Hats for every *one*
ſell; ſo that for every *Guinea* now returned to th
there would then be 35*s.* returned, and double th
men employed; with this additional Advantage,
would much more certainly preſerve that Trade
can do at preſent. Thus it appears that the Wor
Dealers in any ſuch Branch of Trade can never b
merous, and therefore, the Trade can never be ov
unleſs we ſuppoſe it poſſible that one Nation ma
more of ſuch Dealers and Workmen than would
cient to ſerve the whole World. 'Tis true, all th

feſſions and Branches of Trade not any Way concerned in Export, may be overſtocked; but even with reſpect to them, the more there are the better, and the cheaper our People will be ſerved; and when they are very much overſtock'd, thoſe who cannot live by the Buſineſs they were bred to, will ſeek for Employment in ſome other Way, and few or none of the riſing Generation will be bred to that Sort of Buſineſs; therefore the Public has very little Concern about the Overſtocking of any Branch of Trade; their Care ought to be to force as many of their People into Trade as poſſible, and then, like a good General of an Army, to take ſpecial Care that their Enemies or Rivals ſhall gain no accidental or artful Advantage of them, in any Branch of Trade, in which they are or may be employed.

As to Farming, I believe, there is no great Danger that many of our Gentlemens Sons would betake themſelves to that Sort of Buſineſs, let us reduce Intereſt to what we will; but if they ſhould, it would not ſurely be a Diſadvantage to our Landholders to have rich Tenants, or to have more Bidders for the Leaſes of their Farms. The richer the Tenants are, the more able will they be to improve their Farms, and the more punctually will the Rent be paid; and the more Bidders there are, the more eaſily may the Landlord raiſe his Rent; ſo that this is one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments for ſhewing that a low Intereſt will naturally improve the yearly Value of our Land Eſtates. Then as to the Widows and Orphans concerned in our Funds, and who have nothing elſe to depend on for a Subſiſtence; a Widow or Orphan who has 500*l.* Annuity Stock, will after the Reduction have 15*l.* a Year, and I cannot think any Perſon that has 15*l.* a Year certain, without Labour or Toil, can be reckoned an Object of Compaſſion, becauſe there are many Places in *England* where a ſingle Perſon may live comfortably upon ſuch an Income. But ſuppoſe 1000*l.* Stock, which is double the Income, if we examine the Liſts before us, we ſhall find many of the Perſons in thoſe Liſts have ſomething elſe to truſt to; and if there were none ſuch, the Number of them can bear no Proportion to the *Millions* of Poor that will be relieved by aboliſhing any one of our heavy Taxes, nor ought it to be of any Weight in our Deliberations upon an Affair in which the Preſervation of our Trade is ſo eſſentially concerned.

Laſtly, Sir, I muſt take Notice of the great Diſadvantage, which, 'tis pretended, would accrue to the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Counties adjacent, by a Reduction of the Intereſt payable upon the public Funds. If this Reduction ſhould happen to be general upon all our Funds,

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it would amount to about 400,000*l.* a Year; let us ſee now how this would affect the Trade of the Retailers, Farmers, Gardeners, and Tradeſmen, in and about the City of *London*. Firſt we muſt obſerve, there is at leaſt one 4th Part of our Funds belongs to Perſons who reſide abroad; ſo that we muſt deduct at leaſt 100,000*l.* from this 400,000*l.* and then there will remain but 300,000*l.* Next we muſt obſerve, that a great Part, by far, I believe, the greateſt Part of our Funds belong to Perſons who do not ſpend ½, ſome not ⅓ of the Revenue they have from thoſe Funds; and ſome Part of them belongs to Perſons who reſide for the whole or great Part of the Year in diſtant Counties; ſo that upon the whole, I believe, I may reckon there is not above ⅓ Part of this 300,000*l.* actually ſpent yearly in or about *London*; therefore the moſt we can reckon is, that, by this Reduction, the Inhabitants in and about *London* will loſe the taking of 100,000*l.* a Year, which they now take yearly from our Stockholders for Wares purchaſed out of their Shops, Farms, or Gardens, or for Work done; but as many of the Wares purchaſed in their Shops either come from abroad, or from the diſtant Counties of *Britain*, therefore, I am ſure, we may reckon the Inhabitants in and about *London* will not loſe of real Profit or Wages above 50,000*l.* a Year. And as every Man, who retrenches his Expence, begins with that which is the moſt ſuperfluous, we may preſume this Loſs will fall chiefly upon our Plays, Operas, Concerts, and Maſquerades; in which Caſe, the induſtrious and uſeful Part of the Inhabitants will ſuffer little or no Diminution in their preſent Cuſtom or Buſineſs.

This, Sir, is the Charge; and now let me turn to the other Side of the Account, according as it will ſtand by the Propoſition my worthy Friend has made to us. He propoſes, that if this Reduction takes Place, the Duties upon *Candles*, *Soap*, *Coals* and *Leather* ſhould be taken off, I ſhall ſuppoſe only the two firſt taken off; becauſe theſe two alone will, I am ſure, do much more than balance the Account. I have already ſhewn that the People of *England* pay at leaſt 600,000*l.* a Year for *Soap* and *Candles*, more than they would pay if there were no ſuch Duties; therefore the taking off theſe Duties will be a yearly Profit of 600,000*l.* a Year to the whole People of *England*; and as the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, Borough of *Southwark*, and Counties adjacent, conſume more *Soap* and *Candles* than all the reſt of the Kingdom, or at leaſt pay more than half of the yearly Produce of the Duties, we muſt reckon that the taking off of theſe two Duties will be a yearly Saving, and conſequently a yearly Profit, of 300,000*l.*

300,000 *l.* to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, as an Atonement for the 50,000 *l.* a Year they are to loſe by the Reduction of Intereſt, and thereby leſſening the yearly Revenue, and conſequently the Expence of our Stockholders. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

But, Sir, as this Saving may at firſt View appear a little extraordinary, I muſt trouble you with another Computation, to ſhew that it is far from being imaginary. Let me ſuppoſe then, that in *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Southwark*, and the Counties adjacent, there is but *a Million* of People; 300,000 *l.* a Year divided among *a Million* of Perſons comes to 6 *s.* a Year to every Perſon, for his Share of what is paid on Account of the Duties on Soap and Candles; ſo that a Man who has *ſix* Perſons in his Family, by this Computation, is preſumed to pay but 36 *s.* a Year on Account of theſe two Duties; and conſidering that for every Pound of Candles he buys, there is 2 *d.* laid out on Account of the Duty; and for every Pound of Soap he buys, or is bought on his Account, there is at leaſt 2 *d.* ½ laid out on Account of the Duty; I believe this Computation will not appear extravagant; for it is ſuppoſing him to conſume but 10 or 12 Dozen of Candles, and 6 or 7 Dozen of Soap, which I think is the leaſt we can ſuppoſe to be conſumed by our Shopkeepers and Trademen, one with another, in their Shops, Kitchens, Chambers, and Working Houſes. From hence it is evident, that the Inhabitants in and about the City of *London* would gain 250,000 *l.* a Year clear Profit by the Propoſition now before us; and if to this we ſhould add the yearly Saving, and conſequently yearly Profit, that would accrue to them, by aboliſhing the Duties upon Coals and Leather, I am amazed how any Citizen of *London*, not deeply concerned in Stocks, can diſapprove of ſuch a Propoſition; I am ſure the honourable Gentleman who made it, deſerves their Thanks in the moſt public and the moſt grateful Manner.

The two Ends propoſed by this Scheme are, 'tis true, Sir, either to enable us to pay our Debts off ſooner than we can otherwiſe do, or to give an immediate Relief to our People, by aboliſhing ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes; but theſe two Ends are propoſed ſeparately, or rather diſjunctively, and not jointly, as the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Queſtion have repreſented; and that it will not be incompatible but neceſſarily effectual for one or t'other of theſe Ends, according as we ſhall chuſe, the Gentlemen themſelves have acknowledged. When we have approved of the Scheme, in ſo far as it relates to the Reduction of Intereſt, it is then Time enough to chuſe which of theſe Ends

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it would amount to about 400,000
how this would affect the Trade
Gardeners, and Tradesmen, in ar
First we must observe, there is
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must deduct at least 100,00
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that a great Part, by fa
Funds belong to Perso
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them belongs to Pe
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doing this was by paying off
which those Taxes were mortgag
ave paid off those Debts, you have it cer
wer, either to apply the Saving made by
o increase, for the future, the Sinking-Fund,
ply that Saving to the ultimate End and In
Establishment of that Fund, I mean, the
People from some Tax or other, whose yearly
not exceed the Amount of the Saving you
such Payment. That this was the Opinion
appears from the almost unanimous Resolutio
to abolishing the Salt Duty; for I do not r
any Gentleman then insisted upon the Credi
indefeasible Right, not only to the Sinking-F
flood, but to all the Savings which might gro
ments made to the public Creditors; and that
Taxes mortgaged for the Payment of our
could be taken off or abolished by Parliame
there was *a Shilling* due of any of those Deb
the Taxes were mortgaged.

But suppose, Sir, this had been then, or
since, my Opinion, I am sure I have lately
good Reasons for changing it; for I am n
vinced, the Sinking-Fund will never be duly
applied, either to the Payment of those Deb
before the Year 1716, or to the Abolishing
Taxes mortgaged for that Purpose: I am no
ence fully convinced, it is a Fund which M

g at; and I do not think I
pect, that Parliaments will be
s in Time to come, than they
For this Reaſon, Sir, I am ſo
Sinking-Fund increaſed, that
n be contrived for paying
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om any of the
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es, and applying
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aying off our Debts ho-
e ſame Time annihilating the
of the Sinking-Fund; therefore, I
ith my worthy Friend in that Part of
h relates to the opening Books of Sub-
le of Annuities, upon the Terms he pro-
ſe Annuities will ceaſe of courſe; and as
Number of them are ſold, we may then
the Taxes ſhall ceaſe of courſe, and in
Annuities ſhall ceaſe or determine:
ontinue upon the preſent Footing, I am
e lately broached will prevail, that the
ys to be kept under its preſent Load of
ple under their preſent Load of Taxes;
ing-Fund will be generally diverted to-
Service, or towards diſcharging ſome
ted, in order to gain the falſe and empty
e Miniſters, that they have not laid any
upon the People, or ſubjected them to
eard-of Taxes.

icability of the Scheme, I believe, Sir,
y appear, by ſetting the Gentlemen of the
Queſtion right, in a Miſtake they have
eſpect to the preſent natural Rate of In-
Securities. They have told us, that if
f Intereſt upon ſuch Securities were at 3
nities at 4 *per Cent.* ought to ſell at
at 183 ¼, and *Eaſt-India* at 200 *l. per*
lation, I ſuppoſe, they take from this Pro-
per Cent. gives 100 *l.* 4 *per Cent.* the
n 4 *per Cent.* Annuities, ought to give
he reſt in Proportion to their reſpective
Dividends;

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Dividends: But does not every Gentleman ſee the the Error in this Method of Calculation? However, to make the Error manifeſt, I muſt obſerve, that the Price of every one of our Stocks at Par, is the Price of an Annuity to continue till the Principal be repaid; becauſe the Public ſtands obliged to pay them 100 *l.* in Money, for every 100 *l.* Stock they ſtand poſſeſſed of: But as to the advanced Price upon any of our Stocks, it is the Price of an Annuity to continue for a certain or uncertain Term of Years *à Fond perdu*, as the *French* call it; that is, upon the Ceaſing of the Annuity the Principal is to be entirely loſt; becauſe, let that advanced Price riſe as high as it will, the Public ſtands obliged to pay them no more than 100 *l.* in Money, for every 100 *l.* Stock they ſtand poſſeſſed of.

Now, Sir, with reſpect to our Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* does not every one ſuppoſe we ſhall be able in 6 Years to reduce them to 3 *per Cent.* but ſuppoſing it ſhould be 10 Years, then if the natural Intereſt of Money be no lower than 3 *per Cent.* our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities ought not to ſell for above 108 ½ *per Cent.* becauſe in that Caſe, an Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, can be worth no more, nor can it ſell for any more than 100 *l.* And an Annuity of 1 *per Cent.* for 10 Years, at the End of which Time the Principal is to be ſunk, as well as the Annuity to ceaſe, is in preſent Value, at the ſame Rate of Intereſt, worth no more, nor can ſell it for any more than 8 ½; ſo that according to the preſent Price of our 4 *per Cent.* Annuities, the natural Intereſt of Money muſt be under 3 *per Cent.* becauſe they ſell for 113 *l.* *per Cent.* which is 4 ½ *per Cent.* higher than they could ſell for, if the natural Intereſt of Money were not under 3 *per Cent.*

Then as to the *Bank*, 'tis well known they divide but 5 ½ *per Cent.* that their Term expires in 6 Years, and that their Annuity cannot continue any longer than that Time; becauſe if proper Meaſures be taken, they may be paid off in that Time, and if their Term of Banking be continued any longer, they ought to pay a valuable Conſideration for it; from whence we muſt reckon, that their Stock, if the natural Intereſt of Money were no higher than 3 *per Cent.* ought not to ſell for above 113 ½ or 114 *per Cent.* at moſt, which is 100 *l.* for the Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* till the Principal be repaid, and 13 ½ or 14 for an Annuity of 2 ½ *per Cent.* for 6 Years, the Principal to be then ſunk. And laſtly, as to *Eaſt-India* Stock, as they are now eſtabliſhed a Company for ever, and their excluſive Privilege to continue till the Year 1769, and as they divide 6 *per Cent.* 2 *per Cent.* whereof is from the Profits of their Trade, ſuppoſe

the

the natural Intereſt of Money no lower than 3 *per Cent.* their Stock ought not to ſell for above 149 ½ *per Cent.* which is 100 *l.* for the 3 *per Cent.* to continue till the Principal be repaid, 8 and ſome more than ½ *per Cent.* for the 1 *per Cent.* Annuity, which 'tis ſuppoſed the Government muſt as yet pay for 10 Years, and near 41 *per Cent.* for an Annuity of 2 *per Cent.* to continue for 32 Years, being the Reſidue of the Term of their excluſive Privilege, at the End of which the Dividend of 2 *per Cent.* from the Profits of their Trade will probably ceaſe; and the principal Money now paid for the Annuity proceeding from thoſe Profits will be entirely ſunk; ſo that ſuppoſing the natural Intereſt of Money at 3 *per Cent.* the Premium upon *Bank* Stock, according to the Price it now ſells for, is above 37 *per Cent.* and the Premium upon *Eaſt-India* Stock, is above 30 *per Cent.* both which are much higher than the Premium upon 3 *per Cent.* Securities, and is occaſioned, I believe, by People's being generally of Opinion, that the excluſive Privilege will be continued to each of the Companies reſpectively, perhaps for many Generations, without their being ever obliged to pay a full and adequate Conſideration to the Public for the Renewal of their Term. *Anno* 10. *Geo* II. 1736-7.

From hence it muſt appear, that the natural Rate of Intereſt upon all public Securities is under 3 *per Cent.* and to inſinuate, that the Creditors of the Public are in a worſe Condition than any Pledgee or Mortgagee, is really ſomething very extraordinary, when all Mankind appear ſo evidently to be of a contrary Opinion; for tho' a War ſhould happen, it will, I hope, rather lower than raiſe the natural Intereſt of Money, becauſe, I hope, our Government will never again fall into that dangerous and deluding Method of borrowing Money for the Expences of the War, but will yearly raiſe as much as may be neceſſary for ſupporting the Expences of the War, and anſwering the whole annual public Expence. And to pretend, that the Scheme may be rendered impracticable, by a Combination among our rich money'd Men, is ſtill more extraordinary; for a Conſpiracy for diſtreſſing the Public, in order to prevent us from being able to relieve the People from any of their Taxes, whatever it may reckoned by our Lawyers, would, I am ſure, be reckoned by the People a Sort of High Treaſon againſt the State, and would conſequently make the People think themſelves juſtified in any Meaſures, they might think proper to take, for relieving themſelves from their Taxes in the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual Manner; therefore, I hope, no public Creditor, nor any money'd Man in the Kingdom,

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will be ſo raſh and imprudent, as to enter into any ſuch Combination or Conſpiracy.

After what I had ſaid, Sir, I believe the Arguments made uſe of for ſhewing the Impracticability of the Scheme, will entirely vaniſh; and the Dangers we are threatened with, either from its ſucceeding or not ſucceeding, will, upon Examination, appear as little ſubſtantial. That the Succeſs of the Scheme, or even the Attempt, will make Foreigners, eſpecially the *Dutch*, draw out their Money all at once, is a Misfortune we have been threatned with upon all intended Reductions; and I am convinced we ſhall now find their Threats as ill-grounded as ever they were found upon any former Occaſion. With reſpect to Foreigners, Sir, particularly the *Dutch*, there are two inſurmountable Obſtacles, which will prevent their drawing away their Money, one of which is, that it is impoſſible for them to find Purchaſers at any Thing near the Value, if any great Number of them ſhould reſolve to ſell; and the other is, that it is impoſſible for them to get 3 *per Cent.* for their Money any where elſe, upon any Security equally good; for the higheſt Intereſt at preſent in their own Country is but 3 *per Cent.* and the loweſt in many Caſes under 2; ſo that *one Million Sterling* only brought from *England* to be lent in *Holland*, would very probably run the natural Intereſt of Money down to 2, or perhaps to 1 *per Cent.* And as to our own People, ſome of them might probably draw out their Money, in order to lend it on Mortgages at 3 ½ *per Cent.* on good perſonal Security at 4, or on indifferent perſonal Security at 5; which is one of the great Advantages to be expected from the Scheme; but the Sum to be drawn out for theſe Purpoſes could have no great Influence upon our public Securities; becauſe the drawing out of any great Sum would bring the natural Intereſt of Money upon private Securities below the natural Intereſt upon public; which can never happen as long the Generality of Mankind have a much better Opinion of the latter, than they have of the former. And as to the preſent Fall of Stocks, we know it proceeds from the Practices in *'Change-Alley*, where, we know, ſome People have been mighty induſtrious. I wiſh they had not been ſo: I wiſh their Behaviour at this Time may never be made uſe of as an Argument againſt all our public Creditors in general; for when the Behaviour of ſome becomes a public Nuiſance, it may be made uſe of againſt the whole Body; as was lately the Caſe, with reſpect to the Diſtillers and Retailers of Spirituous Liquors.

I ſhall grant, Sir, the Reduction of Intereſt might very probably diminiſh the advanced Price upon our Funds; but

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I am convinced it would not bring them under Par, nor any Thing near to it; nay, I do not know but the Benefit of not being obliged to receive any Part of their Principal, nor to have their Intereſt leſſened for 14 Years to come, would raiſe the Price of all our Annuities above what they now ſell for; I think I have good Reaſon to believe it would. However, the advanced Price is what the Public neither has, nor ought to have any Concern about; for to ſay we ought not to do or attempt any Thing that may tend to diminiſh the advanced Price our Stocks ſell for, would be an Argument againſt ever paying them any Part of their Principal, as well as againſt reducing the Intereſt now payable to them; and now it is made uſe of againſt attempting to reduce their Intereſt, I hope it will have juſt as much Weight, and no more, than if it had been made uſe of for our coming to a Reſolution never to pay a Shilling more of the Principal of any of our Debts, but to turn the Sinking Fund to ſome other Uſe yearly, and continue to pay the ſame Annuity we now pay for ever: Which Reſolution many Perſons without Doors would be glad of, tho' I am certain no Gentleman within theſe Walls would ever agree to it. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736 7.

There is, therefore, Sir, no Danger to be apprehended, either from the Succeſs or Diſappointment of the Scheme. To attempt it, is not climbing up a Precipice; it is only attempting to do that which we are in Duty bound to attempt, as often as there is the leaſt Proſpect of Succeſs; and at preſent we ſhall moſt certainly meet with ſome. This the declared Enemies of the Scheme are ſufficiently aware of; they would not have been ſo induſtrious in their Oppoſition, if they had not known it would certainly meet with great Succeſs; and I am ſurprized to hear it ſaid, the preſent loud and general Complaints are nothing but Vapours: Every Man in the Kingdom, who has not great and ſuperfluous Sums coming in yearly from our Funds, or from ſome Poſt or Penſion, is fully ſenſible of the National Diſtemper we are under; and I am ſure no State Phyſician in the Kingdom can preſcribe a better, or at leaſt a more honourable Remedy, than that now in our Offer; if we do not apply it, I ſhall deſpair of ever ſeeing a Remedy applied, till we change both our Phyſicians and Nurſes.

Has any Man ſaid, has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Loſs an Annuitant or Stockholder is to ſuſtain by the Reduction, will be made good to him by aboliſhing the Duty upon Candles? This is treating the Subject more ludicrouſly than it deſerves, or ought to be treated; but I will ſay, it is better for every Annuitant and Stockholder to take

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that which is the natural Intereſt of Money in his Country, than to run the Riſk of being ſoon deemed an Uſurer, whereby he may come to loſe both Principal and Intereſt. The Reducing of the Intereſt payable upon public Securities to that, which we find to be the natural Intereſt upon ſuch Securities, or paying thoſe off who are not willing to take that Intereſt, is not laying any Tax upon our public Creditors; but the continuing to pay them 4 *per Cent.* when the natural Intereſt of Money is under 3, is only making them a Preſent of 400,000 *l. Sterling* a Year; and I am ſure the Public is in no Condition to make, nor can they pretend Merit enough to deſerve, ſuch a conſiderable Preſent. To pretend therefore, that the Reduction propoſed would be laying a Tax of 5 *s. in the Pound* upon them, muſt appear to be a very great Miſtake; and to ſay, that in the preſent Caſe, there is no Diſtinction to be made between the public Creditors and the Public, becauſe they are a Part of our own People, muſt appear to be as great a Miſtake, if we conſider, that in all Caſes, where the private Advantage of any Sett of our own People comes to be inconſiſtent with the Good of the Public, a Diſtinction not only then may, but muſt be made, between that Sett of our own People, and the Public; and in all ſuch Caſes, I hope the Good of the Public will, I am ſure it ought to be preferred. Is not this the Caſe now before us? It is for the private Advantage of our public Creditors, to receive from the Public yearly a Preſent of 400,000 *l.* but I am ſure it is inconſiſtent with the Good of the Public to continue making them any ſuch Preſent.

But of all the Arguments that have been make Uſe of againſt this Reduction, I think the hardeſt and moſt extraordinary is, to ſay, that becauſe our People have long paid, and been accuſtomed to the paying of heavy Taxes, therefore there can be no Compaſſion in relieving them from any of thoſe Taxes. This, I ſay, I muſt think very hard as well as extraordinary; and I am ſure it is as extraordinary to ſay, we have no Taxes upon the Neceſſaries of Life. For my Part, I do not know any one Neceſſary of Life, upon which we have not ſome Tax or another, except Water; and we can put no Ingredient, I know of, into Water, in order to make it palatable and chearful, without paying a Tax. We pay a Tax for Air, and for the Light and Heat of the Sun in the Day Time, by Means of our Tax upon Windows; and for Light and Heat in the Night Time, by Means of our Duties upon Coals and Candles; we pay a Tax upon Bread, Meat, Roots, and Herbs, of all Kinds, by Means of our Salt-Duty; we pay a Tax upon

Small

Beer, by Means of the Malt Tax, and a heavy addi- *Anno* 10. *Geo.*
Tax upon ſtrong Beer, by Way of Exciſe; nay we II. 1736-7.
ſt have any clean Thing to put upon our Backs, either
oollen or Linnen, without paying a Tax, by Means of
Duty upon Soap: And tho' moſt of theſe Taxes may
to be ſmall and eaſy to a rich Stockholder, who has
ſands a Year coming in, yet to a poor Labourer or Ma-
urer, who has not perhaps above 8 *d.* or 1 *s.* a Day,
himſelf and Family to maintain out of it, every one
em muſt ſeem grievous, and always will be ſeverely
till he can prevail with his Maſter, on account of theſe
s, to raiſe his Wages; and then, by the Loſs of Em-
ment, he is brought into a worſe Condition than he
efore. Therefore, from the great Diſtreſs many ſuch
Families are in, and the infinite Multitude there are
ch in the Kingdom, Compaſſion may be ſtrongly
ed in Favour of the Reduction, and can, in my Opi-
, have little or no Weight on the other Side of the
; for Gentlemen may talk what they will about Or-
s, Widows, and other Ladies, but I believe the Re-
on will bring few or none of them into pitiful Circum-
es; it will only oblige ſome of them to betake them-
s to Buſineſs inſtead of living idly, or to retire to the
try inſtead of living at *London*; and for this very Rea-
am for the Reduction, becauſe I love to ſee People
oyed; and as I am a Country Gentleman, and love
Company of the Ladies, I deſire to have a few more
em in the Country with us.

do not remember, Sir, any one Argument made uſe of
ſt the Reduction, but what I have now either fully
ered, or ſhewn to be an Argument in its Favour; and I
what I have ſaid upon this Subject will have the
er Weight, becauſe every one that knows me, knows I
a very conſiderable Share in the public Funds, and that
fore it is as much my immediate Intereſt to oppoſe a
uction, as it can be the immediate Intereſt of moſt Men
e Kingdom; but I ſhall always conſider my future In-
as well as my immediate Intereſt; and I hope I ſhall
s be ſo wiſe as to prefer the public Intereſt to both.
uld not perhaps have been at ſo much Pains to ſhew
Zeal in Favour of the Queſtion, if it had not been for
contrary Behaviour of ſome, who are in the ſame
umſtances with me; but when I obſerved ſome Practices
uſe of without Doors againſt the Queſtion, which I
ot think altogether juſtifiable, I thought it incumbent
me to declare my Approbation of the Queſtion in the
remarkable Manner; in order to convince Poſterity,

as

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as much as lies in my Power, that ſuch Practices ought not to be imputed to the public Creditors in general; and I wiſh the Time may never come, when the public Creditors will have Reaſon to thank me for the Record I have left in their Favour.'

Thus we have given the Subſtance of what was ſaid in the two Days Debate upon the Motion made by Sir *John Barnard*: for ſome Gentlemen in the 1ſt Day's Debate, who ſeemed to ſpeak againſt the Motion, having declared, they thought the Motion of ſuch Conſequence, that they could not freely give their Opinion upon it without further Time to conſider of it, therefore the further Conſideration of the Affair was put off till that Day Sevennight, as before mentioned; and towards the End of the Debate, the ſecond Day, *Thomas Winnington* Eſq; ſtood up, and made a ſhort Speech, as follows, *viz.*

Mr. Winnington.

SIR,

'Whether a further Reduction of Intereſt, natural or legal, may tend to the Advantage or Diſadvantage of the Nation in general, or whether the natural Intereſt of Money, lent on public Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* are Queſtions I ſhall not at preſent give you the Trouble of enquiring into; but if both be reſolved in the Affirmative, which every Gentleman muſt do, who is for agreeing to what is now propoſed, I can ſee no Reaſon for our confining our Reſolution, or the Scheme depending thereon, to *South-Sea* Annuities only. For if a further Reduction of Intereſt muſt prove a Benefit to the Nation in general, we ought to extend that Benefit as far as we can ſuppoſe it will go; and if the natural Intereſt of Money upon public Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* it is not, in my Opinion, to be queſtioned, but the other Creditors of the Public will be as ready to accept of 3 *per Cent.* irredeemable for 14 Years, as the *South-Sea* Annuitants.—For this Reaſon, Sir, if we come to a Reſolution for enabling his Majeſty to open Books of Subſcription, it ought, I think, to be general: it ought to comprehend all the other public Creditors, as well as the *South Sea* Annuitants. But, Sir, there is another very ſtrong Reaſon for making our Reſolution general, which is, that a particular Reſolution with reſpect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants only, will, in my Opinion, be partial, and conſequently unjuſt, conſider it in what View we pleaſe, for that Reſolution muſt be advantageous, or it muſt be diſadvantageous to the *South-Sea* Annuitants: If we look upon it as a Reſolution that may be advantageous to them, it will be ſhewing a Partiality in their Favour, and will conſequently be doing an Injuſtice to the reſt of our Creditors; on the other

t-hand, if we look on it as a Reſolution that may be dvantageous for them, it will then be ſhewing a Par- y to our other Creditors, and will conſequently be a e of Injuſtice done towards the *South Sea* Annuitants.— m theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I think, if we come to any olution or Reſolutions for redeeming any of our pub- funds, and for enabling his Majeſty to borrow Money *per Cent.* for that Purpoſe, we ought to come to a Re- tion, to redeem all the public Funds redeemable by Law, now carry an Intereſt at 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, and we may come to another Reſolution for enabling his eſty to borrow Money at 3 *per Cent.* for that Purpoſe.— ſe, Sir, are my Sentiments with reſpect to the Affair under our Conſideration; and if the Houſe ſeems to rove of them, I ſhall then riſe up and move for ſuch olutions, as, I think, we ought to come to, agreeable to e Sentiments.'

o this it was anſwered by Sir *John Barnard* and others, ubſtance as follows, *viz.*

S I R,

Sir John Barnard.

There are two Methods of defeating any Scheme or Pro- tion offered to this Houſe, both of which have been n practiſed with Succeſs. One is the plain, blunt Way putting a Negative upon it at once; and the other, which likewiſe been practiſed in former Parliaments, is what may call a Sort of Parliamentary Play, which is, by king ſuch Improvements upon it as muſt neceſſarily ren- it abortive. I am far from thinking the Hon. Gentleman any ſuch Intention with reſpect to the Improvement as now offered, but there is an old and a true Proverb, *p at all, loſe all.* We have been told by ſeveral Gen- en in this Debate, that the Scheme, as firſt propoſed, ld certainly prove impracticable in the Execution; and ere was the leaſt Foundation for ſuch Apprehenſions, ly that Foundation muſt be very much widened, and ered at the ſame Time more ſolid, by the Improvement has been now offered. Our *South Sea* Annuities both and new amount to about 24 *Millions* only; all our emable Funds bearing an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent.* amount bove 44 *Millions*; and will any Gentleman ſay, but that ay be eaſy for the Government to borrow Money at 3 *Cent.* ſufficient for paying off ſuch of the Proprietors 24 *Millions*, as are not willing to accept of that Intereſt, yet it may be found very difficult for them to borrow ney at 3 *per Cent.* ſufficient for paying off ſuch of the prietors of 44 *Millions* as may not be willing to accept the Intereſt?

If

borrow, towards redeeming the Propri
Funds, who will not accept of 3 *per Ce*
you pleaſe to offer; whereas if you m
general, if you reſolve to apply the Mo
at 3 *per Cent.* towards redeeming the Pr
Funds, which now bear an Intereſt of
not accept of 3; not only the Propri
Funds, but even moſt of the *South-Sea*
of Opinion, it will not be in your Powe
Money at 3 *per Cent.* as will be near ſu
poſe; and thus the Fear of being redee
to a very few, you can expect but fe
Stock or Annuities at an Intereſt of 3
appears evident, in my Opinion, that th
your Scheme, the leſs Benefit you can
more you confine it, the more general a
will your Succeſs be.—However, Sir,
appear in this Debate, that all our Fund
below 3 *per Cent.* as our 3 *per Cent.* pu
bear a Premium in *'Change-Alley*; and
the Scheme at firſt was only to afford
thoſe who are willing to lend at 3 *per*
public Security for their Money at Par
obliged to pay a Premium for it in *'C*
afford an Opportunity to ſuch of the *So*
as are willing to accept of 3 *per Cen*
inſtead of having 4, and being ſubjected
Loſs of receiving and replacing ſo muc

and his Friends will remember, that the Scheme thus amended becomes properly their own Scheme, and that they will not afterwards endeavour to put a Negative upon the Scheme they have thus made their own. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7

The Scheme, even as thus amended, Sir, may turn out to be of ſignal Advantage to the Nation; but if that be true which has been hinted in this Debate, by ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who oppoſed the firſt Motion, I muſt confeſs, the Amendment would be dangerous. It has been inſinuated, that all the public Creditors will join in concerting Meaſures for defeating the Scheme, that is to ſay, they will join in concerting Meaſures for diſtreſſing their Country, in order that they may extort a higher Intereſt from her, than ſhe would otherwiſe be obliged to pay. This, Sir, is, 'tis true, a Practice too frequent among petty, private Uſurpers; but I hope none of the Creditors of the Public will ever deſerve ſuch a Name; for if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe them devoid of all Love for their Country, their own Intereſt muſt ſuggeſt a contrary Behaviour: Their own Proſperity depends upon the Proſperity of their Country; even the Security of their Principal, as well as Intereſt, depends upon the Proſperity of their Debtor, which can ſeldom or ever be the Caſe of private Borrowers and Lenders; therefore we cannot ſuppoſe the Creditors of the Public will ever join unanimouſly in concerting any ſuch Meaſures. But if any ſuch Thing were to be dreaded, they will ſurely join more unanimouſly againſt the Scheme as thus amended, than it can be ſuppoſed they would have done againſt the Scheme as firſt propoſed. When a Nation has been offended by ſeveral of her Neighbours, if ſhe declares War againſt them all at once, ſhe will certainly unite them altogether againſt her, and may probably involve herſelf in Ruin, inſtead of obtaining that Reparation which ſhe might eaſily have obtained, if ſhe had attacked them one after another. The Caſe is the ſame: If we reſolve to reduce only a Part of our public Funds to a lower Intereſt, the Proprietors of the other Funds not being in the ſame Circumſtances, will never join with them in the ſame Meaſures; but if we reſolve to reduce them all at once, it brings them all into the ſame Circumſtances, and will, conſequently, make them all join in the ſame Meaſures. This, I ſay, Sir, would be the Caſe, if it could be ſuppoſed the Creditors of the Public would ever join in any Meaſures for diſtreſſing their Country: In that Caſe we ought to look on them as public Enemies, and then we ought in good Policy to take all poſſible Care not to unite them, by attacking them all at once; but I ſhall never look upon the public Creditors as public Enemies, nor ſhall I ever look upon an

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Endeavour to borrow Money at a low Intereſt as an Attack, even upon that Part of them who are by means of that Money to be paid off. Quite otherwiſe, I ſhall always look upon the public Creditors as public Friends; therefore, I muſt ſuppoſe they will join in Meaſures for rendering effectual a Scheme calculated for giving an Eaſe to their Country, and that the more general the Intention of that Scheme is, the more generally, and the more unanimouſly, they will contribute towards its Succeſs. This, we ought in Charity to ſuppoſe, with regard to the public Creditors in general, whatever may be the Behaviour of ſome few of them; and upon this Suppoſition, I can apprehend no Danger from the Improvement, or rather Enlargement, propoſed.

With regard to the Juſtice and Impartiality of the Scheme as firſt propoſed, I am ſurprized, Sir, to hear it queſtioned by any Gentleman who conſiders the public Good, or the different Circumſtances of our ſeveral public Creditors. It would, in my Opinion, be of great Advantage to all the *South-Sea* Annuitants. An Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, irredeemable for 14 Years, is a Situation which, I am ſure, is highly preferable to their preſent; but this is an Advantage we ought not, for the Sake of public Good, to grant to any of the other public Creditors, if we can avoid it; it is an Advantage the *South-Sea* Annuitants deſerve more than the Generality of our other Creditors; and it is an Advantage which can breed no Confuſion among thoſe Annuitants; whereas the granting it to any other Set of public Creditors might breed great Confuſion among them. As to the public Good, we muſt conſider, that moſt of our other Creditors enjoy great excluſive Privileges in Trade, by Means of the Debt due to them; and as it may, in a few Years, be found neceſſary for the public Good, to deſtroy, or put an End to thoſe excluſive Privileges, therefore we ought not, for the Sake of public Good, to grant them an irredeemable Term of 14 Years, if we can poſſibly avoid it; which we may do, if all the *South-Sea* Annuitants ſhould agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and great Sums in ready Money ſhould likewiſe be ſubſcribed at that Intereſt. From hence every Man muſt ſee a good Reaſon for not granting this Advantage to the other public Creditors in general; but with reſpect to the *Bank* in particular, it would be Madneſs and very great Partiality to grant it to them; becauſe their Term expires in 6 Years, ſo that it would be granting them a Continuance of their Term for 8 Years, which is worth above 800,000*l.* in preſent Money, and that for no praticular Conſideration at all; for the Reduction of Intereſt from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* is a Conſideration granted by the other Creditors, as well

as

as by them, tho' none of the other Creditors are to receive any ſuch Advantage. *Anno* 10. G II 1736-

Then, Sir, as to the particular Circumſtances of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, every one knows they enjoy no Advantage or Profit from the Money they have lent to the Public, but merely that Annuity or yearly Intereſt paid them by the Public; whereas the Proprietors of our three great Companies have all along enjoyed, and do ſtill enjoy, the Advantage of an excluſive Trade, by which all of them have made, and two of them do ſtill make a large annual Profit, beſides that Annuity or yearly Intereſt paid them by the Public; therefore, if any new Advantage is to be granted to any of our public Creditors, which ought not to be granted to all, if it can be avoided, ſurely the *South-Sea* Annuitants have the beſt Title to that new Advantage. And ſuppoſe one Half of the *South-Sea* Annuitants ſhould agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and the other Half ſhould not, and that the Subſcriptions ſhould amount to no more than 2 or 3 *Millions*; in that Caſe it would be impoſſible for the Public to pay off at once, all the Annuitants ſo ſtanding out; the only Thing that could be done, would be to pay them their 4 *per Cent.* yearly, and to apply the Sinking-Fund towards them only till they ſhould all be paid off: With reſpect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, this might be eaſily done, by dividing them into four Claſſes, two of old and new Annuities at 3 *per Cent.* or if you pleaſe you might make but one of both theſe, and two of old and new Annuities at 4 *per Cent.* in which Caſe all future Payments might be applied to the two latter, without breeding any Confuſion, or cauſing any Diſputes: But, ſuppoſe this to be the Caſe of the Stockholders of our Trading Companies; it would breed great Confuſion among them, with regard to the Method of dividing the future Profits of their Trade, and it would cauſe great Diſputes; for the Proprietors of Stock at 3 *per Cent.* might inſiſt, they had a Right to a greater Share of the Profits of their Trade, than thoſe at 3 *per Cent.* eſpecially if it be true that the Annuity paid to theſe Companies by the Public, enables them to increaſe their Trade; and even after the 4 *per Cents.* were all paid off, they might inſiſt on their Share of the Profits by Trade, as long as the Company continued; in the ſame Manner as the preſent Proprietors of *Eaſt India* Stock might inſiſt upon having their Profits by Trade divided among them, proportionably to their reſpective Shares, then the Debt due to them by the Public ſhould be all immediately paid off.

From theſe Obſervations, Sir, it will appear, that the

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Favour deſigned by the Scheme, as firſt offered, to be ſhewn particularly to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, proceeds from a Regard for the public Good, from a Regard for their ſuperior Merit, and from a proper Caution not to breed any Confuſion, or Diſpute among our other public Creditors; and can any Gentleman ſay, that a Favour founded upon ſuch ſubſtantial Reaſons, is either partial or unjuſt? Therefore, if we ſuppoſe the Scheme advantageous for the *South-Sea* Annuitants, we cannot accuſe it of any Partiality or Injuſtice; and we cannot ſuppoſe it diſadvantageous to any ſuch Annuitant, becauſe, if he does not like the Terms propoſed, he may continue in the ſame Condition he is in at preſent; he may continue to enjoy his 4 *per Cent.* till his Capital be paid off, and I hope no Annuitant expects to enjoy it any longer, or imagines it is doing Injuſtice to him, to put the Public in a Way of paying him off ſooner.

After what I have ſaid, Sir, it may be ſuppoſed, that I am againſt agreeing to the Amendment or Enlargement propoſed; and if I were, it would not be without good Reaſons; for it is certainly inconſiſtent with the public Good to grant a Term of 14 Years irredeemable to any of our Trading Companies, if we could any way avoid it; and, I am ſure, it is inconſiſtent with the public Good, to make a Preſent to the *Bank* of above 800,000 *l.* which will be the Caſe, if we grant them a Prolongation of their Term for eight Years without any Conſideration; and laſtly, I cannot think it very conſiſtent with the public Good to run the Riſk of breeding a Confuſion and Diſpute among any of our public Creditors: But as my Hopes of Succeſs depend entirely upon the hearty Concurrence of the honourable Gentleman and his Friends, I am for agreeing to what he has been pleaſed to propoſe; becauſe the firſt two Diſadvantages muſt, I find, be ſubmitted to, and the laſt will, I hope, be prevented, by each of our Companies coming to a Reſolution in their reſpective general Courts to accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Terms offered, by which all Confuſion and Diſpute among their Proprietors will be prevented; therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will again riſe up, and move for ſuch Reſolutions as may be agreeable to what he has propoſed'.

Thus much was ſaid upon this new Topick, and there being no Occaſion for any Reply, the following Reſolutions were moved for, and agreed to, viz.

Reſolved, "That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all the public Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Intereſt of 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, be redeemed according to the reſpective Proviſoes or Clauſes of Redemption contained

in the Acts of Parliament for that Purpoſe, or *nſent of the Proprietors*) be converted into an Inte- Annuity not exceeding 3 *per Cent. per Annum* not ble till after 14 Years." *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

at it is the Opinion of this Committee, that his be enabled to borrow from any Perſon or Perſons, politic or corporate, any Sum or Sums of Money nterest not exceeding 3 *per Cent.* to be applied to- deeming the national Debt."

Vedneſday, March 30, theſe Reſolutions were reported *Charles Turner* to the Houſe; and the firſt Reſolution end a ſecond Time, and a new Debate ariſing, a was made for adjourning the further Conſideration ſaid Report till *Thurſday, April* 14, but upon the n's being put, it was carried in the Negative.

an Amendment to the Reſolution was propoſed by *Wade*, and ſeconded by *Walter Plumer*, Eſq; *viz.* ſtead of the Words, not exceeding 3 *per Cent. per* the Words, not exceeding 3 and a half *per Annum* be inſerted. Upon which Mr. *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; otice, That the Amendment propoſed was ſuch a one d not be made upon a Report; becauſe it was for a Sum annually than what they had agreed to in the ttee; and that therefore if they had a Mind to allow r Intereſt than 3 *per Cent.* they muſt recommit the ſolution. Whereupon Mr. *Plumer* ſaid, That, as an able Gentleman near him (meaning *Thomas Gore*, ad before taken Notice, the Affair's depending in ouſe had, he found, occaſioned ſo much Gaming in *-Alley*, that if the Amendment he had ſeconded, ot be agreed to upon the Report, he would be againſt nitting; becauſe he was for having the Affair deter- ſome way or other with as great Expedition as poſſible, r to put a Stop to that infamous Practice of Stock- g.

General Wade, *Walter Plumer, Eſq*; *Mr. Sandys*. *Mr. Plumer*.

rtheleſs, a Motion was made for recommitting; but he Queſtion's being put, it was, upon a Diviſion, car- the Negative by 220 to 157.

r which, both the Reſolutions were agreed to, and *hn Barnard*, Mr. *Wortley*, and the Maſter of the Rolls, rdered to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Reſo- ſo agreed to.

Sir John Barnard, *Sir Joſeph Jekyl*, *Mr. Wortley Montague*, *Mr. Howe*, *Mr. Gore*,

chief Speakers in theſe Debates in the Committee pon the Report, for the Reduction, were, Sir *John rd*, the *Maſter of the Rolls*, *Edward Wortley Montague*, *John Howe*, Eſq; *Thomas Gore*, Eſq; *Samuel Sandys*, *Sc.* And the chief Speakers againſt the Reduction were Mr. Sandys,

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Mr. Alderman Heathcote, Mr. Burrel, Mr. Holden, Sir Charles Wager, General Wade, Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. Knight, Sir Robert Walpole.

were Mr. Alderman *Heathcote*, *Peter Burrel*, Esq; *Holden*, Esq; Sir *Charles Wager*, General *Wade*, *Oglethorpe*, Esq; *Robert Knight*, Esq; &c. and Sir *Walpole*, who ſpoke not ſo much againſt the Reſo againſt its being then a proper Time for undertaki Scheme.

As ſoon as this Bill was ordered to be brought in, *Barnard* ſtood up, and after making a ſhort Speech " That that Houſe would, as ſoon as the Intereſt national redeemable Debt ſhould be reduced t *Cent. per Annum*, take off ſome of the heav which oppreſs the Poor and the Manufacturers."

Upon this Motion there enſued a Debate, in Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect a *viz.*

SIR,

' As the Increaſe, or rather the Revival of our one of the chief Ends intended by the Reſolution now agreed to, and as the Proſperity of Trade d much upon the low Rate of Wages as upon the lo Intereſt, I ſhall beg Leave to make you a Motion ther Reſolution, which I take to be a natural Conſe the two Reſolutions we have now agreed to; but make you the Motion I intend, I ſhall take the L make ſome Obſervations upon the Nature of Tra neral; and in the firſt Place, I muſt obſerve, tha Commodities, however valuable, by which I mea are produced without any great Art or Induſtry of ple, are never of any great Service to a Country, they maintain no great Number of Subjects, ne many Individuals. The Gold and Silver of the and *Portugueſe* Settlements in *America* are Commo great Value; but as they are produced by the La Slaves, and enrich only the King and a few gre they have rather diminiſhed than increaſed the Pe the Riches of both thoſe Kingdoms; the Reaſon o is, becauſe they maintain no great Number of in Subjects, in which the Power of a Country conſiſts; Riches that belong entirely to the King, or to a fe Men, are generally waſted in Luxury and Extravag employ'd in ambitious Projects, which no way ten public Good of the Country. This prevents the In natural-born Subjects, and render ſuch as they ha idle, and extravagant; ſo that thoſe very Riches, are brought in by the Labour of their Slaves, they a Year obliged to ſend out, for purchaſing the Neceſ

Life, or ſuch Things as are proper for ſupporting their Luxury. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

From hence we may ſee, Sir, that the only Commodities proper for increaſing or ſupporting the Power and the Riches of a Country, are thoſe which are produced by the Art and Induſtry of the Inhabitants. The Production or Manufacture, and Sale or Exchange, of ſuch Commodities is that only which can properly be called Trade; and of ſuch Commodities no Country can have any great Quantity, unleſs they can ſell them cheaper than any of their Neighbours can ſell Commodities of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs. Now as the original Materials of all ſuch Commodities are to be got by the People of all Countries, at pretty near the ſame Price, the Difference between the Price of ſuch Commodities when worked up in one Country, and the Price of them when worked up in another, muſt always depend upon the Price of Labour; that is to ſay, the Wages given to Workmen and Servants; for no ſuch Commodities can be ſold ſo cheap by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are high, as Commodities of the ſame Kind and Goodneſs may be ſold by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are low; but in all Countries the Price of Labour, or the Wages given to Workmen and Servants, muſt depend upon the Price of thoſe Proviſions which are neceſſary for their convenient Support; I ſay, Sir, their convenient Support, for even the pooreſt Workman muſt and will have ſome of the Conveniences of Life; and that Country where the uſual Price of Labour can afford the Labourers moſt of the Conveniencies of Life, will always at laſt come to have the greateſt Number of Workmen, in all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture. A Glut of Buſineſs, or a Scarcity of Workmen, may ſometimes occaſion the Wages of Workmen and Servants to be higher in one Country than another; but if the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life be equal in both, the Workmen will by Degrees leave the Country where Wages are low, and repair to that Country where Wages are high; by which Means the Price of Labour in both Countries will at laſt be brought upon a Par: This will always be the Caſe where the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life is the ſame in both Countries; but if the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniences of Life, by Accident or bad Meaſures, become dearer in one Country than in another, and continue ſo for ſome Time, in that Country where ſuch Neceſſaries and Conveniencies are deareſt, the Price of Labour muſt riſe, or their Workmen and Servants will all leave them; for tho' the

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the Deſire to live in their native Country may keep them at Home for ſome Time, and may make them chuſe to live much more ſparingly by their Labour at Home, than they could do by the ſame Labour in another Country, yet ſome will be every Year deſerting, and the more that have deſerted, the greater Encouragement will thoſe that remain have to deſert; ſo that the Deſertion muſt neceſſarily and inevitably at laſt become general.

This, I ſay, Sir, will certainly be the Event, if the Price of Labour, or the Wages of Workmen, are not raiſed in Proportion as the Price of the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life riſes in any Country; and if the Price of Labour be raiſed higher in one Country than it is in another, we may eaſily ſee what will be the neceſſary Conſequence. As the Price of the original Materials of all Sorts of Commodities produced by the Art and Induſtry of the People, is pretty much the ſame in all Countries, thoſe Commodities may be ſold cheaper by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is cheap, than they can be by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is dear; the neceſſary Conſequence of which muſt be, that the former, by underſelling, will firſt beat the latter out of all foreign Markets, and at laſt even out of their own home Market; for tho' a Country may by ſevere Laws and high Penalties, for ſome Time, prevent the Importation of thoſe foreign Commodities which are of the ſame Nature with their own, yet the Execution of ſuch Laws will at laſt become ſo grievous to the People, that it muſt either be neglected, or the Laws repealed; becauſe the People cannever be perſuaded it is a Crime to buy at the cheapeſt Hand, nor can they bear to ſee their Fellow-Countrymen puniſhed for what they think no Crime: They neither will nor can enquire into the Cauſes of the Dearneſs of ſuch Commodities in their own Country, but will think it proceeds from the Covetouſneſs of thoſe concerned in the Trade; therefore ſuch Laws always have produced, and always will at laſt produce Murmurings and Inſurrections among the People; ſo that the Government at laſt will be obliged, for the Sake of Quiet, to let the People buy where they beſt can; and this Liberty will put a full Stop to any Manufactures that may then be remaining among them.—There are many other Conſiderations, Sir, which contribute towards rendering Trade more flouriſhing in one Country than another; ſuch as a happy Conſtitution of Government, and good Laws and Cuſtoms for ſecuring the Liberty and Property of the Subject; a Regard and Eſteem ſhewn by the Laws for Merchants and Tradeſmen; a low Rate of the natural Intereſt of Money; and many

others:

others: But this I will ſay, that of two Countries alike in all other Circumſtances, the Trade of that Country will flouriſh moſt where the Price of Labour is cheapeſt, and where they may have the original Materials of thoſe Commodities which are produced by the Art and Induſtry of the People, at the cheapeſt Rate. Nay, if there be a Rivalſhip between them, as to the Production of any ſuch Commodity, we may depend on it the former will at laſt beat the other entirely out of the Buſineſs. From hence we may ſee, how ruinous it muſt be to the Trade of any Country, to lay Taxes upon any Proviſions that are neceſſary for the convenient Support of their Labourers, Manufacturers, or Tradeſmen; or upon any of the original Materials of thoſe Commodities which are produced by the Art and Induſtry of their People: From hence we muſt ſee that the Trade of any ſuch Country muſt neceſſarily at laſt be undone, if their Neighbours be in any Sort of Condition to take Advantage of the Slip they have made: And from hence we muſt ſee, how neceſſary it is for us to take the moſt effectual and the moſt immediate Meaſures for relieving our People from thoſe Taxes which lie heavy, not only upon almoſt all Sorts of Proviſions, but upon almoſt all Sorts of Materials. We may make Laws againſt Smuggling, we may make Laws againſt exporting our Wool, we may make Laws againſt inveigling our Workmen into foreign Countries: Theſe are but quackiſh Remedies; if we have a Mind to work a thorough Cure, we muſt remove the Cauſe, which certainly proceeds from our many heavy Taxes; for none of our Workmen would go to foreign Countries, if they could live more conveniently by their Labour in this, than they could in any other; none of our Wool would be exported, if it could be wrought up in this Country cheaper than in any other, eſpecially, if by our Treaties we took Care to have a free Entry for our Manufactures into every Country; and no foreign Manufacture would be imported upon us, if the prime Coſt were higher than the ſame Sort of Manufacture could be bought for, here at Home.

I know, Sir, it has been ſaid our Taxes are no way inſupportable, nor heavier in this Country than they are in *Holland* or *France*; but if thoſe Gentlemen would compare the Taxes and the Methods of raiſing them in this Country, with the Taxes and Methods of raiſing them either in *France* or *Holland*, or any other Country of *Europe*, they will find that the Taxes in this Country are more burdenſome upon Trade, and the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any

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Country of *Europe:* Inſomuch that, if it were not for the natural Advantage we enjoy by means of our Situation, and the many flouriſhing Plantations we have in the *Weſt-Indies*, and for that artificial Advantage which has been handed down to us from our wiſe Anceſtors, and which, I hope, we ſhall take Care to preſerve, I mean the ſuperior Excellence of our Conſtitution, Laws, and Cuſtoms; I ſay, if it were not for theſe Advantages, I am convinced our Trade would already have been entirely loſt. Theſe Advantages, eſpecially our Plantations, and the great Exports and Imports we make to and from them, have hitherto preſerved our Trade and our Manufactures; but our Plantations will at laſt fall upon Ways and Means to furniſh themſelves with foreign Manufactures, or with ſuch as are worked up among themſelves, if they find they can do it at a much cheaper Rate than they can have any ſuch from us; and with reſpect to our Imports from thence, ſuch as Sugars, Rum, Tobacco, Skins, and the like, we may continue for many Years to ſupply our Home Maket with ſuch Commodities from our own Plantations, by means of prohibitory Laws and high Duties upon foreign Commodities of the ſame Kind; but if our preſent high Rate of Intereſt and high Duties continue, and if the *French* continue to improve their Plantations for Years to come, as faſt as they have done for theſe twenty Years paſt, I am afraid it may ſoon be put out of our Power to ſupply any foreign Market with any even of thoſe Commodities; and if all foreign Markets ſhould be ſhut up againſt us, both with reſpect to our Home Manufactures and with reſpect to the Produce of our Plantations, our Luxury muſt either greatly diminiſh, or we ſhould ſoon have no Occaſion to be afraid of Foreigners drawing our Money away from us, by the Sale of their Property in our Funds; for if they could ſell that Property for any Price, which is much to be queſtioned, they would find no Money in the Kingdom to draw out of it, they would be obliged to take and export our Corn, Cattle, Tin, Lead, or Wool, in lieu of the Property they had ſo diſpoſed of.

That the Dearneſs of Proviſions, and conſequently of Labour, in this Kingdom, does not proceed from Money being more plenty in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, is evident, Sir, from the natural Rate of Intereſt between Man and Man being higher in this Country than in either of the other two; and the Dearneſs of Proviſions and Labour, in and about *London*, does not ſo much proceed from a greater Plenty of Money in and about *London*, as from their Taxes being more numerous, and more heavy, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; for all Taxes are more ſtrictly

raiſed

raiſed in and about *London* than in any other Part of the Kingdom; and the Inhabitants in and about *London*, even thoſe of the pooreſt Sort, are ſubject to two moſt grievous Taxes, which almoſt every other Part of the Kingdom is free from: I mean the Tax upon Coals, and upon Ale-Houſes by Virtue of the Pot-Act, both which fall extremely heavy upon the poor Labourer and Manufacturer, and muſt neceſſarily make both Proviſions and Labour much dearer in and about *London*, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; therefore, I hope, theſe two Taxes will be among the firſt to be taken off: For I muſt think the Manufacturers and Labourers in and about *London*, if they are not put upon an equal Footing with their foreign Neighbours, ought at leaſt to be put upon an equal Footing with their domeſtic Neighbours, eſpecially conſidering that they will be the greateſt Sufferers by the Reduction of the Intereſt payable upon our public Funds. But there is another ſtrong Reaſon for making Labour as cheap as poſſible in and about *London*, becauſe there are many Sorts of Manufactures which cannot ſo conveniently be carried on in any Part of the Kingdom as in or near *London*, and all Ships which carry out a Cargo conſiſting of a great Variety of Sorts of Goods, properly ſorted for the foreign Market to which they are bound, muſt take their Cargo and Departure generally from *London*; ſo that a great Part of our foreign Trade, as long as we have any, muſt always depend upon our Exports from the Port of *London*; and many of our homeward bound Ships muſt come to unload the whole, or a Part of their Cargo at *London*, before they can return to the Port from whence they ſet out: For which Reaſon we ought, if poſſible, to render the Price of Proviſions, and conſequently the Price of Labour, as cheap at *London* as it is in any Part of this Kingdom, or in any trading Country in *Europe*; at leaſt, I am ſure, we ought neither to impoſe nor continue any Tax which muſt neceſſarily enhance the Price both of the one and the other.

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After having thus ſhewn the neceſſary and the fatal Conſequences of Taxes upon the Neceſſaries of Life, or upon the original Materials proper for any Manufacture, I am convinced every Gentleman that hears me will be of Opinion, that as ſoon as the Intereſt payable upon our public Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* we ought to annihilate ſome Part of the Sinking-Fund, by aboliſhing ſome of the heavy Taxes that oppreſs our poor Labourers and Manufacturers; for that we have ſome ſuch cannot I think be queſtioned, after what his preſent Majeſty was pleaſed to recommend to us from the Throne but a few Years ſince. And in order

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to convince all thoſe without Doors that this is our real Intention, we ought, I think, immediately to come to ſome ſuch Reſolution; becauſe it will not only contribute towards the Succeſs of the Scheme we have juſt now agreed to, but it will likewiſe contribute towards preventing ſome of our Workmen from going Abroad, who are now perhaps making Preparations for that Purpoſe, and towards prevailing with ſome Maſters of Manufactures to continue in their Buſineſs, who are now perhaps, through Deſpair, reſolving to give it up. When our money'd Men and other Stockholders ſee a ſolemn Reſolution of Parliament for aboliſhing ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, and when they conſider the great Benefit that may accrue therefrom to our Trade, and the great Relief it will afford to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, if they have the leaſt Regard for their Country, they will certainly contribute with the more Alacrity towards the Succeſs of a Scheme, from which ſo many public Benefits may be reaſonably expected; and even the moſt ſelfiſh Stockholders will find in ſuch a Reſolution this Comfort, that if their Revenue be diminiſhed by the Reduction of Intereſt, their Loſs will be in ſome Meaſure compenſated by the Diminution of their Expence, which will be the neceſſary Conſequence of aboliſhing any of our heavy Taxes, not only with regard to thoſe Commodities which are diſcharged of the Tax, but with regard to all other Sorts of Commodities; for a Tax upon any one of the Neceſſaries of Life muſt enhance the Price, not only of all the other Neceſſaries of Life, but likewiſe of all thoſe Things that are proper either for the Conveniency or the *Luxury* of Life. Therefore, the aboliſhing of ſome of our heavy Taxes muſt neceſſarily leſſen the future Expence of every Family in the Kingdom, eſpecially about *London*, where all Taxes are moſt ſtrictly raiſed, and moſt ſeverely felt; and conſequently a Reſolution for that Purpoſe muſt naturally tend towards making every Man contribute, with the more Alacrity, to the Succeſs of the Scheme we have now agreed to.

Such a Reſolution, Sir, will not only contribute to the Succeſs of the Scheme without Doors, but it will likewiſe contribute greatly to its Succeſs within Doors; for I muſt confeſs, I ſhould myſelf be very indifferent about its Succeſs, either within Doors or without, if I did not think that the aboliſhing of ſome of our heavy Taxes would be the neceſſary Conſequence of the reducing the Intereſt payable upon the public Funds: If the People were to receive no Benefit by ſuch Reduction, if I thought the only Advantage to be reaped thereby, would be the Increaſe of the Sinking-

Fund,

I ſhould be very little anxious about the Succeſs of *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
heme; becauſe I am now fully convinced, That Fund
ever be religiouſly and regularly applied to the Uſes
ich it was intended; but will always ſerve as a Fund
ding the Nation into expenſive and unneceſſary Pro-
or Meaſures; and may hereafter be made uſe of for
ing ſucceſsful the moſt wicked Purpoſes an ambitious
or a guilty Miniſter can invent or contrive. For
eaſon, I am ſure there are many Gentlemen in both
s of Parliament, who will be much more ſanguine for
ſſing of the Bill now ordered to be brought in, than
would otherwiſe be, if they are aſſured that the Reduc-
Intereſt will be attended with a Diminution of Taxes;
othing can contribute more towards giving Gentlemen
n Aſſurance, than a previous Reſolution of this Houſe,
as ſoon as the Intereſt is reduced, ſome of our moſt
nſome Taxes will be aboliſhed; therefore, whatever
lemen may pretend, whatever their outward Profeſ-
may be, I ſhall not eaſily believe they are really and
eir Hearts for paſſing the Bill we have ordered to be
ht in, if they are againſt the Motion I am now to

the Debate, Sir, upon the Reſolution of the Com-
, it was, I think, made fully appear, that a Reduction
tereſt would be a great Advantage to the Nation in
al; and as theſe Reſolutions have been agreed to by
ouſe, I muſt conclude the Majority are of the ſame
ion; yet ſuch is the Selfiſhneſs of ſome Men without
s, who are great Stockholders, and who conſequently
be great Loſers by what has been agreed to within
s, that they will not be, or will pretend they are not
nced of what I think is evident at firſt View. They
nly endeavour to convince themſelves, but they endea-
to convince others, that the Nation will be no way
ited by what we have reſolved on, but that on the
ary moſt Tradeſmen and Artificers will be Loſers;
he chief, nay the only Argument they make uſe of,
deed can make uſe of, is, That we have no Deſign to
h any of the Taxes, but only to increaſe the Sinking Fund;
, ſay they to Tradeſmen and Artificers, you will be no
ers by this Scheme, becauſe you muſt pay the ſame
s you did before; and as our Revenue is to be leſſened,
uſt contract our Expence, we cannot lay out ſo much
ey with you as we did before, ſo that you will be Loſers,
d of being Gainers by the Reduction of Intereſt.
, Sir, is their Argument, and by means of this Argu-
they may raiſe up a Spirit of Diſcontent among the
People;

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People; for it is not eaſy to perſuade the Generality of Mankind of the Advantages they may reap by the Reduction of Intereſt, unleſs they be made to feel ſome immediate Advantage by the aboliſhing of Taxes; therefore to evade this Argument, and to obviate the pernicious Deſigns of ſuch ſelfiſh Men, we ought now to come to a Reſolution, that as ſoon as the Reduction of Intereſt takes Place, ſome of the moſt heavy Taxes ſhall certainly be taken off. It will then be eaſy for any Man, who is a Friend to the Scheme, or to his Country, to ſhew to every Tradeſman, Shopkeeper, and Labourer, that he muſt neceſſarily be a Gainer by the Reduction of Intereſt; and this will of courſe reconcile great Numbers of People to the intended Reduction of Intereſt, and to his Majeſty's Government; at leaſt it will put it out of the Power of thoſe who, from ſelfiſh Views, are Enemies to both, to raiſe any popular Diſcontent againſt either the one or the other.

From this Obſervation, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to ſay, that no Man, who is a real Friend to the Scheme, and to his Majeſty and his Government, can, in my Opinion, be againſt our agreeing to ſuch a Reſolution as I have mentioned; for, however much the Affections and good Opinion of the Populace may be deſpiſed by ſome Men, and tho' I do not think a Popularity ſhould be courted by unjuſtifiable Means, or by mean and imprudent Compliances, yet I think the Love of the People in general is what every Government, and every private Man, ought to endeavour to obtain, and therefore, when we ſee the People miſled, or attempted to be miſled, we ought to take all poſſible Meaſures to undeceive them, or to prevent their being deceived by ſelfiſh and deſigning Men. However, Sir, when I ſay this, I would not have it thought, that I look upon the Revilings or the Applauſes of a mercenary Mob, a Mob headed by Clerks of the *Treaſury* and other ſuch mercenary Creatures, to be any Teſtimony either of the Hatred, or the Affections of the People; for ſuch Creatures I muſt always look on as Enemies to the People, and ſhall always be proud of meriting their Reſentment.

I think, Sir, I need not add any thing further for ſhewing the Reaſonableneſs and the Neceſſity of the Reſolution I have mentioned; therefore I ſhall conclude with making you this Motion, to reſolve, That this Houſe will, as ſoon, &c. (as before mentioned.")

To this is was anſwered in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

I ſhall readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Motion, that Taxes upon the Neceſſaries or Con-

Conveniencies of Life muſt increaſe the Price of Labour, and that it would be a great Advantage to the Trade of this Country, and a great Relief to the People, if we could aboliſh ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdenſome upon Trade, or the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; and much leſs can I agree with him, that it is either proper or neceſſary for us to come to any immediate Reſolution, to aboliſh ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes, as ſoon as the Intereſt of all the national redeemable Debt ſhall be reduced to 3 *per Cent. per Annum*. I wiſh the Hon. Gentleman had been at ſome more Pains to ſhew us how the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdenſome upon Trade, or the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; for theſe are Facts which, I think, deſerve ſome Proof, and if any ſuch Thing had been attempted, ſome Methods might have been found for ſhewing wherein he was miſtaken; for to a ſimple Averment of a Fact, without one Proof or one Argument for enforcing the Belief of it, no Anſwer can be made but a contrary Averment; and in this, with reſpect to *France* at leaſt, I am ſure I may be juſtified; for all their Taxes are not only impoſed but raiſed in an arbitrary Manner, and as moſt of their Taxes are farmed by Merchants and Dealers, their People are not only loaded with the Tax, but oppreſſed with a Monopoly, which thoſe Farmers have generally the Addreſs to get into their own Hands, by means of the Privileges they enjoy, as Farmers of that particular Branch of the Revenue. In *Holland*, indeed, the peculiar Nature of their Country makes it more eaſy for them to raiſe their Taxes, than it is poſſible for us to raiſe any Tax we can impoſe; but in the main their Taxes are much heavier upon the Neceſſaries of Life, and conſequently more burdenſome to Trade, than they are in any Part of this Country, not excepting the City of *London* itſelf; where the Taxes, I ſhall grant, are more ſtrictly raiſed, and are more numerous, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; but this does not proceed from any Partiality towards the reſt of the Kingdom: It proceeds from the Nature of Things, which renders it impoſſible to raiſe the Taxes ſo ſtrictly, or to impoſe ſo many, in any other Part of the Kingdom, as in *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and this Diſadvantage is fully made good to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, by its being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the

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the Center, as it were, of all the Trade and public Riches within the *Britiſh* Dominions.

With regard to *France* and *Holland* therefore, I muſt think, Sir, and it has been the general Opinion, that the Subjects of each are more loaded and more oppreſſed with Taxes and Exciſes, than the People of this Kingdom; and with regard to any other Country of *Europe*, they may not perhaps have ſo many or ſo large Taxes as we have, becauſe their People in general are not near ſo rich: but in each of them their Taxes are more heavy, in proportion to their Riches, than in this Country, and their Method of raiſing Taxes is more arbitrary and more oppreſſive; from whence I muſt conclude, our Taxes can give no Country in *Europe* an Advantage over us in Trade, nor can the Price of Labour, or the Wages of their Servants or Workmen, be cheaper than it is here; at leaſt, if it is, that Cheapneſs muſt proceed from their not having ſo great a Plenty of Money, or from their Workmen and Servants being more frugal and induſtrious, by which they are enabled to live upon leſs Wages. Nevertheleſs, I ſhall grant, the aboliſhing of ſome of our moſt heavy Taxes would be a great Benefit to the Nation, and a great Encouragment to our Trade, becauſe it would give us a great additional Advantage in Trade, over every one of our Neighbours; therefore I wiſh with all my Heart it could be done, but in our preſent Circumſtances I do not think it poſſible, or at leaſt not conſiſtent with the preſent and future Happineſs of the Nation; for our Government muſt be ſupported, and not only the Intereſt of our public Debts muſt be regularly paid, but a Part of the Principal muſt be yearly diſcharged, in order that we may at laſt get free of our Debt as well as of moſt of our Taxes. If we aboliſh any of our Taxes before our Debts are paid off, we muſt remain longer in Debt, and conſequently muſt remain longer under thoſe Taxes that are left unaboliſhed; ſo that the only Difference is, whether we ſhall remain under two Taxes of equal Value for 20 Years, or under one of theſe Taxes only for 40 Years? Which is a Queſtion that in my Opinion is very doubtful, and requires a very mature Conſideration. However, ſuppoſe I were to admit that ſome of our Taxes ought to be taken off, as ſoon as the Intereſt payable upon our public Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* ſuppoſe I were to admit that it would be better for the Nation to remain 40 Years under a Tax of 100,000 *l.* yearly, than to remain but 20 Years under two Taxes of 100,000 *l.* yearly each: yet I cannot admit that it is either neceſſary or proper for

this

this Houſe, upon the preſent Occaſion, to come to any ſuch Reſolution as has been propoſed. *Anno* 10. *G.* II. 1736-7.

Every one knows, Sir, and the Gentleman who moved you this Queſtion is very ſenſible, that no Parliament has any Power or Authority over a future Parliament, nor can the Reſolution of one Seſſion be a Tye or Obligation upon any ſucceeding Seſſion. The Event which the Reſolution propoſed relates to, is an Event which cannot poſſibly happen during this Seſſion: It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that during this Seſſion the Intereſt upon all our public Funds can be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* therefore our reſolving what ſhall be done when that Event happens, is undertaking for a future Seſſion, which we have no Power over, nor can pretend to preſcribe to. For this Reaſon, if the Intention of the Reſolution be to encourage our public Creditors to come in and ſubſcribe their reſpective Debts at 3 *per Cent.* I muſt beg leave to ſay it is in ſome meaſure a ſort of fraudulent Intention, becauſe it is offering them a Conſideration which we have no Power to offer; it is making them a Promiſe which we cannot fulfil, nor oblige any ſucceeding Seſſion to fulfil; and I hope this Houſe will always be ſo careful of its Honour, as never to come to any Reſolution or Determination, that may bear the leaſt Imputuation of being any way fraudulent or deceitful.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, we had a Power to reſolve or determine what ſhall be done by any future Seſſion, yet upon the preſent Occaſion we ought to avoid coming to any ſuch Reſolution or Determination, as what is now propoſed; becauſe it will be looked on as a ſort of threatning. It is a ſort of public Declaration that the Nation ſhall never be freed from any of its Taxes, till the public Creditors agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for the Money due to them, but that it ſhall be freed from ſome of its moſt heavy Taxes, as ſoon as they agree to accept of that Intereſt. By ſuch a Declaration, what an unlucky Circumſtance ſhall we put all our Creditors in! They muſt give up a fourth Part of their Revenue, which many of them can very ill ſpare, they muſt accept of a lower Intereſt for their Money than any other Man in the Kingdom has, or they muſt expoſe themſelves to the Malice and Reſentment of the People in general; for upon their Refuſal every Man in the Kingdom would look upon them as the Cauſe of all the Taxes he pays, and every unfortunate Man would look upon them as the Authors of his Miſery. Nor does it ſignify any thing to ſay, that thoſe who do not chuſe to accept of, or cannot live upon 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, may ſell out and employ their Money where they beſt can; for if many of them ſhould

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reſolve to ſell out, it would ſoon bring the Price of every one of our Funds below Par, and then they would be reduced to the hard Neceſſity of loſing a Part of their Capital, or of taking ſuch an Intereſt as the Public ſhould be pleaſed to give them. After ſuch a public Declaration therefore, moſt of thoſe who are now the Creditors of the Public, muſt neceſſarily remain ſo, and if they do, they muſt either accept of 3 *per Cent.* or they muſt expoſe themſelves to the Malice and Reſentment of the whole Nation, which in no Circumſtance no wiſe Man would chuſe; and for this Reaſon I muſt look upon the Reſolution propoſed, as a ſort of threatening and frightening our Creditors into the accepting of 3 *per Cent.* which is a ſort of Treatment I ſhall never, for any Conſideration, agree to.

This, Sir, is a Method of treating our public Creditors, which I hope we ſhall never have the leaſt Occaſion for; and in order to prevent the Nation's being of Opinion that they can never be freed from Taxes, unleſs the Intereſt upon all our public Funds be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* and conſequently to prevent any public Creditor from incurring the Reſentment of the People for refuſing to accept of that Intereſt, I muſt beg Leave to put you in Mind, that tho' the Intereſt of our public Funds be never reduced below what it is at preſent, yet if our Taxes be continued, and the Sinking-Fund regularly applied, the People may be freed from all their Taxes, except ſuch as are neceſſary for the current Service, in about 24 Years, ſuppoſing our Debts to be 48 Millions, and the annual Amount of the Sinking-Fund to be 1,200,000*l.* And that if it ſhould be thought for the Benefit of the Nation to aboliſh ſome of our heavy Taxes, before our Debts be wholly paid off, we may now do it without any Reduction of Intereſt, and yet leave a very conſiderable Sinking-Fund remaining for the Payment of a Part of our Debts yearly: Nay, all the Advantage we can expect by the great Reduction propoſed, is only an Addition of about 400,000*l.* a Year to the Sinking-Fund, and that Addition we ſhall acquire in leſs than 8 Years, without any Reduction of Intereſt, or threatening our public Creditors with the public Reſentment; ſo that in leſs than 8 Years Time we ſhall be in as good a Condition for aboliſhing Taxes, and may aboliſh as many of them, without any ſuch Reduction, as we can do at preſent, ſuppoſing ſuch a Reduction were already brought about: From all which I muſt conclude, that, with reſpect to the aboliſhing of Taxes, it is no Matter of any great Moment to the People, whether the Reduction takes Place or not.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that the Reducing of the Intereſt

Funds from 4 to 3 *per Cent.* would be a con-
ing to the Public; but to pretend that the
Taxes equal in Value to that Reduction,
Compenſation to the public Creditors for the
fourth Part of their yearly Revenue, is what
ittle ſurprized at; for the aboliſhing of the
Candles and Soap would amount almoſt to the
what we could ſave by the Reduction; and to
he ſaving of 1 *d.* a Pound upon Candles, and
ice a Pound upon Soap, would be a Compen-
an who loſes 100 *l.* a Year or more by the
ſomething very extraordinary. But ſuppoſe
it that the Saving in one Way would be a
for the Loſs in the other, that Compenſation
ave no Power to promiſe, and therefore we
propoſe it as an Inducement for any of our
accept of 3 *per Cent.* nor ought we by any
give them Hopes of its being a Compenſation
tainly meet with; for I am ſure, in private
not be reckoned very honourable for a Man
ſo much as inſinuate, a Reward or Compen-
he had no Power to give; and as in all our
ve have been, ſo I hope we always ſhall be as
Honour, as any private Man can or ought to

eaſon, Sir, we ought not to make any ſuch
propoſe any ſuch Compenſation, even tho' the
ut Doors were ſo far miſtaken about the
liament, as to imagine the Reſolutions of one
binding upon every ſucceeding Seſſion; but
le without Doors are fully apprized of the
r Power, as it is generally known without
l as within, that no Reſolution of this Seſſion,
diſpenſable Obligation upon any future Seſſion
cannot expect that the Reſolution now pro-
ſuch Reſolution, can any way contribute to
f our Trade, the Succeſs of the Scheme now
the rendering the People better, or more gene-
fected towards his Majeſty and his Govern-
ey are at preſent. On the contrary, I believe
a quite contrary Effect, with regard to every
three Purpoſes; becauſe it would give the
t Doors a mean Opinion of our Proceedings,
ies to the Scheme would not fail to repreſent
tion in the moſt ridiculous Light.
e, Sir, I muſt beg leave to differ ſo far from
ntleman, as to think, that no Gentleman, who

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is a real Friend to our Trade, or to the Scheme, or to his Majeſty and his Government, will be for agreeing to the Reſolution propoſed: I am ſure, if the Hon. Gentleman view'd it in the ſame Light I do, he would never have offered it to the Houſe: And I muſt ſay, I have the Pleaſure to think, that neither of the Ends propoſed ſtands in need of any ſuch Reſolution. Our Trade is now, I believe, in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever it was; therefore, tho' it might perhaps be increaſed by an actual Diſcharge from ſome of our Taxes, yet it could not be ſaid to be revived even by the Diſcharge itſelf, and much leſs by an inſignificant Reſolution for that Purpoſe. Then as to the Succeſs of the Scheme, if the natural Intereſt of Money upon public Securities be at 3 *per Cent.* it will take Effect of itſelf, without any ſuch Reſolution; and if the natural Intereſt of Money be at 4, I am convinced no Gentleman of this Houſe would deſire to make uſe of Threats, or empty Promiſes, in order to induce the public Creditors to accept of 3. And laſtly, as to the Affections of the People towards his Majeſty and his Government, I hope they are already ſo well and ſo generally eſtabliſhed by the Wiſdom and Juſtice of his Majeſty's Conduct, that they ſtand in no need of a Support from any Reſolution of Parliament: I am ſure every Gentleman of this Houſe would be ſorry to think they depend upon ſuch a precarious Foundation as the Reſolution now before us, which may be rendered abortive, not only by the Diſappointment of the Scheme, but by the next Seſſion's not being of the ſame Opinion with the preſent.

I ſhall conclude, Sir, with obſerving, that Gentlemen are generally too fond of their own Schemes: Our Schemes are like our Children; we often conceive much greater and more certain Hopes of their Succeſs, than can reaſonably be expected. For my Part, as the Scheme is none of mine, as I had no Share in its Conception, I am ſo far from being certain of its Succeſs, that I am not a little ſuſpicious of our meeting with a Diſappointment; therefore, I muſt think our agreeing to the Reſolution now before us, would be a ſort of Reckoning without one's Hoſt: I muſt think it will be Time enough for us to come to a Reſolution to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, when we ſee the Scheme has taken Effect; for if we ſhould now come to ſuch a previous Reſolution, and the Scheme ſhould afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole World would laugh at our Precipitancy: for which Reaſon I ſhall give my Negative to the Queſtion."

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

Sir,

SIR,

" I am a good deal ſurprized to hear it ſaid, that no Proofs or Arguments have been offered for ſhewing that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdenſome upon Trade, and more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries. This, I ſay, I am a good deal ſurprized at, conſidering how many clear Proofs and ſolid Arguments were laid before us in the Committee on the national Debt, for evincing a melancholy Fact; which happened ſo lately, that I am ſure they cannot have ſlipt out of any Gentleman's Memory, and therefore I ſhall not give you the Trouble of repeating them. But I cannot comprehend what the Honourable Gentleman means by Exciſes in *Holland* or *France*, for I never heard of a *Gauger* or *Exciſeman* in either of thoſe Countries; and upon Enquiry, I believe, it will appear, that none of their Taxes are levied in that Manner. As for the Farmers in *France*, I do not ſee how they can ſet up any Monopoly; becauſe they are often changing; and as every Dealer knows what Duty he is to pay upon any Commodity he has a Mind to deal in, the Farmers can hinder no Man from dealing in what he pleaſes, and conſequently can ſet up no oppreſſive Monopoly: Beſides, as the Farmers are always they who offer the moſt Money, they cannot always be either Miniſters or the Creatures of Miniſters, and therefore would certainly be called to Account, if they ſhould concert Meaſures for oppreſſing the People.

Our Travellers, Sir, who make but very ſuperficial Enquiries into the Manners or Cuſtoms of any Country they paſs through, may perhaps imagine the People in *France* or *Holland* are more heavily, or more oppreſſively taxed, than the People of this Kingdom, becauſe they hear the People complain there as well as they do here; but any Gentleman who underſtands theſe Things, and has made a proper Enquiry, may ſoon be convinced of the contrary; and as for the other Countries of *Europe*, they have not, 'tis true, ſuch Numbers of rich Merchants, Maſters of Manufactures, and Maſter Tradeſmen as we have in this Country, which is the Reaſon that many of their Poor live in Idleneſs, or ſtarve for mere Want, becauſe there are few or no rich Merchants or Maſters in the Country, that have Money to employ them; but in all Countries, where the Poor have any Employment, they are pretty near equally poor; they neither get nor expect more than a comfortable Subſiſtence by their Labour, and if you enhance the Means of that Subſiſtence, by Taxes upon the Neceſſaries or Conveniencies of Life, their Maſters muſt increaſe their Wages;

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ſo that all Taxes fall at laſt upon the Maſters, foreign and domeſtic, who muſt pay for that Increaſe of Wages in the Price of Goods they purchaſe; but the Difference is, that a Tax laid directly upon the Maſter, only prevents his growing rich ſo faſt, or makes him live leſs luxuriouſly, but does not enhance the Price of your Manufactures; whereas a Tax laid upon thoſe Things, that are neceſſary for the Support of the Poor, enhances the Price of Labour, and conſequently raiſes the Price of all your Manufactures both for domeſtic and foreign Sale, which at laſt ruins your Trade. Therefore, if the Poor of this Kingdom be more heavily taxed than the Poor in any other Country of *Europe*, it is what ought to be remedied as ſoon as poſſible; it is what will give that Country a great Advantage over us, if they ſhould ever begin to apply themſelves to Trade, which every Country of *Europe* is now aiming at as much as they can.

As for the City of *London*, Sir, it is indeed, the Centre of all Buſineſs in our Dominions, therefore, it may be called the Heart of our Trade; and I am ſure, if our Trade has an Oppreſſion at the Heart, it cannot be expected it will thrive in any Part of the Body. I am far from thinking it a good Reaſon, why the Inhabitants of *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality, ſhould be taxed more heavily than any other Part of the Kingdom, becauſe they can bear it; for I think no Part of the Kingdom ſhould be taxed, at leaſt in Time of Peace, near ſo heavily as they can bear. As we have in *London* great Numbers of idle and extravagant People every Year crowding in upon us from all Parts of the Country, for the Sake of Buſineſs, Preferment, or Pleaſure, this Concourſe muſt neceſſarily enhance the Price of Proviſions upon the Laborious and Induſtrious, which is a Diſadvantage at leaſt equal to any Advantage they may reap from their City's being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Centre of all Trade and public Buſineſs: But if it ſhould be thought proper to lay heavier Taxes upon the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, thoſe additional Taxes ought to be laid upon the Luxuries and Pleaſures of Life, and not upon the Food and Raiment of the Poor, ſuch as Leather, Salt, and common Beer; nor upon thoſe Things that are neceſſary for working up every Sort of Manufacture, ſuch as Coals, Soap, and Candles.

I am ſorry, Sir, to hear it ſaid in this Houſe, that our People are more idle and extravagant than the People of any neighbouring Country; and I am ſtill more ſorry to ſay, that I am afraid there is too much Ground for ſuch a national

national Reflection; but that very Idleneſs and Extravagance has been introduced among our People by the Multitude of Taxes they groan under; for the Levying of thoſe Taxes has created ſuch a great Number of ſmall Poſts and idle Employments, that vaſt Numbers of our Tradeſmen and Dealers ſpend their Time idly and extravagantly, in Hopes of obtaining one of theſe Poſts or Employments; and our People every Day ſee ſuch Numbers of idle and extravagant Fellows well provided for, by Means of theſe Poſts and Employments, that the Spirit of Idleneſs and Extravagance becomes every Day more univerſal; for as ſuch Fellows are generally what we, in Imitation of the *French*, call boon Companions, they are mighty uſeful Men in thoſe Affairs, which moſt certainly entitle a Man to a Poſt or Employment; ſo that after they have ruined themſelves by their Idleneſs and Extravagance, their Neighbours ſee them better provided for, and enabled to live more handſomely, than ever they did before, or could ever expect to live by honeſt Induſtry or uſeful Labour: This encourages Hundreds to follow their Example, and makes the Diſtemper ſpread like a Plague over the whole Kingdom; whereas, if Beggary and Starving were the certain Conſequences of Idleneſs and Extravagance, every ſuch Fellow would be an Example and a Terror to his Neighbours, which would frighten moſt of them from following any ſuch Courſes. Perhaps, Sir, ſome Gentleman that hears me, may look upon this as an ill-grounded Speculation; but in Confirmation of what I ſay, if I am rightly informed, there is now a little Borough in a Northern County, not very far diſtant from *London*, in which I am told, there is hardly one thriving Merchant, Tradeſman, or Shopkeeper, to be met with; for ſo many of them have already been provided for by means of ſome public Poſt or Employment, that all the reſt expect the ſame good Fortune, and every one, by living idle or extravagantly, ſpends more than he gets by his Buſineſs, in Hopes of being ſoon provided for in another Way.

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Thus, Sir, we ſee that, with reſpect to our Trade, our Taxes are like a two-edged Sword, they cut both Ways, they not only enhance the Price of Labour, but they diminiſh the Number of our Labourers; and when we ſee this, ſuppoſing the Taxes in this Kingdom to be no more burdenſome upon Trade, nor the Methods of raiſing them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than the Taxes in any other Country of *Europe*, can we make it a Queſtion, whether or no we ought to take the firſt Opportunity for aboliſhing ſome of them? But when it has been made

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made appear, as it was, I think to a Demonſtration, in the Committee, whoſe Report we have juſt now agreed to, that our Taxes, and our Methods of raiſing our Taxes, are more burdenſome upon Trade, and more inconvenient to the Merchant and Dealer, than either in *France* or *Holland*, ought we not to think and contrive all poſſible or feaſible Methods for removing that Clog upon our Trade, and for putting our People upon an equal Footing at leaſt with any of our Neighbours, eſpecially with thoſe who are our greateſt Rivals in Trade and naval Power? The Queſtion is not now, whether we ſhall remain under one Tax of 100,000 *l.* a Year for 40 Years, or under two Taxes of 100,000 *l.* a Year each, for 20 Years? The Queſtion is, Whether we ſhall preſerve our Trade or no? If we continue under the two Taxes, our Trade will be ruined before the 20 Years are near expired; which will diminiſh the Produce of each, and may perhaps render it impoſſible for us ever to get free of either: If we aboliſh one, we ſhall, 'tis true, continue longer under the other; but then we ſhall preſerve our Trade, perhaps improve it, which may make the Produce of that one equal perhaps to the preſent Produce of the two; in which Caſe we ſhall get free from that one, perhaps as ſoon as if we had continued under both. This, Sir, is the Difference, this is the Queſtion, and this Queſtion can admit of no Diſpute. If our People continue ſubject to all the Taxes they now pay for 24 Years to come, our Trade will certainly be undone, and what is worſe, the greateſt Part of it will be transferred to our natural Enemies, which will add to their Power at the ſame time it diminiſhes ours; whereas, if we aboliſh a great Part of our Taxes, or the heavieſt of them, we ſhall preſerve our Trade, and may get free of our Debts much ſooner; for if we ſhould loſe our Trade, we could never get free of our Debts, it would become impoſſible for us to pay them. Therefore, I hope it will never be made a Queſtion in this Houſe, Whether or no we ſhall aboliſh ſome of our heavieſt Taxes, as ſoon as the Intereſt upon all our redeemable Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.*

If this, Sir, can never be made a Queſtion, what Harm is there in our coming to a Reſolution, that that ſhall be done, which every Man agrees ought to be done? That one Seſſion may engage for another, is a Maxim which I am ſurprized to hear controverted by thoſe, who have ſo often propoſed to and prevailed with, one Seſſion to engage for another. What! are all our Votes of Credit but one Seſſion's engaging for another? And I am ſure there was never one of them that could be called ſo juſt or ſo neceſſary an Engagement,

gement, as what is now propoſed. I know, Sir, that one *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
rliament cannot by any Reſolution, no not even by Act
Parliament, legally bind another; for no Act can be
ſſed by one Parliament, but what may be repealed by
nother; at leaſt no Man can legally queſtion their Power:
t will any Man ſay, that a future Parliament may not in
ſtice and Honour be bound by a former? Does not the
curity our public Creditors have for their reſpective Debts
pend upon this Maxim only? We muſt therefore grant,
at the Acts or Reſolutions of any one Seſſion, by which
reign States, or private Men, Natives or Foreigners, are
duced to lend Money, or conclude any Tranſaction, to
with our Government, are in Juſtice and Honour binding
on every future Seſſion; and that no future Parliament
n repeal ſuch Acts, or do any Thing contrary to ſuch
eſolutions, ſo as to injure any of the Parties contracting
on the Authority of thoſe Acts or Reſolutions. From
ch Engagements nothing can ſet us free but that ſupreme
w, the Safety of the People. For this very Reaſon, I
n for agreeing to the Reſolution now propoſed, in order
at we may bind future Parliaments as much as we can,
d in a Manner oblige them to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes,
ſoon as the Intereſt upon all our Funds is reduced to 3
r *Cent.* by making it appear upon our Journals, that the
boliſhing ſome of our Taxes was the Condition upon
hich our Creditors agreed, and the Conſideration which
duced them to agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* Intereſt.

Has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Advantage ariſing
m aboliſhing our Taxes upon Soap and Candles, or any
er Commodity, will be a full Recompence to every one
our Creditors for the Loſs he may ſuſtain by the Re-
tion of Intereſt? No, Sir; no ſuch Pretence has been
p by any Gentleman within theſe Walls: The princi-
Recompence our Creditors are to expect, ariſes from
Advantage which will accrue from ſuch an Abolition
he Generality of the Nation; and to every one of
, who has any Regard for his Country, this will of
f appear to be a full Recompence. But to talk in the
ſelfiſh and moſt mercenary Manner, the Aboliſhing of
Duties upon Soap and Candles only, will be a full, or
near a full Compenſation to all our public Creditors
o have not above 1000 *l.* Stock, and have Families to
intain or provide for; becauſe the Duties upon Soap and
dles have raiſed their Price at leaſt double the Value
the Duties; therefore the Taking off of thoſe Duties
ll be a Saving of 2 *d.* a Pound upon Candles, and 3 *d.* a
ound upon Soap for every Pound a Man buys, or that is

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bought for his Account; which will not only be an immediate Saving in the Expence of his Family, but will diminiſh the Price of almoſt every Thing he is obliged to purchaſe for the Uſe of his Family. Our Stockholders therefore, who have but 1000 *l.* or under, and have Families to maintain, can be no Loſers by the Reduction of Intereſt, if all the Taxes mentioned in the former Debate ſhould be taken off; and ſuch Stockholders are, I think, the only Perſons, who have or deſerve any Share of our Compaſſion.

'As for the Argument made uſe of againſt the Reſolution, That it will appear to be fraudulent or deceitful, I think, Sir, I have already fully anſwered it, by ſhewing we have Power to promiſe ſuch a Compenſation or Conſideration, and that future Parliaments will be bound in Honour and Juſtice to make good that Promiſe; and to pretend, that the Reſolution implies a ſort of Threatening the public Creditors with national Reſentment, is an Argument that, in my Way of Thinking, can proceed from nothing but a moſt contemptible Opinion of the Knowledge and Underſtanding of moſt Men in the Nation. Does not every Man of common Underſtanding know, that the greateſt Part of the Taxes he pays, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, goes towards the Payment of the Principal or Intereſt of our Debts? And can any ſuch Man ſuppoſe, that he will get free from any Part of thoſe Taxes till we get free of a great Part of that Debt, or at leaſt of ſome Part of the Intereſt payable upon that Debt? The Reſolution therefore can bring no Reſentment upon our public Creditors, becauſe it communicates nothing to the People but what they were before fully apprized of. We may, 'tis true, annihilate the whole Sinking-Fund, if we pleaſe, by aboliſhing ſeveral of our Taxes, and remain ſubject for ever to the ſame Debt we now owe, and the ſame Intereſt we now pay; but will any Gentleman ſay we ought to do ſo, or that it is conſiſtent with the public Good to do ſo? It is, in my Opinion, ſo far otherwiſe, that I ſhould not be for annihilating any Part of our Sinking-Fund, or aboliſhing any of our Taxes, before a total Diſcharge from our Debts, if the preſent unlucky Circumſtances of our Trade did not neceſſarily require it; becauſe every Shilling paid for Intereſt is ſo much abſolutely loſt to the Nation, being a ſort of Expence from which the Nation never did, nor ever can reap any Benefit; but as this Loſs will not be ſo grievous to the Nation, when the Intereſt is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as when it ſtands at 4, therefore we may then, for the Sake of our Trade, annihilate a Part of the Sinking-Fund, tho' we cannot in common Prudence, even for the

Sake

Sake of our Trade, do any ſuch Thing, while the Intereſt continues at 4 *per Cent.*—But ſuppoſe, Sir, it were conſiſtent with the public Good, to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, and thereby annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, before the Reduction of Intereſt, 'tis certain we could not then for ſeveral Years be in ſo good a Condition for reducing the Intereſt payable upon our public Funds, as we are at preſent; which is a ſtrong additional Argument for not attempting any ſuch Thing till that Intereſt be reduced; and 'tis likewiſe certain, we cannot now reduce ſo many of our Taxes, and leave ſo large a Sinking-Fund remaining, as we might do, if the Intereſt upon our Funds were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* In the former Caſe, if we ſhould aboliſh the Duties upon Soap and Candles only, we ſhould reduce the Sinking-Fund to 800,000 *l. per Annum*, whereas in the latter, we may aboliſh not only the Duties upon Soap and Candles, but likewiſe the Duties on Coals, the Duty on Leather or Hides, and the late Tax on the Victuallers in *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, and yet leave very near the ſame yearly Sum remaining for the Sinking-Fund. *Anno* 10. Geo. II. 1736-7.

'Thus, Sir, we ſee there is a very material Difference between what we may do as Intereſt ſtands at preſent, and what we might do if Intereſt were reduced to 3 *per Cent.* but to ſay we ſhall be in as good a Condition 8 Years hence to aboliſh ſome of our Taxes, tho' Intereſt ſhould ſtand for all that Time at 4 *per Cent.* as we ſhould be at preſent if it were reduced to 3, is ſomething very extraordinary. Surely, Gentlemen who talk ſo, do not conſider, what a vaſt Sum the People of this Nation would ſave in 8 Years Time, by the immediate Aboliſhing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000 *l.* a Year. In the former Debate, it was computed, that the groſs Produce of our Taxes, which is the Sum raiſed yearly upon the People, is near double the nett Produce coming into the Exchequer; and the Accounts lying upon our Table will juſtify this Computation: Then to this if we add the Loſs People are at, by the advanced Price of the Commodity, upon which the Duty is laid, which, with reſpect to ſmall Duties, is in many Caſes near double the Duty; I am ſure I may reckon that, by the Aboliſhing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000 *l.* a Year, the People of this Nation will ſave in their yearly Expence at leaſt 1,200,000 *l.* a Year; and an Annuity of 1,200,000 *l.* a Year for 8 Years, at 4 *per Cent.* Compound Intereſt, amounts to above eleven Millions, which is a Saving, I think, deſerves to be regarded by every Gentleman who has a Senſe of the Sufferings of the People. Beſides this Advantage which the People will reap by an

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immediate Reduction of Intereſt and Abolition of Taxes, 'tis more than probable our Taxes will not produce ſo much yearly at the End of 8 Years, as they do at preſent, if Things ſhould remain for that whole Time upon the preſent Footing; becauſe, if our Trade be upon the Decline, the People will not only be decreaſing in their Number, but will be every Year growing poorer: In either of which Caſes there will not be ſuch a Conſumpt of thoſe Commodities upon which the Taxes are raiſed, which muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the Produce of each of them; and if at the ſame Time, we ſhould then be engaged in a War, the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund may happen to be worth little or nothing; in which Caſe, we ſhall then be in no Condition either to reduce the Intereſt payable upon our public Funds, or to aboliſh any of our Taxes.

'From what I have ſaid, Sir, it will appear, that if the People continue under all their preſent Taxes for any Number of Years longer, it is probable they muſt continue under them for ever, or at leaſt as long as they are able to pay them, and if that ſhould be their unhappy Fate, we may expect they will not only ſhew a Reſentment, but that it will at laſt break forth into Rage. However, it is evident that neither their Reſentment nor their Rage will be owing to this Reſolution, but to the Injuries and Oppreſſions they feel; and if the public Creditors are entirely paſſive, if they are not active in concerting Meaſures, as has been threatned, for preventing the good Effects of the Scheme we have agreed to, the Reſentment of the People will be no way directed againſt the Creditors, but againſt thoſe who ſhall be found to have miſapplied that Fund, which was appointed for paying them off, and for relieving the Nation from Taxes. The Conſequences may, indeed, be fatal to the public Creditors, with regard to the Debt due to them; becauſe, if the Nation ſhould by ſuch Means be brought into Confuſion, that Confuſion may prevent its being ever in our Power to pay them any Part of their remaining Principal or future Intereſt; but that Loſs will ariſe not from the Scheme we have agreed to, nor from the Reſolution propoſed, but from the bad Succeſs of both; and this I hope every one of the public Creditors will take particular Notice of, and will therefore join heartily in promoting the Succeſs of the Scheme, inſtead of concerting Meaſures for its Defeat.

'As all the Arguments made uſe of for ſhewing that the Reſolution now propoſed, can neither contribute to the Revival or Support of our Trade, call it which you will, nor to the Succeſs of the Scheme, nor to reconciling or preſerving

ng the Affections of the People towards his Majeſty his Government; I ſay, as all the Arguments made uſe r this Purpoſe depend upon its not being in our Power gage for, or bind any future Parliament, I have fully ered them already, by ſhewing that it is in our Power nd a future Parliament, to the Aboliſhing of Taxes, as as it is in our Power to bind them to the Paying of a ; and as the Aboliſhing of ſome of our heavy Taxes ally in itſelf a valuable Conſideration, and ſufficient nducing our Creditors to come into the Scheme, I we ought to agree to the Reſolution, on Purpoſe that World may ſee, that a future Parliament cannot in Ho- and Juſtice refuſe to aboliſh ſome of the Taxes, as ſoon he Intereſt is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* becauſe it would defrauding the public Creditors of the Conſideration h was promiſed them, and which was the principal cement for their agreeing ſo unanimouſly to accept of *Cent.* for their Money. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

With reſpect to the Scheme itſelf, Sir, it ſignifies nothing e who was the Author of it; but if the Hon. Gentle- had no Share in its Conception, I am ſure he or ſome is Friends have added a very conſiderable Limb to it, ſuch a Limb too, that if any Miſcarriage happens, it certainly be owing to that Limb which they have added. ey had propoſed no Improvement or Addition, if they not in ſome Meaſure obliged Gentlemen to agree to they propoſed, I am convinced the Scheme as it was offered would have had the wiſhed-for Succeſs; and if think that what they have added will render it abortive, are in the right to diſown their being the Authors of cheme; but that will not prevent People's imputing em the whole Blame of the Miſcarriage. However, think the Scheme, even as it ſtands now, may meet Succeſs, and as I think the Reſolution now propoſed will very much contribute to that Succeſs, therefore I be for agreeing to it."

he Debate being over, the Queſtion was put upon the on, and carried in the Negative by 200 to 142.

he principal Speakers in this Debate were, Sir *John ard*, *George Lyttelton*, Eſq; *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; Mr. rman *Perry*, *William Pulteney*, Eſq; and *George Speke*, for the Motion; and *Thomas Winnington*, Eſq; the *Baltimore*, *Walter Plumer*, Eſq; and Sir *Robert Wal-* againſt it.

n *Friday* the 22d of *April*, Sir *John Barnard* preſented he Houſe, according to their Order before mentioned, ill for redeeming all the public Funds redeemable by Law,

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Law, which carry an Intereſt of 4 *l. per Cent. per Annum*, or converting of the ſame, with Conſent of the Proprietors, into a leſs Intereſt of Annuity, not redeemable till after the Time therein to be mentioned; which was read a firſt Time, and ordered to be read a ſecond Time.

On the 29th of the ſame Month, the ſaid Bill was read a ſecond Time; and a Motion being made for committing it, the ſame was oppoſed, upon which there enſued a long Debate.

In this Debate, all the Arguments for and againſt the Reduction were repeated and enforced; but as we have already given a full Account of moſt of them, we ſhall add nothing more upon that Subject. The other Part of the Debate related chiefly to ſome Informalities and Imperfections which were pretended to be found in the Bill, by thoſe who were againſt its being committed; becauſe they ſaid they were ſuch as could not be properly altered or amended in the Committee. On the other Hand, thoſe who were for committing the Bill, inſiſted, there were no Informalities or Imperfections in the Bill, but what might eaſily be altered or amended in the Committee, with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe Gentlemen concerned in the Treaſury, who were to be ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with the Method of drawing up ſuch Bills, and who, 'twas to be preſumed, would give their Aſſiſtance to the Committee, tho' they had refuſed to give any Aſſiſtance or Advice to thoſe Gentlemen who were ordered to draw it up. But as what was ſaid upon this Subject cannot be well underſtood without a Copy of the Bill, which we have not Room for, therefore, we ſhall give no further Account of it. Only we muſt take Notice, That Sir *Robert Walpole*, in a Speech he made againſt the Queſtion, ſpoke to the following Effect, *viz.*

Sir Robert Walpole.

" I know, Sir, it has been aſſerted without Doors, that the Honourable Gentleman who firſt mentioned this Scheme in the Houſe, had ſeveral private Converſations with me upon the Subject, and that we had concerted and ſettled the Scheme between us, before he offered it to the Houſe; but I ſhall declare, that he and I had never any private Converſation upon the Subject, nor had we ever any Concert about this Scheme or any other Scheme I know of; therefore, I can with great Confidence affirm, I had never any Hand in this Scheme, either in its original Formation, or in any Shape it has ſince appeared in:"

Sir John Barnard.

Sir *John Barnard* ſtood up, and anſwered in Subſtance thus:

I am very much obliged to the Honourable Gentleman, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from Imputation of having had any private Converſation him, or of having ever had any Concert with him; if he is afraid leſt People ſhould ſuſpect his having had nd in the Scheme I propoſed to you, I ſhall be equally o him by declaring, I never had any private Conver- n with him about it, nor did I ſo much as aſk his Ap- ation or Conſent to what I was to offer; but as to the me as it now ſtands, every Gentleman that hears me, vs it is very different from what I offered; and every likewiſe knows that the new Model, which is the Mo- we have now before us, if it was not offered by the ourable Gentleman himſelf, it was at leaſt offered by of his Friends, and what they propoſed was agreed other Gentlemen, in order that we might have their tance in carrying it through. Therefore the Scheme before you cannot properly be called mine; and it is remarkable, that all the Objections made to the Bill, nly to thoſe Articles and Clauſes of it, which relate to Improvements and Additions made to my Scheme, by Honourable Gentleman's Friends." *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

pon this *John Howe*, Eſq; ſtood up, and among other gs, took Notice, 'That the Scheme then before them ed to be like a Baſtard-Child that had ſeveral reputed ers, neither of whom would own it: For his Part, he he thought it a very hopeful Child, and therefore if ther Gentleman would take it as his own, he would; e did not doubt of the Child's thriving, and if it did, uld be an Honour to its Parents.' *John Howe*, *Eſq*;

he Speakers in this long Debate, were as follow, *viz.* r committing the Bill, Sir *John Barnard*, Sir *Wilfred on*, the Lord *Baltimore*, *John Howe*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas erſon*, Maſter of the Rolls, *Samuel Sandys*, Eſq; Sir *am Windham*, Sir *Edward Bacon*.

gainſt committing the Bill, Sir *Robert Walpole*, Sir *let Wager*, *William Sloper*, Eſq; Mr. Alderman *Heath*- *Robert Knight*, Eſq; *Peter Burrel*, Eſq; Colonel *Bladen*, *iam Bowles*, Eſq; *James Oglethorpe*, Eſq; the Lord *on*, and Sir *William Yonnge*.

pon the Queſtion's being put, it was carried in the ative, which put an End to the Affair for laſt Seſſion.

fter the 11th of *March*, when the Motion for granting illion to his Majeſty towards redeeming the like Sum he increaſed Capital of the *South-Sea* Company, com- ly called *Old South-Sea* Annuities, was agreed to, there no remarkable Debate happened in the Committee of Supply;

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Supply; nor was there any remarkable Debate happen upon any of the Reſolutions of the Committee of Wa and Means, except that relating to the Duty on Sweet therefore we ſhall take no farther Notice of any other Re ſolution of that Committee; but as this Affair relating t the Duty on Sweets occaſioned ſeveral long Debates, w ſhall give ſome Account of it. The firſt Time it wa mentioned, was on *Monday* the 7th of *March*, when th proper Officer was ordered to lay before the Houſe an Ac count of the nett Income into the Exchequer of the Duti on Sweets, for ſeven Years ended at *Michaelmas* then la diſtinguiſhing each Year; which was accordingly preſente the very next Day; and on *Friday* the 18th of *March*, the Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a Committee, to con ſider further of Ways and Means for raiſing the Supply granted to his Majeſty, and the ſaid Account having bee referred to the ſaid Committee, Sir *Robert Walpole* rose up, and after a ſhort Speech, moved for the firſt Reſo lution relating to the Duty on Sweets, which, after a long Debate, was agreed to: Then the ſecond Reſolution relating to the ſame Affair was moved and agreed to; and the Houſe having, upon the Report, agreed to both theſe Reſolutions, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, which, after long Debates, was paſſed into a Law.

In theſe Debates, the Arguments for the Reſolutions, and afterwards for the Bill, were in Subſtance as follow, *viz.*

SIR,

'By the Reſolutions we have already come to, in the Committee of Supply, it will upon Calculation appear, we have granted his Majeſty, for the Service of the enſuing Year, a Supply of about 2,025,000 *l.* Now as the Land-Tax and the Malt-Tax which we have granted, do not both together amount to 1,700,000 *l.* there will be a Deficiency of near 400,000 *l.* which muſt be provided for, either by increaſing ſome of the Taxes we have already, or by granting ſome new Tax, or by taking ſo much from the Sinking-Fund, or laſtly, by the Method I have thought of, and which I ſhall preſently explain to you. As for increaſing any of the Taxes we have already, or impoſing a new one, I do not think we can make good the Deficiency by either of theſe Ways; becauſe I do not think the People can well bear any additional or new Tax, and the attempting of any ſuch Thing, may alienate the Affections of great Numbers of the People from our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and may contribute towards increaſing thoſe Mobs and Tumults, which have of late been ſo frequent all over the

n: And as for the Sinking-Fund, the growing
eof is already appropriated towards paying a
the *South-Sea* Old Annuitants; ſo that we can-
od this Deficiency out of the growing Produce
d, and I do not think it would be proper to
y Part of the Sinking-Fund for this Purpoſe.
s therefore, in my Opinion, no poſſible Way
ing good this Deficiency but that I have thought
, not by increaſing any preſent Tax, or im-
new one, but by reducing an old Tax to one
at it is at preſent. This, Sir, may at firſt
o be a Paradox; but when I have explained
Myſtery will vaniſh, and every Gentleman
, approve of the Method I am to propoſe.
nows that, ever ſince the Year 1699, we have
f no leſs than 36 *s.* a Barrel, upon all Sweets
le within this Kingdom, which is ſo high a
has in ſome meaſure entirely prevented the
ny ſuch Liquors for Sale; at leaſt if any ſuch
ade, the Makers have always found Means
Law, and defraud the Public of the Duty.
uty, as I have been told, has never produced
onſiderable, and by the Accounts upon our
ears the preſent Produce amounts to little or
ow, Sir, I am convinced that, if there were a
y laid upon ſuch Liqours, and the Nature of
ſubjected to the Duty fully explained in the
ſing it; I ſay, that in ſuch a Caſe I am con-
y conſiderable Revenue would ariſe yearly
onſumption of ſuch Liquors; becauſe, as the
but ſmall, if the Duty were tolerable, I be-
ould hardly be an Ale-Houſe in the Kingdom
Variety of ſuch Liquors; and if they were
very Ale-Houſe, I am perſuaded great Quan-
would be conſumed, eſpecially now that our
arred the Uſe of Spirituous Liquors in Drams

to be queſtioned, Sir, we already know it by
hat our putting an entire Stop to the Retail
Liquors, will be a great Hardſhip upon all
merly dealt in that Trade; and many of thoſe
e their Cuſtomers and Conſumers will like-
a Hardſhip to be debarred a moderate Uſe
ors, in that Method they have from their
ccuſtomed to: Altho' every ſenſible Man muſt
, that the putting of this Hardſhip upon him
y neceſſary for the public Good, and for pre-

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ſerving the Health and Morals of the People, yet we find there are great Numbers who are apt to murmur at this Regulation; and to prevent theſe Murmurs, I can think of no Expedient more proper than that of encouraging the Retail and Conſumption of thoſe Liquors called Sweets, which may be made to anſwer all the good Ends of Spirituous Liquors, without being attended with any of the fatal Conſequences proceeding from an immoderate Uſe of ſtrong Liquors. This of itſelf would be a good Reaſon for diminiſhing the Duty payable upon thoſe Liquors called Sweets, even tho' there were no Benefit to ariſe therefrom to the public Revenue, nor any Occaſion for increaſing that Revenue. But as there is an abſolute Neceſſity for increaſing the public Revenue, in order to anſwer thoſe Supplies you have already granted; and as there is a great Probability that, by diminiſhing the Duty on Sweets to one Third of what it is at preſent, you will increaſe the public Revenue as much as is neceſſary for anſwering the preſent Occaſion, I think no Gentleman can diſpute the Reaſonableneſs of making ſuch a Diminution.

'But, Sir, to add to the Weight of thoſe Reaſons I have already given, there is another Reaſon of great Weight with me for endeavouring to encourage the Conſumption of Sweets, and conſequently for diminiſhing the Duty now payable upon them, and that is, the great Quantity of Sugar made uſe of in the Conſumption of ſuch Liquors. I believe no Gentleman doubts but that the Conſumption of Sugar will be diminiſhed by the ſtrict Prohibition of the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwiſe; and as our Sugar Trade will ſuffer by diminiſhing this Conſumption, I ſhould be glad this Loſs were made good to the Sugar Trade, by incouraging and increaſing the Conſumption of thoſe Liquors called Sweets, in the Compoſition of which, there is, I believe, more Sugar made uſe of than was ever uſed in the Compoſition of the like Quantity of that Liquor called Punch. To this I ſhall add, that, as moſt of the Materials made uſe of in the Compoſition of all Sorts of Sweets are the Growth and Manufacture of our own Dominions, and as a great Variety of ſuch Liquors may very much diminiſh the Conſumption of foreign Wines, therefore the increaſing the Conſumption of the former will not only be a great Encouragement and Advantage to the induſtrious Part of our own Subjects, but will likewiſe be an Advantage and Addition to our general Balance of Trade, by diminiſhing the Value of our Imports.

'From all which, Sir, I hope it will appear not only proper

neceſſary, that we ſhould aboliſh the preſent *Anno* 10 *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
ſweets, and inſtead thereof, lay on ſuch a leſs
his Houſe ſhall ſeem reaſonable. With reſpect
Duty to be laid on, I ſhall not pretend to pre-
e Houſe, I ſhall only beg Leave to give my
I think 12 *s.* a Barrel will be a proper Duty.
ery Gentleman will agree, that as long as we
upon Malt, and an Exciſe upon all Malt Li-
ought to be ſome Duty laid upon all other
ſumed within the Kingdom, whether they pro-
foreign or domeſtic Growth or Manufacture;
Production of Barley and Malt is a Pro-
ught to encourage as much as any Home Pro-
tever: Therefore there ought certainly to be
aid upon all Sweets conſumed within the King-
n my Opinion that Duty ought to be higher
ties and Exciſes payable upon the like Quantity
of Malt Liquors; but not ſo high as may en-
nt the Retail of any of thoſe Liquors. If we
compute the Malt Duty, and the ſeveral Ex-
e upon Beer and Ale, we may reckon that
of ſtrong Beer or Ale pays between 5 and 6 *s.*
d for the Encouragement of our Farmers, by
e Conſumption of their Barley, I think we
e the Duty on Sweets at leaſt double the Duty
Liquors; for which Reaſon I reckon 12 *s. per*
leaſt Duty we can propoſe to lay upon all
h ſhall hereafter be conſumed within this

, Sir, as it is but a very little above 4 *d.* a
ot, I think, any way tend to diſcourage or di-
nſumption of ſuch Liquors, nor can it enhance
Retail, ſo as to make our People prefer the
foreign Liquor, to that of our Home made
they are ſkilfully prepared, and proper Care
e them palatable as well as healthful; for I
n that Sweets of all Kinds may be made as
as healthful as any Sort of Punch; and con-
the Conſumers muſt pay for every Gallon
Punch at leaſt 4 *s.* 4 *d.* Duty, I cannot but
on diminiſhing the Duty on Sweets as I have
eral Sorts of them may be made up and ſold
eaper Rate than any Sort of Punch can be;
I muſt conclude, that in a little Time great
ill begin to be conſumed; and that from
, this particular Branch of the public Reve-
ry much increaſed, by diminiſhing the Duty

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upon ſuch Liquors; as was formerly the Caſe with reſpect to Pepper, the Duty upon which has produced a great deal more yearly ſince it was reduced, than ever it did before.

It is impoſſible for me, Sir, to foretell with any Certainty, what this Duty upon Sweets, when ſo reduced, will bring in yearly. I have ſeen ſeveral Calculations and Computations upon the Head, all of which were founded upon very probable Conjectures; but they differed ſo widely from one another, that no Man can determine poſitively, which of them he ought to give moſt Credit to. By ſome of theſe Computations it was calculated that the Duty upon Sweets, when reduced to 12 *s. per* Barrel, would in all Appearance produce near 50,000 *l.* a Year: By others, the annual Produce of this Duty was not computed at above 20 or 25,000 *l.* which is ſo great a Difference that no Determination, hardly any Suppoſition, can be made with reſpect to the future yearly Produce. However, if this Duty be reduced to 12 *s.* a Barrel, and that Doubt explained, which has ariſen upon former Acts of Parliament, in relation to Liquors made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, or otherwiſe, from *Britiſh* Fruit or Sugar, or from Fruit or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Made-Wines, I ſhall ſuppoſe the Duty will then produce 30,000 *l.* a Year; for the Conſumpt of thoſe Liquors called Sweets, has not only been prevented by the extravagant Height of the Duty laid upon them; but the Doubt I have mentioned has always prevented its being collected; becauſe it has always been pretended that ſuch Made-Wines were not chargeable with the Duty of 36 *s.* a Barrel, and by that Pretence, People have generally got free from paying that Duty even upon Sweets made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, or otherwiſe, from foreign Fruit or Sugar; it being generally impoſſible to determine, whether ſuch Mixtures are made from foreign or from *Britiſh* Fruits or Sugar.

'Now, Sir, if we ſuppoſe that the future Produce of this Duty will amount to 30,000 *l.* a Year, as it has never heretofore produced, I believe, 30 *l.* a Year, the Increaſe upon it will then be a ſufficient Fund for borrowing as much as will be neceſſary for making good the Supplies you have granted for the Service of this enſuing Year. I ſay it will be a ſufficient Fund, not only for paying the Intereſt yearly, but for paying off the Principal in a ſmall Number of Years; for 400,000 *l.* will, I reckon, be the higheſt Sum that will be wanted, and as that Sum may be borrowed at 3 *per Cent.* a Revenue of near 30,000 *l.* a

Year

ll pay not only the Intereſt yearly, but will likewiſe the Principal in about 17 Years; and if the Duty roduce more than 30,000 *l.* a Year, it will then the Principal as well as growing Intereſt much

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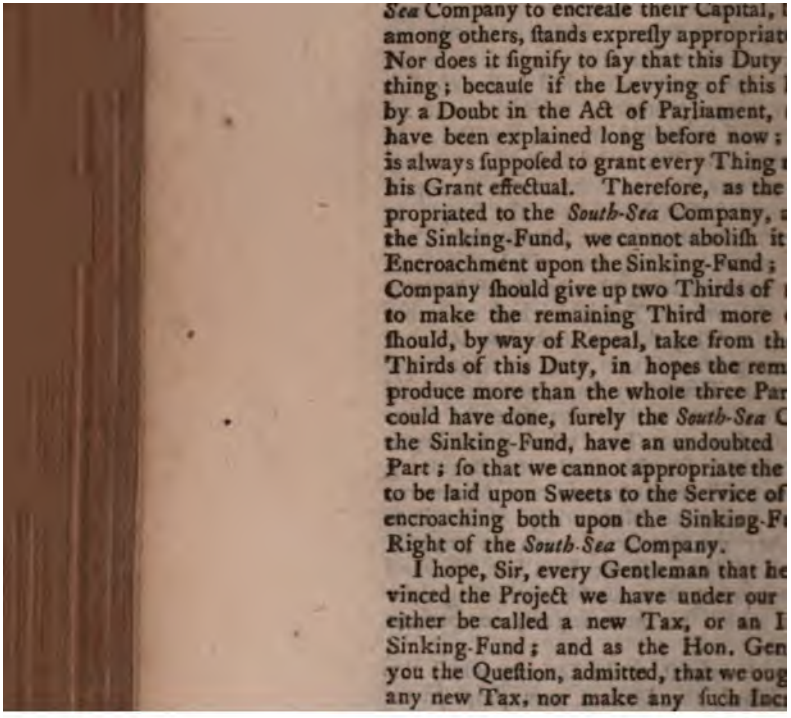
us, Sir, I have explained to you, what I think by eaſieſt and moſt proper Way of raiſing that Sum, s ſtill deficient for making good thoſe Supplies we ready agreed to. Theſe Supplies muſt certainly be ood ſome Way or other; and if any Gentleman e up and ſhew us a better Method for making them ſhall very readily give up my Project, and agree to ıer Method propoſed; ſince I have nothing in my ut to raiſe thoſe Sums we have thought neceſſary for blick Service, in that Method which ſhall appear to beneficial for the Nation, and leaſt burdenſome to ople. If the Houſe approves of what I have pro- the proper Method for carrying it into Execution is, olve firſt to repeal or aboliſh the old Duty; and then olve, That a Duty of 12*s.* *per Barrel* ſhall for the be granted to his Majeſty upon all Sweets made for therefore I ſhall conclude by making you this Motion, t may be reſolv'd, That the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel eets, granted, *&c.*

this it was anſwered in Subſtance as follows, *viz.*

R,

he Hon. Gentleman who has pleaſed to move you this on, ſet out with three or four general Maxims, in I ſhall moſt readily agree with him. The Supplies ve already granted ought certainly to be made good ıe Means or other; and I am ſo far of Opinion that upplies muſt be made good, either by adding to ſome Taxes we have already, or by impoſing ſome new r by incroaching upon the Sinking-Fund, that I am ıere is no fourth Way of making them good; there- ıe Hon. Gentleman raiſed my Curioſity not a little, he told us he had thought of a Method for raiſing ch as would make good the Deficiency of the Land Malt Tax, without adding to any old Tax, or impoſing ew Tax, and without making the leaſt Incroachment Sinking Fund. This, I confeſs, was to me a Paradox Myſtery, which I became very impatient to hear ined; but how greatly was I diſappointed when this le Project came to be laid open? for then it appeared , and I hope I ſhall by and by make it appear to the , that this Project muſt either be a new Tax, or it be an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.



Sea Company to encreaſe their Capital, t
among others, ſtands expreſly appropriat
Nor does it ſignify to ſay that this Duty
thing; becauſe if the Levying of this
by a Doubt in the Act of Parliament,
have been explained long before now;
is always ſuppoſed to grant every Thing
his Grant effectual. Therefore, as the
propriated to the *South-Sea* Company,
the Sinking-Fund, we cannot aboliſh it
Encroachment upon the Sinking-Fund;
Company ſhould give up two Thirds of
to make the remaining Third more
ſhould, by way of Repeal, take from th
Thirds of this Duty, in hopes the rem
produce more than the whole three Par
could have done, ſurely the *South-Sea* C
the Sinking-Fund, have an undoubted
Part; ſo that we cannot appropriate the
to be laid upon Sweets to the Service of
encroaching both upon the Sinking-F
Right of the *South-Sea* Company.

I hope, Sir, every Gentleman that he
vinced the Project we have under our
either be called a new Tax, or an I
Sinking-Fund; and as the Hon. Gen
you the Queſtion, admitted, that we oug
any new Tax, nor make any ſuch Inc

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he Sinking-Fund; but is not this a ſort of Play upon Words, hardly becoming the Courts in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, much leſs the Proceedings of this Houſe, where nothing at Equity and ſtrict Honour ought to prevail? A Duty as been granted, Money has been borrowed upon the Cre- t of that Duty, it has ſince been found the Duty was ſo gh, that it amounted to a Prohibition, and therefore pro- uced little or nothing; the Creditors come and deſire the uty may be lowered, in order that they may have ſome rt of Security for their Money: Could we refuſe ſo equi- ble a Requeſt? Could we in Honour ſay, No, you ſhall ave the former Produce, which was little or nothing, conti- ued to you; but if, upon its being lowered, it produces ore, we muſt take the whole increaſed Produce, for an- wering our own neceſſary Occaſions? The Caſe before us is ſtill onger: The old Duty upon Sweets would have produced great deal more than ever it did, if the Doubt which oſe about the Intention of the Law had been explained now deſigned; and, if what is now deſigned, was really e Intention of the Law at firſt, that Doubt ought to have en ſo explained as ſoon as it was taken Notice of, in order make effectual to our Creditors that Grant, which we had ade them for ſecuring the Payment of the Money they lent in our Diſtreſs. We may aboliſh the old Duty, we may abliſh one third Part of that Duty only, for the future; t that new Duty, ſo to be eſtabliſhed, in Honour, in Juſtice, Equity, belongs to the Creditors who lent their Money on the Credit of the old Duty; and conſequently, we nnot apply it to the current Service, without making an croachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I have hitherto ſuppoſed, Sir, that the Parliament which abliſhed the Duty upon Sweets, deſigned to include thoſe quors called Made-Wines; and this I have ſuppoſed, only ſhew that, even in that Caſe, we ought not to agree to the ethod propoſed, becauſe it will be an Incroachment upon e Sinking-Fund; but now, Sir, I ſhall ſuppoſe, and I do ſiſt upon it, that no former Parliament ever intended to bject Liquors made for Sale by Infuſion, Fermentation, otherwiſe, from *Britiſh* Fruits or Sugar, or from uits or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredi- ts, and commonly called or diſtinguiſhed by the Name of ade-Wines, to the Duty by them impoſed upon Sweets; d the Practice ever ſince thoſe Acts of Parliament were ſſed, which is above thirty Years ago, has fully juſtified y Opinion; for we muſt ſuppoſe the Commiſſioners of the reaſury, the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, and the Exciſe- en, have often taken the Opinion of Lawyers upon is Head; and if they had ever had the Opinion of any

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tolerable Lawyer in their Favour, we may ſuppoſe they would have exacted the Tax with the utmoſt Rigour; we cannot ſuppoſe, without doing great Injuſtice to thoſe worthy Servants of their Country, that they would have allowed the Public to be defrauded of ſuch a conſiderable Revenue, if in all that Time they had ever had the Opinion of any noted Lawyer in their Favour; therefore, I muſt look upon the Propoſition now made to us, as a Propoſition for impoſing a new Tax upon the Subjects of this Kingdom; and I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew, that it is a Tax of the moſt oppreſſive Nature, and which may be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences, with reſpect to our Conſtitution and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Nature of Exciſe-Laws, Sir, and the dangerous Conſequences of extending ſuch Laws in a free Country, were upon a late famous Occaſion ſo fully explained, that I little expected a further Extenſion of ſuch Laws would have been attempted for ſome Years to come; but now, I find, I have been egregiouſly miſtaken; for the Project now before us, I muſt look on as a new and a wide Extenſion of thoſe Laws. Every one knows, the Duty upon Sweets is to be raiſed by the Laws of Exciſe, and if you ſubject all thoſe Liquors called Made-Wines to that Duty, there is hardly a Farmer, or a Country Gentleman in *England*, but will by that means be ſubjected to the Laws of Exciſe, if he reſolves to make the beſt Uſe of his Garden or Orchard. Our Exciſe-Laws have already ſpread themſelves over every City, Borough, and Village in the Kingdom, and by this new Regulation they are to ſpread themſelves over every Country, and to enter into the moſt lonеſome Farm-Houſe in *England*; for if a Farmer has a Mind to make a little Money of an Elder-Hedge, or of a Gooſberry, Raſberry, or Currant-Buſh, or of a Mulberry-Tree, he may have in his Garden, in order to enable him to pay his Rent to his Landlord, his Houſe muſt be open all Hours in the Day-time to the Gauger, nay, it muſt be open at all Hours in the Night-time, if the Gauger can but find a profligate Fellow of a Ale-houſe-keeper in the Hundred, who has got himſelf named a Conſtable by the Trading Juſtices of the County. Can it be ſuppoſed, Sir, that this will produce no freſh Murmurs? Can it be ſuppoſed our Farmers will all ſubmit patiently to ſuch a Hardſhip? Or can it be ſuppoſed that all our Gaugers will behave with common Decency, when they get into a lonеſome Houſe in the Country, at a Time, when, perhaps, the Family are in the Fields a Hay-making, and no Perſon left at Home but the Farmer's Wife, or Daughter? Then, ſuppoſe the

Farmer

Farmer is caught in a Fraud, how will the Landlord look, when he finds himſelf diſappointed of his Rent, by an Extent brought againſt his Tenant for the Penalty?

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'I am ſure, Sir, I need not repeat to the Houſe the many good Arguments that have been made uſe of againſt Exciſe-Laws. It has upon a former Occaſion been ſhewn, that they are of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; and the Arguments then made uſe of are certainly ſtill freſh in every Gentleman's Memory. I ſhall only take Notice, that as the Authority and Buſineſs of Exciſemen will be very much increaſed by this new Project, tho' we have now a greater Number of them than we have Occaſion for, yet their Number muſt be greatly augmented; for not only many of our Farmers will from henceforth be ſubjected to their Review, but, I am afraid, every Tavern and Wine-Cellar in the Kingdom. We know what a Clamour was raiſed againſt the laſt Attempt to ſubject Wine-Merchants and Vintners to Exciſe-Laws: That was an open Attempt, and ſuch a one as they could openly oppoſe; but the Difficulty of ſuch an Attack was then felt; and therefore, they are now to be attack'd in an indirect and hidden Method; for if moſt of our Dealers in Wine be Brewers of Wine, as is commonly reported, every ſuch Dealer will, by this Method, be ſubjected to the Review of an Exciſeman, tho' he dares not ſay he is afraid of any ſuch Thing, and, therefore, cannot openly oppoſe the Project now before us. By this means, the Influence which Exciſemen already have, or may have, upon all City and Borough Elections will be very much increaſed; and as many of our Farmers are Freeholders, the Exciſemen will, by means of this Project, have an Opportunity of gaining an Influence likewiſe in all County Elections; both which are diametrically oppoſite to our Conſtitution, and to the Liberty of the Subject.

If by lowering the Duty on Sweets, and preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwiſe, thoſe Liquors called Made-Wines ſhould come to be of univerſal Uſe, we muſt ſuppoſe that almoſt every Farmer in *England* will turn himſelf towards the making of ſuch Liquors, and the producing of Materials proper for that Purpoſe; the Conſequence of which will be, that he muſt go to the next Office of Exciſe, and enter his Name and Place of Abode, together with every Room and Place made Uſe of by him for making or keeping any ſuch Liquors. This he muſt do under a great Penalty; and from the Time he has done ſo, he can no longer call his Houſe properly his own: From that Moment, the Gauger may, any Hour of the Day, and as often

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often as he pleaſes, require Admittance; and, by taking a Conſtable along with him, he may, at any Hour of the Night, and as often as he has a Mind, require Admittance: If the poor Farmer ſhould at any Time refuſe to leave his Labour in the Fields, or if he ſhould refuſe to get out of Bed after a hard Day's Labour, in order to let the Gauger enter his Houſe, he ſubjects himſelf to a great Penalty. For theſe Penalties he is not to be ſued according to the common Law, not to be tried in the uſual Way, by God and his Country, but he is to be tried before the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, or before two Juſtices of Peace, who may convict him without any Jury, upon the Oath of the Gauger, who makes the Complaint; and all this without any Appeal but to the Quarter Seſſions, whoſe Judgment is to be final. Then after he is once convicted, in order that he may for ever after remain obedient to the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, or to the Juſtices of the Peace, they are impowered to levy the whole or what Part of the Penalty they pleaſe, according to the paſt or the future Behaviour of the unfortunate Convict.

'This, Sir, will be the Caſe of every Farmer in *England*, who attempts to make the moſt of the Gooſberries or Currants he has in his Garden; and if, to avoid this Misfortune, he ſhould reſolve to ſell his Fruits to the Makers of ſuch Liquors, inſtead of making them himſelf, he muſt ſell them for little or nothing. From hence I am apt to believe that notwithſtanding the low Duty you propoſe to lay upon Made-Wines, the Methods you are to preſcribe for raiſing it, will prevent the Conſumption; becauſe no Man will ſubject himſelf to the Exciſe-Laws, for the Sake of any Advantage he may get by the making of ſuch Liquors; and if they are not made, I am ſure they cannot be conſumed; ſo that one or other of theſe Inconveniencies muſt ariſe from the Project now under our Conſideration: Either a great Number of our People will be ſubjected to Exciſe-Laws, who were never before ſubject to any ſuch, or the Produce of the Duty will come far ſhort of your Expectation. By the former, our Liberties will be expoſed to greater Danger than they are at preſent, or ever ought to be; and by the latter, we ſhall leave a new Load upon our Poſterity, without any competent Fund, for ridding them of that Load; which is, I think, what no Man can agree to, who has any Regard for his Poſterity, or the future Happineſs of his Country.

'From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the Method propoſed for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this next enſuing Year, is not only a new Tax, but

ne of the moſt dangerous Taxes we can impoſe upon eople. I ſhall be far from propoſing any Addition to and-Tax; I think 2 *s.* in the Pound is the higheſt and-holders ought to be loaded with in Time of Peace; am ſure it would be better for every Land-holder in nd to pay 3 *s.* in the Pound Land-Tax, than to lay Hardſhip upon his Tenants, as to make it neceſſary em, either to ſubject themſelves to the Laws of Exciſe, ve up making the proper Advantage of ſome Part of Farms. An additional Shilling to the Land-Tax is ſhort temporary Loſs: It is a Loſs of a twentieth of his Rent but for one Year only; but by ſubjecting enants to ſuch a Hardſhip for 17 or 20 Years, he may imſelf obliged to lower the Rent of every Farm that gs to him, much more than a twentieth Part, which e probably a perpetual Loſs, or at leaſt a yearly Loſs nay affect him and his Poſterity for a great Number of . For this Reaſon, I ſay, Sir, every Land-holder to chuſe rather to pay an additional Shilling Land- than ſubject his Tenants to ſuch a Hardſhip as will neceſſary Conſequence of the Project now before us. here is another Reaſon why every Man in the King- as well as every Land-holder, ought to be againſt this ct, if he has a proper Regard for his Poſterity or for Country; becauſe the Method thereby propoſed for Money for the current Service, is in general, I think, oſt pernicious Method this Nation, or any Nation, ver chuſe for ſupplying ſuch Services. To eſtabliſh , and then mortgage thoſe Funds for ready Money, Method of ſupplying the current Service, which I now endeavour to ſhew no Nation ought to take, but es of the greateſt Extremity and Danger.

n every Country, Sir, that which may be called the or Revenue of the Public is the Sum that may be yearly from the public Lands, and from thoſe Taxes mpoſitions which the People will patiently ſubmit to therefore if in any one Year the public Expence ex- that Sum, by mortgaging a Part of this public Eſtate venue, the Public is in the ſame Circumſtances with a e Man who runs out his Eſtate, and neither the one he other can, for the future, be reckoned to have a r Eſtate or Revenue than what remains free to him the Payment of the Intereſt upon his Mortgages . The only Difference is, that the Revenue of a e Man is certain and always the ſame, whereas the Revenue of a Kingdom or State is variable, and may s be greater in Time of War than in Time of Peace; becauſe,

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because, during a just and necessary War, the People will patiently submit to greater Taxes than they will do in Time of Peace; but in either Case, if the Government of a Country should make the public Expence exceed the public Revenue, but for one Year only, it is a Step towards their Ruin, and a great Number of such Steps must certainly at last bring them to their Journey's End, which is the Ruin of their Country. For this Reason the Government of every Country ought to take special Care to proportion the public Expence to the public Revenue yearly, so as never to allow any public Debt to be contracted, but what may be discharged by the Produce of the Taxes growing due within that Year.

'Ministers, Sir, and those in the present Possession of Power, may very probably be for loading the Public with Debts, instead of loading the People with Taxes, because the People are sensible only of the Taxes they pay, they are not immediately sensible of the Debt the Public contracts, nor can they probably become sensible of it during that Minister's Administration. This may enable him to run the Nation into a needless Expence, or to squander the public Money, without bringing an immediate Odium upon himself, or raising any Murmurs against his Administration; but every such Debt weakens the Power of the Crown, which depends upon the the annual Revenue of the Kingdom, and may render it impossible even for the very next Successor to protect his Kingdom, either against Invasions and Insults from without, or Tumults and Insurrections from within; therefore no Man who has a true Regard for the Crown, or for the next Successor to the Crown, will, for the Ease of any temporary Minister, agree to run the Nation in Debt, in order that the People may not be sensible of the unnecessary Charge his Ambition, Imprudence, Avarice, or Extravagance, may have brought upon them.

'When such Taxes are imposed and collected within the Year, as are fully sufficient for defraying the Expence of that Year, the People are sensible of the Expence, and will therefore enquire into the Necessity of that Expence, which will always be a Check upon the Measures of the Administration, in Time of War as well as Peace: It will not only make them frugal with respect to every Shilling of the public Money they are obliged to lay out, but it will make them careful not to involve the Nation in any unnecessary War or Expence; and it will prevent their continuing of any War, longer than the future Security of the Nation requires. On the other hand, when the public Expence, or any Part of it, is raised by imposing a small

l Tax upon any of the Neceſſaries, Conveniencies, or uries of Life, and mortgaging that Tax for a Number ears, the People are not ſenſible of the Expence they put to, and conſequently make no Enquiry about it, ch often gives an Encouragement to thoſe in Power to the People into needleſs Expences, and laviſh the pub- Money. But if ſuch Meaſures be continued for any nber of Years, thoſe ſmall Taxes grow ſo numerous, they become not only ſenſible but inſupportable: The plaints and the Murmurs of the People then begin to w general and loud; but the Misfortune is, that their entment falls upon thoſe who have then the ill Fate to n Power over them, and not upon thoſe who were the ginal Authors of their Miſery. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Another Misfortune is, Sir, that by contracting Debts, ead of impoſing Taxes, the Nation is at laſt obliged to 3 or 4 *s.* ſometimes more, for every Shilling that was r applied to the public Service; becauſe the Intereſt and arges of Management, which the People are obliged to yearly till the Principal be diſcharged, often amounts louble or treble the Sum applied to the Service of the blic. If we were to compute what this Nation has d for Intereſt, and Charges of Management, upon all Debts we have contracted, it would amount to an in- dible Sum: I am convinced it would appear to be more n three Times the Amount of the whole Debt we owe at ſent. Let us but conſider the Project now before us: t us ſuppoſe 400,000 *l.* borrowed at an Intereſt of 3 *Cent.* and that the Tax will amount to but 35,000 *l.* 'ear, which is the leaſt groſs Produce we can ſuppoſe, on the Suppoſition that it will bring a nett Sum of ,000 *l.* yearly into the *Exchequer*; in that Caſe, the ople muſt pay 35,000 *l.* a Year for 17 Years, which at er *Cent.* compound Intereſt amounts to near 750,000 *l.* d which muſt be paid by the People of *England* in lieu the 400,000 *l.* now to be borrowed for the Service of Year. When ſo low an Intereſt, in ſo ſhort a Time, kes ſuch a Difference, we may eaſily gueſs what an im- nſe Sum the People of this Kingdom have paid for In- eſt and Charges of Management, ſince that Practice of ating and mortgaging public Funds, was firſt brought o Faſhion amongſt us.

' It may, I know, be ſaid, that if the whole Money ne- ſſary for the current Service is not raiſed within the Year, e People muſt ſave ſo much Money in their Pockets, hich they would otherwiſe be obliged to pay out, for making

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making good the Service; and that every private Man may make above 5 *per Cent.* of the Money ſo ſtrived, inſtead of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Sum which the Public borrows for the current Service; from whence it may be argued, that it is an Advantage for every private Man to run the Public in Debt, rather than raiſe, within the Year, the whole Sums neceſſary for the current Service of the Year. But do not we know, Sir, that every Man looks upon the Taxes he is obliged to pay yearly, as a Part of his yearly Expence; and the more Taxes he is obliged to pay, the more he contracts his yearly Expence upon other Articles? This every prudent and provident Man will do, when he feels the Money going yearly out of his Pocket towards the public Expence; but when a public Debt is contracted, and thereby a Load thrown upon future Generations for the Eaſe of the preſent, no Man, let him be never ſo provident, ſits down to compute the Eaſe he meets with, in order that he may ſave as much out of that Year's Expence, as may enable his Poſterity to anſwer the Load thrown upon them. People conſider only the yearly Taxes they are ſubjected to, and proportion their Expences upon other Articles accordingly; ſo that Poſterity are ſo far from having the Principal left them, with Compound Intereſt at 5 *per Cent.* that they have neither Principal nor Intereſt left them; nor is it poſſible to perſwade an Heir, that any Part of the Eſtate left him by his Anceſtor, was ſaved for him, with a View of enabling him to pay his Share of that public Debt, which was contracted in the Time of his Anceſtor.

• To theſe Misfortunes, Sir, let me add another, That the creating and mortgaging public Funds neceſſarily contributes to the raiſing and keeping up the natural Intereſt of Money, or to the draining the Nation of that Gold and Silver which is brought into it by its general Balance of Trade. As the natural Intereſt of Money, in all Countries, depends upon the Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt, and the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt, by creating and mortgaging public Funds, you increaſe the firſt Demand, and conſequently the natural Intereſt of Money muſt riſe, unleſs you proportionably increaſe the other, and this you can no Way do but by prevailing with Foreigners to lend you a Sum equal to that public Fund you have eſtabliſhed. If you can do this, you keep up the ſame Proportion between the Demand for borrowing Money at Intereſt, and the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt, which you had in your Country before that public Fund was created; but then what

is the Conſequence? The whole Sum payable yearly *Anno* 10 *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
'ay of Intereſt upon that public Fund muſt be ſent out
our Country yearly in Gold or Silver, or it muſt pre-
ſo much Gold and Silver yearly coming in to you, by
s of your general Balance of Trade; for unleſs you
a new Fund, your foreign Creditors cannot poſſibly
rt their Intereſt into Principal; and if you create a
Fund, you add to your former Misfortune, by increaſing
nual Draught of Gold and Silver from amongſt you.
'o apply this, Sir, to our preſent Circumſtances; ſuppoſe
hole of our public Debts amounts to 48 Millions,
that but 10 Millions of that Capital belongs to
gners, tho' I am convinced their Share amounts to a
larger Sum: In that Caſe, you have taken 38 Mil-
from the Demand for lending Money at Intereſt in
Country, and have added it to the Demand for bor-
g Money at Intereſt, which makes a Difference of no
an 76 Millions, and how this Difference muſt affect
'roportion between theſe two Demands, and conſe-
ly the natural Intereſt of Money in this Country, I
leave to every Gentleman that hears me to judge.
as to the 10 Millions belonging to Foreigners, 'tis
it prevents the Difference between theſe two Demands
s Country being ſo great as it would otherwiſe be; but
onſequence is, that the yearly Intereſt of the Sum of
illions, which is 400,000 *l.* a Year, muſt be ſent out
lly in Gold and Silver, or in Goods and Merchandize;
Bills of Exchange muſt at laſt be anſwered by one or
of theſe Funds. If it be ſent out in Gold and Silver,
iniſhes our National Stock of Gold and Silver; if
ods and Merchandize, it prevents its Increaſe; be-
the Price of thoſe Goods and Merchandize muſt ne-
ily at laſt have been returned to us in Gold and Silver,
had had no ſuch Intereſt to have paid yearly to
gners. While the general Balance of Trade con-
in our Favour, the paying of this Intereſt to
gners will only prevent the yearly Increaſe of our
nal Stock of Gold and Silver; but as ſoon as the ge-
Balance of Trade turns againſt us, this whole Sum
be drawn out yearly in Gold and Silver, which muſt
arily, in a few Years, entirely exhauſt our National
of thoſe two Metals; and when that Misfortune
upon us, I am afraid we ſhall find but little Comfort
lief in our Paper Credit.
his Conſideration alone, Sir, I ſhould think, would
every Gentleman reſolve to ſubmit to any Tax, ra-
than run the Nation further into Debt; and I am ſure

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it ought to make every Miniſter reſolve to contract the public Expence as much as poſſible. There are many other Misfortunes and Inconveniencies attending the creating and mortgaging of public Funds; but I ſhall not trouble you with enumerating any more of them at preſent; I think, I have ſaid enough for convincing every Man, who has a ſound Heart as well as a ſound Head, that any Project for running the Nation into a new Debt muſt be a moſt pernicious Sort of Means for ſupplying the current Service of the Year. If ſo, I am ſure every Gentleman that hears me, would give his Negative to the Queſtion, if that ſhould be an Occaſion; but there will not, I believe, be any Occaſion for a Negative; becauſe, if the Honourable Gentleman, who made you this Propoſition, views it in the ſame Light I do, I am ſure he will moſt readily give it up. It may, perhaps, be ſaid, Will you leave the current Service unprovided for? Will you allow the Seſſion to break up without providing for thoſe Supplies you have already granted? No, Sir: Several other Methods may be thought of; I have hinted at one, which I am ſure would be ſufficient; I mean, that of aboliſhing ſeveral of our unneceſſary Poſts and Employments. A Committee for that Purpoſe, if we were unanimous, would ſoon find out a Fund for anſwering the preſent Deficiency; and, I am certain, there is no Method that will be more effectual for producing that Unanimity, than our rejecting or dropping the Propoſition now before us; for which Reaſon, if it be inſiſted on, I ſhall moſt heartily give my Negative to the Queſtion.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, *viz.*

SIR,

"I am glad to find, that every Gentleman who has argued for, or againſt the Queſtion now before us, ſeems to be of Opinion, the Supplies we have already voted, ought to be made good, ſome way or other. When theſe Supplies were granted, I eaſily foreſaw, that the Malt-Tax and a Land-Tax of 2 *s.* in the Pound, would not be ſufficient for anſwering them; and I confeſs, tho' I ſaw the Neceſſity of the Supplies we had agreed to, I was under ſome Uneaſineſs to think how it was poſſible to make good the Deficiency; becauſe, I thought it would be hard to load the People with any new or additional Tax, or to make any Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; but my Uneaſineſs was fully removed, as ſoon as my Honourable Friend had explained the Method he had thought of, for making good that Deficiency. The Method he propoſed, and which we have now under our Conſideration, appeared to me ſo eaſy, and I beg his Leave to ſay, ſo ingenious, that I imagined it would

would have been agreed to without any Oppoſition; but this is a Fate, which I am glad to find few or no Propoſitions are like to meet with in this Houſe: for a bad one ought, and, I hope, always will be oppoſed; and a good one derives great Advantages from Oppoſition, becauſe its Uſefulneſs from thence appears in a much clearer Light. As I very much approve of the Method propoſed by my Honourable Friend, for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this Year, I ſhall endeavour to remove the Objections that have been made to it, and then I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the Injuſtice and Impoſſibility of the other Methods that have been propoſed, or rather hinted at in this Debate. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736.

'I as heartily wiſh, Sir, as any Gentleman can do, that we could contract the public Expence, ſo as to make the Malt-Tax, and a Land-Tax of 2*s.* in the Pound, ſufficient for anſwering it yearly; but the public Expence, as to its Quantity, neither depends upon our Reſolutions, nor upon the Will and Pleaſure of thoſe who have the Honour to be in the Adminiſtration of our Government. The annual public Expence in this Country, as well as in every other Country, depends upon the Neceſſities of the Government only, and ought to be increaſed or diminiſhed only according to thoſe Neceſſities. In Arbitrary Countries, the Miniſters are the only Judges of thoſe Neceſſities, and of the Sums that will be ſufficient for anſwering, as well as of the Ways and Means moſt proper for raiſing them; but, in this happy Country, our Miniſters are no Judges in either of theſe Reſpects: Their Buſineſs is only to lay before Parliament what they think will be the Neceſſities of our Government for the enſuing Year, and what Sums they think will be ſufficient for anſwering thoſe Neceſſities. When they have done ſo, they are, as it were, *functo officio*, they have nothing more to do; for, the Parliament is then to judge, Whether thoſe Neceſſities are real: Whether a leſs Sum may not be ſufficient for anſwering thoſe Neceſſities: And what Ways and Means are moſt proper for raiſing thoſe Sums, that ſhall be thought neceſſary. Of theſe three Queſtions, we have already determined the firſt two; and now we have the third under our Conſideration.

'In determining this third Queſtion, we certainly ought, Sir, to chuſe ſuch Ways and Means as may be ſufficient for the End propoſed; ſuch as may be leaſt burdenſome to the People, and ſuch as may ſeem to occaſion the feweſt Murmurings againſt the Government: And, that the Method now propoſed to us has every one of theſe three Advantages, will beſt appear from anſwering the ſeveral Ob-

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jections that have been made to it. I ſhall grant, Sir, that ſome ſort of Compariſon may be made between the public Revenue of a Nation, and a private Man's Eſtate; and that a Mortgage upon either, muſt be a Loſs to Poſterity, and a Diminution of the Eſtate, till that Mortgage be cleared; but there is a very great Difference between what may be called a Loſs to Poſterity, and what may be called doing them a real Injury: A private Man who mortgages his Eſtate, in order to ſupport his Luxury or Extravagance, does a real Injury to his Poſterity: But he, who by ſome croſs Accident is obliged to mortgage his Eſtate for the Preſervation of himſelf and Family, does no Injury to his Poſterity, tho' he ſubjects them to a Loſs. In the ſame Manner, a Nation may often, for Self-preſervation, be obliged to be at a much greater public Expence than can poſſibly be raiſed within the Year, and muſt then neceſſarily mortgage ſome Part of its public Revenue; which is ſo far from being an Injury to Poſterity, that there is nothing more juſt and reaſonable; becauſe, as future Generations are to reap a great Part of the Benefit, they ought to pay ſome Part of the Expences which were neceſſary for obtaining and preſerving that Benefit.

'Not only Neceſſity therefore, Sir, but even common Juſtice may ſometimes require, that a public Debt ſhould be contracted, rather than lay too heavy a Load upon the People for any one Year, or for any Number of Years; and whatever Inconveniencies or Diſadvantages ſuch a Meaſure may be attended with, the Neceſſity of Affairs will always be a full Juſtification of thoſe, who purſue it. But, I cannot think, the Diſadvantages attending ſuch a Meaſure are near ſo grievous as have been repreſented; for as to the Intereſt and Charges of Management, the Money paid by the People for thoſe Purpoſes is ſeldom any real Loſs to the Nation, becauſe it is, generally, all divided among our own People; there is but a very ſmall Share of the Intereſt belongs to Foreigners; and what goes out that way is attended with this Advantage, that it procures the Nation ſome Friends in foreign States, who have often great Weight in their Councils, and, conſequently, may prevent their joining in any Meaſures with our Enemies. Then, as to the Effect this Meaſure may have upon the Management of public Money; I hope it will not be ſaid that Miniſters are to be judged or puniſhed by the People, in a mobbiſh and riotous Manner, their Conduct is always to be enquired into and judged of by the Repreſentatives of the People in Parliament aſſembled; and, ſurely, no Gentleman of this Houſe will ever be influenced, upon any

ſuch

caſion, by what the People feel, or ſay they feel; *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
we ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman of this Houſe
er approve of any Article of Expence propoſed,
ecauſe his Poſterity, and not he, are to ſuffer for

hould be glad, Sir, we could raiſe the Supplies of
ar within the Year: I ſhould be glad our public
ies never required any greater Expence than what
lic Revenue would anſwer; but for the Reaſons I
ven I cannot admit it as a general and infallible
, that we ought never to contract any public Debt,
e any public Mortgage; for when it becomes neceſ-
raiſe any large Sum for the Service of any one Year,
e for giving the People ſuch a ſufficient Time for
it, as may not ſubject them to any great Difficulty.
ate Life it has always been looked on as an Advan-
l an Eaſe to a Man to give him ſeveral Terms for
a large Sum of Money; and the Caſe is the ſame
ſpect to the People; it will be much more eaſy and
geous for them to pay 400,000 *l.* with the growing
in 17 Years, than to pay 400,000 *l.* at one Pay-
in any manner you can contrive for raiſing it; ſo that
Method now under our Conſideration were really a
ge of ſome Part of our former Revenue, conſequent-
minution of the public Eſtate, I ſhould be for agree-
it; but it is really neither the one nor the other: It
nprovement of the public Revenue and Eſtate; and
Poſterity cannot find Fault with us for morgaging,
ew Years only, the Produce of that Improvement.
ivate Gentleman ſhould by any Improvement add
Year to his Eſtate, and mortgage that Improvement
Years only, ſurely his Son would have no Reaſon to
his Conduct, even tho' he ſhould die immediately
aving made that Improvement and Mortgage, and all
Generations would have Reaſon to bleſs him.
om this ſingle Conſideration, Sir, all thoſe Objections
e founded upon the Inconveniencies of mortgaging
blic Revenue muſt vaniſh; and the Debt to be con-
is ſo ſmall, and the Intereſt it is to be borrowed at
, that it can no way affect the natural Intereſt of Mo-
ither upon public or private Securities. Now, Sir,
eſpect to the Objection which impeaches the Propo-
under our Conſideration, with being either a Propo-
for a new Tax, or a Propoſition for making an
achment upon the Sinking-Fund, I was, indeed,
little ſurprized to hear it not only ſaid, but in-
on, that the Duty propoſed to be laid on any Sort
eets was a new Tax; conſidering how general the
Words

contained in another Act of King *Will*
that of the 5th of Queen *Anne* is a ſub
the Words of it are general, the Intent
ſubject all Liquors, commonly called Sw
Duty, if they were made for Sale; the
poſe that this Doubt's not being clear'd
well as by the Opinion of Lawyers, do
any Neglect in the Officers of the Reve
finding the Opinion of Lawyers agai
every Man's being perſuaded there wa
the Queſtion, therefore no Man would
Law-ſuit upon it; and the ſmall Produc
be imputed to the ſame Cauſe; for as e
muſt pay 36 *s.* a Barrel, if he made any
that, conſidering the Height of that D
no Advantage by the Sale, therefore
tempted to make any ſuch Liquors for
ſince this Duty was impoſed. There
propoſed to be laid on Sweets is ſo far fro
that every Man in the Kingdom will lo
leaſe from an inſupportable Tax, and as
the full Uſe of his Garden and Orchard
deprived of ever ſince the preſent high D
place.

'I ſhall readily acknowledge, Sir, th
on Sweets ſtands appropriated to the S
and if the Produce of that Duty had e
ever be worth taking any Notice of, th
current Service would be an Encroachm
Fund, becauſe it would be neceſſary to m
South-Sea Company out of the Sinking-Fu
Company can have no Right to any thi
of the preſent Duty, and if you were

Liquors; ſuppoſe that Duty had been granted to the *South-Sea* Company for ſecuring to them the Payment of Annuity, and ſuppoſe we were now to lay an additio- Tax of 11*s.* *per* Barrel on ſuch Liquors, would the *South-Sea* Company have any Right to that additional Tax? would the Applying of it to the current Service be any ſachment upon the Sinking-Fund? For the ſame Rea- if by any new Regulation you make a conſiderable aſe in the Produce of the Tax, the *South-Sea* Company retend no Right to that Increaſe, nor can the Appli- of it to the current Service be deemed an Incroach- upon the Sinking-Fund. The utmoſt that can be ded is, that a future Annuity ought to be paid out of ncreaſed Produce to the *South-Sea* Company, or to the ng-Fund, equal to the former Produce at a Medium, the Time it was firſt appropriated to the Payment of ebts. Such a future Annuity would, I ſay, be the only that could, with any Shadow of Reaſon, be conten- or, and in the preſent Caſe that Annuity would be ſo ſiderable, that it is not to be regarded.

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Thus it appears, Sir, that the Method propoſed for g good the Deficiency in the Supplies for this enſuing can neither be called a Propoſition for impoſing a new or can it be called a Propoſition for making an In- ment upon the Sinking-Fund, or upon the Right of *South-Sea* Company. But we have been told, that the propoſed will either produce little or nothing, or it bject a great Number of our People to Exciſe Laws- the future Produce of the Duty, it is impoſſible to with any Certainty what it will amount to; but the Computation I ever heard of was 20,000 *l.* a Year, the future Produce amount to that Sum, it will be nt for the End propoſed, becauſe it will not only pay owing Intereſt yearly, but will likewiſe pay off a Part Principal yearly, ſo that the Whole may be at laſt ged by the Means of this Duty only. Then as to Laws, I have, 'tis true, heard a great many Excla- s againſt the Rigour of ſuch Laws, and againſt the venienties and the Conſequences of ſubjecting our to ſuch Laws; but the Misfortune is, that all theſe ſitions are contradicted by Experience; for we have, ar this Century paſt, had ſuch Laws in this Kingdom, ut being ſenſible of the leaſt Inconvenience ariſing them; and I believe thoſe who are ſubject to them s happily and as independently as thoſe who are not. e Laws are certain, and publicly known, and therefore who are ſubject to them can be under no Dependance upon

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upon the Officers, but upon the Laws themſelves: If they conform to the Law, they have not ſo much as a Farmer to aſk of any Commiſſioner or Officer of Exciſe; and if any Officer behave rudely in the Execution of them, or commits any Treſpaſs, he may be proſecuted for it, as eaſily as any other Subject. This they are ſenſible of, and therefore they have hitherto generally done their Duty with as much Civility and Good-Nature as was poſſible; ſo that fair Traders, who bring themſelves under no Suſpicion, are ſeldom or ever ſubjected to any Inconvenience, nor are they ever viſited or diſturbed at unſeaſonable Hours.

'But, Sir, ſuppoſing the Exciſe Laws to be as dangerous and as oppreſſive as they have been repreſented, our Farmers, our Wine-Merchants, and Vintners, will be in the ſame Caſe they are at preſent; for if any of them ſhould begin to make Sweets for Sale, they would ſubject themſelves to the Exciſe Laws, even as the Duty ſtands regulated by the Laws now in being; and tho' the Conſumption of ſuch Liquors ſhould be very much increaſed by diminiſhing the Duty, as it probably will, it does not neceſſarily follow that every Farmer who has an Elder-Hedge, or a Goosberry-Buſh in his Garden, ſhould become a Maker of Sweets, no more than it is neceſſary for every Man who has an Acre of Barley to become a Brewer or a Maltſter: If the Conſumption ſhould become very extenſive and general, 'tis certain that proper Perſons will ſet up the Trade for making ſuch Liquors for Sale, and will purchaſe Fruits for that Purpoſe from the Farmer at a reaſonable Price, in the ſame Way as Brewers, Diſtillers, and Maltſters now purchaſe their Barley. The only Difference I can ſee, is, that by this new Regulation, our Farmers will be put in a Way of making an Advantage of their Farms, which they have been debarred from ever ſince the high Duty upon Sweets took place; and the more Advantages they are enabled to make of their Farms, the better able will they be to pay their Rent to their Landlords; ſo that every Landed Gentleman has, in my Opinion, great Reaſon to approve of the Propoſition now before us; for if it does not improve the Rent of his Eſtate, it will at leaſt contribute towards rendering the Payment of that Rent more certain and punctual.

'I hope, Sir, I have fully anſwered all the Objections made againſt the Propoſition now before us, and as all the Gentlemen who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, have acknowledged, that the Supplies we have agreed to ought to be made good by ſome Means or other, I wiſh they had directly and plainly propoſed ſome other Method;

Method; for upon ſetting the two Methods in oppoſite Lights, it would have been very eaſy to have determined, which of them ought to be preferred. They have, indeed, given us ſome ſort of Hint of two other Methods, one of which, I mean that of an additional Shilling in the Pound upon Land, might have bore ſome ſort of Compariſon, if the Land Tax for this enſuing Year had not been already ſettled, and the Bill actually brought in; ſo that it is now too late to think of any ſuch Method; but if it were otherwiſe, if the Land Tax were ſtill to be ſettled, I am ſure it would be very eaſy to ſhew, that of all the Methods we can think of for raiſing Money, that of over-loading the Landed Intereſt is the moſt unjuſt, the moſt grievous, and the moſt dangerous. Even 2*s.* in the Pound upon Land is a great deal too much, when the whole public Expence does not amount to much above two Millions; for as every Man ought in Juſtice to be made to contribute to the public Expence, according to the Share of Riches he poſſeſſes, and as the Lands in *Great Britain* are not near equal in Value to the other Riches of the Nation, it is doing an Injuſtice to the Landed Intereſt, to make them contribute one Moiety of the public Charge, which will be their Caſe for this next enſuing Year. But as the Land Tax is now entirely out of the Queſtion, I ſhall not take up your Time with enlarging upon the Subject. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

'The other Method hinted at is a Method extremely plauſible in Appearance, but I queſtion much, Sir, if it will ever be found practicable; that I am ſure, it cannot be propoſed as a Method for raiſing any Part of the Supplies we have already agreed to for this enſuing Year. In effect, it cannot properly be called a Method of providing for Supplies; it is rather a Method for diminiſhing the uſual neceſſary Supplies, and cannot therefore come properly before us in this Committee. I do not at all queſtion but there are many *ſine-cure* Poſts in this Kingdom, as well as in every other, and many uſeleſs or extravagant Salaries. Some of them might perhaps be aboliſhed; but I doubt much if it will ever be in our Power to aboliſh them all, and therefore I am afraid the Saving in that Way, upon the ſevereſt Scrutiny, would not amount to near the Sum the Hon. Gentleman ſuppoſes. However, let it amount to what it will, it cannot be made a Proviſion for the Supplies of the next enſuing Year; becauſe if we were immediately to appoint a Committee for enquiring into that Affair, we cannot ſuppoſe that Committee would be able to go through the Buſineſs in this Seſſion, nay, I doubt much if they would be able to make even a partial Report; and as many of thoſe Poſts, I be-

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lieve moſt of the uſeleſs ones, are held for Life, and are a ſort of Free-hold, we could not at once, and without any Conſideration, turn the preſent Poſſeſſors out of their Free-hold; therefore, from ſuch an Enquiry the Nation could not expect any great immediate Advantage; at leaſt, not ſuch a great and immediate Advantage, as would be ſufficient for making good the Deficiency in the Supplies for the next enſuing Year.

'I hope, Sir, I have ſaid enough for convincing every Gentleman, that the Method now under our Conſideration, for making good the Supplies of this next enſuing Year, will in all Probability be ſufficient for the End propoſed; and that of all the Methods that have been propoſed, or ſo much as hinted at, it is the leaſt burdenſome, and the leaſt liable to occaſion any freſh Murmurs among the People: therefore it is certainly the Method we ought to chuſe. It is, indeed, in my Opinion, the only Method we have to chuſe; for, I think, I have ſhewn, that the other two Methods that have been mentioned, are both impracticable; and as I join in that which ſeems to be the general Opinion, that the Supplies we have already voted ought to be made good, I think I am both in Honour and Conſcience bound to give my Aſſent to the Propoſition now before us, becauſe it is the only Method we can chuſe for doing that which every Gentleman acknowledges ought to be done.'

This is the Subſtance of the ſeveral Debates which happened in this Affair relating to Sweets; in which thoſe who were for the Duty got the better upon every Diviſion, except one, which was in relation to that Clauſe in the Bill, whereby it is provided, that nothing in that Act contained ſhould extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to charge with any Duty ſuch Wine as the Owners or Occupiers of *Britiſh* Vineyards ſhould make from the Juice of the Grapes only growing thereon; for the Adding of any ſuch Clauſe, to exempt ſuch Liquors from the Duty on Sweets, was oppoſed by moſt of the Gentlemen who were Favourers of the Duty and Bill; however, upon a Diviſion it was carried againſt them, and the Clauſe, as it now ſtands, was accordingly inſerted in the Bill.

On *Monday*, May 16th. A Bill entitled, "An Act to diſable *Alexander Wilſon*, Eſq; from taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Place of Magiſtracy in the City of *Edinburgh*, or elſewhere in *Great Britain*, and for impriſoning the ſaid *Alexander Wilſon*, and for aboliſhing the Guard kept up in the ſaid City, commonly called the Town Guard, and for taking away the Gates of the *Nether-Bow* Part of the ſaid City, and keeping open the ſame."

The

The Title of the Bill being read,

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James Oglethorpe, Eſq; oppoſed the Receiving the Bill at all: Becauſe he was of Opinion that 'the Houſe of Lords would refuſe to receive from that Houſe any Bill of Pains and Penalties, which might affect any Member of their Houſe: And that if ſuch a Precedent was ſet, as that a Houſe of Peers for every Offence committed, or ſuppoſed to be committed by a Commoner, might ſend down a Bill of Pains and Penalties to be paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, the Independancy of the Commons muſt be utterly broken.'

James Ogle
thorpe, Eſq;

Sir *John Barnard*. 'Suppoſe the Bill which is ſent down had enacted, that among other Pains and Penalties the City of *Edinburgh* ſhould from henceforth ceaſe to be a City or Corporation. Could any Gentleman, after the paſſing ſuch a Bill, have kept his Seat in this Houſe as Member for that City or Corporation? Sir, he muſt have ceaſed to be a Member, as ſoon as the Corporation he repreſented ceaſed to be a Corporation: And ſhall we ever receive a Bill from the other Houſe for turning of one our own Members out of Doors? This Houſe ought to ſhew as much Reſpect for their Conſtituents from whom they derive their Right of ſitting here, as they would do to their Repreſentatives themſelves. If any Preference is due, it is due to that Body from whom they derive their Right of ſitting in this Place; for while they are judging one of their own Members, they are judging of their own Privileges; but while they are judging of their Conſtituents Rights or Properties, they are judging of what is not their own, but what they have only in Truſt; and of which they, therefore, ought to be more tender.

Sir John Barnard.

Duncan Forbes, Eſq; * 'It would ſound very ill, that a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons, in which there are but fifteen Repreſentatives from *Scotland*, ſhould receive ſuch a Bill; *Edinburgh* is now a City of *Great Britain*, nay, the ſecond City. And I appeal to the Gentlemen, who repreſent the Cities and Boroughs of *England*, to know in what Manner they would treat a Bill inflicting ſuch Pains and Penalties upon any of the Cities which they repreſent. They are in Honour obliged to protect the Commons of *Scotland* as much as the Commons of *England*; becauſe the *Scots* truſted to their Honour, when they united with them upon the Terms they did. They are in Prudence obliged to protect the Privileges of every Borough of *Scotland* as much as the

Duncan Forbes, Eſq;

* *Then King's Advocate for* Scotland, *ſince Preſident of the Seſſion there.*

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Privileges of any Borough of *England*; becauſe no Incroachment can be made, no Injury done to the one, but what may be made a Precedent for doing the ſame to the other: If they allow the other Houſe to incroach upon the Privileges of the Commons of *Scotland*, it will be a Precedent for their encroaching upon the Commons of *England*. If they accept of this Bill, if they give it a Reading, I ſhall ſoon expect to ſee a Bill brought them from the other Houſe, for turning ſome of their Members out of Doors.'

Sir William Yonge.

Sir *William Yonge*. 'The other Houſe has a Power of enquiring: When they begun the Exerciſe of that Power, they found it neceſſary to go a Step farther, and to puniſh as well as enquire, which they could do no otherwiſe than by the Bill now before us. As this is their only Aim, as it is an Aim which cannot but be approved, I hope this Houſe will not be too jealous of its Privileges on ſuch an Occaſion; for even tho' it were indiſputable that the other Houſe ought not to be allowed to bring in a Bill for inflicting Pains and Penalties upon any City or Borough of *Great Britain*, yet in a Caſe where no Encroachment is intended, and which may ſo greatly contribute to the domeſtic Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, it is abſolutely neceſſary for both Houſes, not to be over-ſcrupulous in point of Privilege.'

Sir Robert Walpole.

Sir *Robert Walpole*. 'It was very natural for the other Houſe to enter upon this Enquiry, becauſe there is generally a kind of Ceſſation of Buſineſs in that Houſe during the firſt three or four Weeks of the Seſſion, which are generally in the Houſe of Commons taken up in ſettling the Supplies for the Current Services of the Government. I am as jealous of the Rights of this Houſe, as any Gentleman here; but I think too ſcrupulous a Jealouſy may at this Time be attended with the worſt of Conſequences. As to what my Honourable and Learned Friend behind me mentioned, about the Tenderneſs we ought to ſhew to the Corporations and Boroughs we repreſent, eſpecially thoſe of *Scotland*; I think, Sir, our going upon this Bill is the greateſt Mark of Tenderneſs we can ſhew. It is in order to puniſh, in a more exemplary Manner, a Practice, that has been but too much encouraged of late; a Practice that if not ſuppreſſed, muſt deſtroy the Right of all Corporations, and perhaps aboliſh the Privileges of this Houſe and the very Form of our Conſtitution. The other Houſe having entered upon this Enquiry, has brought the Bill to ſuch a Forwardneſs, that perhaps it may come time enough to prevent the Conſequences before it is too late; therefore, I think, we are rather obliged to the Care and

Concern

Concern they have taken in this Affair, and I hope Gentlemen will not oppoſe the Bill, without better Reaſons than any that have yet appeared.' *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

Sir *William Windham*. 'I am very ſorry that what the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has ſaid is but too true. The firſt Part of our Seſſion is commonly ſpent in granting Money to the Crown; but formerly it was otherwiſe; and if this Houſe had taken Example by their Anceſtors, inſtead of voting a Supply the 2d or 3d Day of the Seſſion, they would have voted an Enquiry into thoſe Riots and Tumults, which of late have been ſo frequent and ſo general all over the Kingdom; for the People never grow tumultuous without ſome Cauſe, and 'tis very probable the late Tumults have proceeded from ſome Abuſes or ſome Grievances which they ought to enquire into. The beſt Way of judging of Men's Intentions is by their Actions; and as the Bill brought from the other Houſe is certainly, as we think, an Incroachment upon the Privileges of this Houſe, the ſureſt and ſafeſt Way of judging is, to ſuppoſe an Incroachment was intended. Incro chments have always been made at the moſt favourable Junctures; and if ever the other Houſe ſhould endeavour to incroach upon this, they will always take Occaſion to do it, with reſpect to Bills which ſeem abſolutely neceſſary; ſo that if we made the Expediency, or even the Neceſſity of a Bill, a good Reaſon for ſubmitting to an Incroachment, we ſhould very ſoon have no Privileges leſt. As this Houſe is the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation, it is their proper Buſineſs to enquire into all public Abuſes, eſpecially where any of their own Members are concerned; and if the other Houſe does upon any Occaſion take upon them to enquire into any ſuch public Abuſe, they ought to proceed no further; they might then at a Conference communicate to that Houſe the Diſcoveries they had made, and leave it to that Houſe to proceed by Impeachment, or by a Bill of Pains and Penalties; which the other Houſe might have done in the preſent Caſe; and their not having done ſo ſeems to ſhew, they had an Intention to take Advantage of that favourable Opportunity for making a little Incroachment upon a Privilege, which they knew would have otherwiſe been ſtrenuouſly conteſted. Whether or no there is a Neceſſity for puniſhing the City, or any of the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, cannot appear to us now, and therefore cannot be an Argument of the leaſt Weight in this Debate; but ſuppoſe there is ſuch a Neceſſity, there is no Neceſſity of the Seſſion's breaking up at a certain Day. We may go upon an Enquiry immediately; the Witneſſes are all in Town; *Sir William Windham.*

theſe

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theſe Witneſſes may ſoon be examined; and upon that Examination, we may order a new Bill to be brought in, if we ſaw Cauſe; and that new Bill may paſs through both Houſes long before it will be abſolutely neceſſary to put an End to the Seſſion: Therefore, I ſee no Inconvenience that can enſue from not receiving the Bill now brought from the other Houſe; and for that Reaſon cannot agree to its being read a firſt Time.'

The Bill however was read a firſt Time, and upon a Motion for reading it a ſecond Time, *Patrick Lindſay*, Eſq; Member for *Edinburgh*, ſpoke as follows.

Patrick Lindſay, Eſq;

Mr. SPEAKER,

SIR,

'The Concern which I have in this Bill, as it affects the Rights, the Privileges, and Franchiſes of the City which I have the Honour to repreſent in this Houſe, as well as it affects perſonally him who has now the Honour to be the Chief Magiſtrate of that City; this Concern, I ſay, Sir, will (I hope) plead my Excuſe to this Honourable Houſe, for preſuming to take upon me, Sir, to ſubmit to your Conſideration, my Senſe of this Bill, and of the Effects of it, ſhould it paſs into a Law. Sir, That cruel, barbarous and inhuman Murder, that moſt outragious and atrocious Riot, which was committed at *Edinburgh* the 7th of *September* laſt, muſt affect every Perſon of Humanity with Horror: And as it was, Sir, a trampling upon all Civil Government, and a bold and manifeſt Violation of the Laws, and a direct Inſult upon the legal Authority, it cannot fail to raiſe Gentlemen's Indignation, and to rouſe the Reſentment of every true *Briton* to do Juſtice to the Public, by purſuing any Meaſure that may be moſt likely to punish in Blood a Crime, a Crime ſo dangerous to civil Society, and to bring the execrable and deſperate Authors of it to condign Puniſhment.——But, Sir, I hope Gentlemen's Zeal for Juſtice will not ſo far blind their Underſtanding, as to allow themſelves to be diverted fron the Purſuit of Juſtice, and to be miſled from the right Scent by falling upon the Innocent, and there to allow the Guilty to eſcape and to paſs unheeded.——By whom, Sir, was this bloody Murder, this outrageous Riot committed? By a Mob, Sir; a Mob compoſed, as Mobs commonly are, of the loweſt Claſs of the People, by Perſons of diſſolute and bad Lives, and of worſe Manners; Perſons who deſpiſe the Office of Magiſtracy, and hate the Perſons of Magiſtrates, becauſe Magiſtrates punish and controul their Crimes, and reſtrain them from Acts of Violence, and from committing Diſorders; Perſons who are prone to do Miſchief, and when they can do it with Impu-

of Impunity, rarely fail to inſult and abuſe the Perſons of Magiſtrates——And who, Sir, are by this Bill to be puniſhed for this Riot? Thoſe who committed the Inſult? No, Sir; by this Bill thoſe who were inſulted are to be puniſhed. Is the Inſolence of the Multitude to be repreſt by this Bill? No, Sir; the Hands of the Civil Magiſtrate are to be weakened by this Bill. In a free Country, Sir, the Civil Magiſtrate only can ſuppreſs and prevent Riots and Diſorders: And how? By puniſhing of Rioters and diſorderly Perſons. And if the Hands of the Civil Magiſtrate are not ſtrengthened, the Office of Magiſtracy muſt become uſeleſs.——Sir, I have obſerved, ſince I came laſt to this Place, that a very odd Notion has prevailed here, and with great Grief and Concern, Sir, I find this Notion to be general, that Perſons of all Ranks, (in that Country where that abominable Crime was committed) favour this foul, this black, this moſt deteſtable Crime; than which, Sir, nothing is more unjuſt, nothing more falſe and untrue. I therefore beg Leave to explain this a little.—The Mobs in that part of the Kingdom, Sir, reſemble very much the Mobs here; they are compoſed here as well as there (and I believe every where) of ſuch Perſons as I have juſt now deſcribed to you; but there is one Difference betwixt the Mobs in that Country and your Mobs here, and that is, however wicked the Mobs in that Country may be, yet they are not ſo abandoned as to do Miſchief with their Eyes open. But, Sir, the loweſt Claſs of People in that Country have generally ſpeaking a Turn to Enthuſiaſm, and ſo ſtrong is the Influence, ſuch is the Force of Deluſion, that they can work themſelves up to a firm Perſuaſion and thorough Belief that any Miſchief they are to do is not only lawful but laudable; that it is their Duty to do it, and from a religious Principle, to do it at any riſque, even at the riſque of their Lives.

'Hence it is, Sir, that Riots and Diſorders are leſs frequent in that Country than here, and when Mobs do riſe there, they are more determined, and conſequently more dangerous.

'The unthinking Multitude, Sir, are but too much encouraged in this by the Clergy; for, Sir, when the Clergy are like to be defeated or diſappointed in any particular View of diſpoſing of any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice and Preferment as they have a Mind, becauſe the Law ſtands in their way, they abuſe the unwary People, Sir, and ſpirit them up to deſpiſe and diſobey the Law, by this dangerous Doctrine, too often inculcated—upon ſuch Occaſions, *that ſuch a Law is Iniquity—eſtabliſhed by Law.*

'This

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'This dangerous Doctrine, this ſeditious Practice, in openly and publicly maintaining it, cannot be charged, Sir, upon the Church of *Scotland*, or upon the Clergy of that Country in general. They, Sir, by much the major Part of them, are good Men as well as good Chriſtians, Men of ſound Principles in their Lives, and in their Practice, blameleſs; Men who think, as every Gentleman of this Houſe does, Sir, that the Laws of every Country ought to be obey'd, as the ſole and only Rule of Government in every Country; but this ſeditious Doctrine is preached up by thoſe wild, hot-headed, violent High Church Clergy, who are not to be ſatisfied with any Power, unleſs they poſſeſs all Power; and by them only. Yes, Sir, I am ſorry to ſay it, we have High-church Preſbyterians, who have higher Notions of Clerical Power, than any Proteſtant Clergy whatever; ſome there are, Sir, who aſſert and maintain an abſolute Independency on the Civil Power.—Sir, the dangerous Effect of Doctrines of this Kind is, that when Men are taught and brought to believe, that any Law whatever in Iniquity eſtabliſhed by Law, and while it remains in Force under the Sanction of the Legiſlature it may nevertheleſs be diſobey'd, and the Civil Magiſtrate reſiſted in the Execution of it, Men of weak Underſtanding and ſtrong Paſſions will eaſily deceive themſelves, and look upon every Law that interferes with their Paſſions to be Iniquity; eſpecially, Sir, if they have, as all weak People commonly have, a good Opinion of themſelves and of their own ſuperior Sanctity and Holineſs.

'Now, Sir, I muſt beg Leave to explain the Source of theſe late Diſorders, that have given ſo much Trouble to the Legiſlature.

'The pernicious Practice of Smuggling prejudicial to the fair Trader, and ſo hurtful to the common and general Good of the Nation, has prevailed but too much in that Country, Sir, as well as in this. Whoever, Sir, may be the Importers and Proprietors of Run Goods, it is moſt certain, that the loweſt Claſs of Men, the Dregs of the People, thoſe Perſons who compoſe Mobs, are the Perſons employ'd in the running of theſe Goods, and they get ſo much more, Sir, by this illicit Trade, than they can by honeſt Labour, that they neglect their Labour for the Sake of this vile and deſtructive Trade.

'As this loweſt Herd of Mankind, Sir, have been taught that one Law is Iniquity, they have taught themſelves that ſome other Laws are ſo too; if one may judge of their Principles by their Practice, all your Revenue Laws ſtand in an unfavourable Light with them, Sir.'

'Every

'Every Gentleman, Sir, has heard of the Execution of that noted Smuggler *Andrew Wilſon*, whence all this Miſchief has flowed. That deluded Man, Sir, maintained to the Hour of his Death, that he was moſt unjuſtly condemned, and died with great Tranquillity; ſo firm, ſo fixed was he in the Belief of his own Innocence; he maintained this, Sir, in a Debate with one of the Rev. Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, and a very able Clergyman he is. When this Miniſter, Sir, was endeavouring to underceive him, and bring him to a Senſe of his Guilt of the Crime for which he was condemned, he admitted that he had taken Money from a Collector of the Revenue by Violence; that he did it becauſe he knew no other way of coming at it; that the Officers of the Revenue had by their Practice taught him this was lawful, for they had often ſeized and carryed off his Goods by Violence, and ſo long as they had Goods of his of greater Value in their Hands than all the Money he took from them, they were ſtill in his Debt, and he had done no Wrong. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736 7.

'I am afraid, Sir, this Martyr to this new heretical Sect of Smuggling was too much favoured by the miſled and unwary Multitude; too many of them thought, as he himſelf did, Sir, that he was unjuſtly condemned, and every one who firmly believed this would, no doubt, think it his Duty to ſave and to reſcue this innocent Perſon (as they thought him) from the Rigour of Law; and, Sir, if the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* had not taken extraordinary Precautions to put this Sentence in Execution, he, this *Wilſon*, Sir, would very probably have been reſcued by the Multitude.—But, Sir, when they ſaw themſelves diſappointed, no ſooner was this Execution over, than they began to wreck their Malice upon that Guard which had, upon many other Occaſions as well as that, ſuppreſt their Diſorders, and reſtrained their guilty Hands from doing of Miſchief, and committing of real not imaginary Iniquity; upon that Guard, Sir, which is to be aboliſhed by this Bill. —— Upon this Occaſion, Sir, the unhappy Perſon who then commanded the Guard, did, from an Apprehenſion I ſuppoſe that he might be overpowered by the great Crowds of People then aſſembled, defend himſelf and his Men by their Fire Arms, whereby ſeveral of the Multitude were killed and wounded: And what were the Effects of this, Sir? — The Perſons who were then killed and wounded were of that Claſs of People who commonly attend ſuch melancholy Spectacles, Sir, that is, of the loweſt Claſs. The Mob, Sir, from that Moment began to murmur, from an Apprehenſion, that becauſe no Perſon of Rank and Condition had been killed,

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therefore would this barbarous Murderer (as they called him) eſcape from Juſtice by the Favour of Perſons of Condition. And in this, Sir, they were not miſtaken, for — No ſooner was this unhappy Perſon condemned by Law, Sir, than Numbers of Perſons of Condition ſet a Petition on foot to intercede with her Majeſty (then Guardian of the Realm) for Mercy; they did this, Sir, not ſo much out of Tenderneſs to this Man, that they thought his Caſe hard, as from another Motive, a Motive of a public Nature; and that was, Sir, ſhould this Sentence have taken Effect, the Mob would become more inſolent, when they found that the Civil Magiſtrate, or other Perſons acting under his Authority, were in no better Caſe than they who reſiſted the Civil Magiſtrate in the Execution of the Law: but if by this Man's Pardon, if by the Interpoſition of Mercy from the Crown, they were convinced, that every Perſon who acted by Law, to put the Laws in Execution, acted ſafely, and that every Perſon that acted otherwiſe did it with a Rope about his Neck, that would effectually ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the Multitude, and force Obedience to the Law, even from thoſe baſe Minds who by Force alone are to be driven into a Senſe of their Duty.——Who then, Sir, of that Country approves of that wicked Murder and Riot? The Mob only, Sir, by whom it was committed; Perſons who have no Property, and therefore are fond of Diſorders, becauſe they can loſe nothing by Diſorders, and if they can eſcape Corporal Puniſhment, are often Gamers by public Calamity and Diſorder.

'This then, Sir, appears plainly to be a Diſpute betwixt the People of *Scotland*, (by whom, Sir, I mean every Man of Property, every Freeman, every Man who may ſuffer by the Subverſion of the Laws, and by the Loſs of Liberty) and whom, Sir? The Canalzie, the Dregs of the People of *Scotland*, that Claſs who are anciently call'd by your Law, Villains; that ignorant Herd of Bigots, who are always miſled by crafty and ill-deſigning Clergymen; for Men of Senſe and Knowledge, Sir, have a much ſurer and a better Guide, that is, right Reaſon, that eternal and unerring Rule.

'Sir, It is a great Misfortune to that Country where this bloody Tragedy was acted, that many Gentlemen who hear me are ſo much Strangers to it, Strangers to its Laws and Cuſtoms, Strangers to the Manners and Tempers of the People, Strangers to theſe different Ways of thinking of the People of Knowledge and Condition, from the Principles of the inferior Multitude, which I have now, Sir, been endeavouring to explain to you, ſo far as they relate to the preſent Caſe.

'There-

' Therefore, Sir, if it is the Senſe of the Houſe to proceed upon this Bill, the Conſideration of it requires the greater Attention, the Intereſt of *England* makes it neceſſary; 'tis an Affair of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Liberty of the Subject, and as it ought, it will no doubt be treated as ſuch, for the United Kingdom is greatly intereſted in the Manner of determining of this Bill, as well as in the Fate of it. *Anno* 10. *Geo* II. 1736 7.

' Sir, While the two Nations remained in a State of Independency, thoſe frequent Wars, which are but too common betwixt neighbouring Nations, begot mutual Fears, mutual Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, national Hatred, and national Averſions: But as the Cauſe of theſe national Feuds and Enmities moſt happily ceaſed by the Union of the Crowns, I hope, Sir, the Effect alſo ceaſed with the Cauſe. —— From that happy Period, Sir, both Nations were embark'd upon the ſame Bottom; the Honour and Intereſt of both became the common and inſeperable Cauſe of both; the Honour and Intereſt of one could not be hurt without affecting the other; and I think, Sir, the Subjects of both Nations became very ſoon ſenſible of this, that by that happy Accident they were reduced from a State of Enmity to a State of perpetual Friendſhip; and I think we may obſerve from Experience, that thoſe national Prejudices and Diſtruſts began very ſoon to abate: Even ſo early, Sir, as the unhappy Civil War in the Reign of King *Charles* I. which broke out within leſs than 40 Years after the Union of the Crowns. May we not obſerve, Sir, the Subjects of both Nations, who were of the ſame Sentiments and Opinions with regard to the Cauſes of that unhappy War, making and entering into Alliances and Confederacies with one another againſt the Subjects of both Nations who were of contrary Sentiments? Was not that War carried on by *Scotſmen* and *Engliſhmen* againſt *Engliſhmen* and *Scotſmen* without the leaſt national Diſtinction, or national Diſtruſt? They were even at that time, Sir, perfectly ſenſible, that the Liberties of any one of the Nations could not be ſubverted without deſtroying the Liberties of the whole, and that the whole could not be preſerved unleſs the Liberty of every Part of the whole was preſerved and ſecured upon the ſame Footing.

' The ſame Thing appeared, Sir, at the late happy Revolution: Were not the Subjects of both Nations equally forward, equally zealous in the Cauſe of Liberty, a Cauſe inſeparably common to both? And did not a few of both Nations, without Diſtinction, adhere to what they called the Prerogative of the Crown, and the indefeaſible Right

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of the unhappy and unfortunate Prince then upon the Throne? But now, Sir, we are in a Situation very different from that; we are now, Sir, by an incorporating Union become one and the ſame People, bound and cemented together by all the Ties that bind Individuals in civil Society.

'The repreſentative Body of the People of *Scotland* did, upon that Occaſion, Sir, expreſs an abſolute Truſt and Confidence in this Nation of *England*; no Security, no Guarantee whatever, was on their Part required for the Performance of the ſeveral Articles and Conditions ſtipulated by the Treaty in our Favour, other than the Faith of a *Britiſh* Parliament. In this, Sir, they acted moſt wiſely; for what Security, what Force, what Power, what Conſtitution could have been contriv'd, that could have proved ſo abſolute, ſo real, and ſo effectual a Security, as the Faith, the Juſtice, the Honour, the Candour of an Engliſh Parliament; I ſay an Engliſh Parliament, Sir; for in a Parliament of *Great-Britain*, the Repreſentatives of that Part of the United Kingdoms do not make up the tenth Part of either Houſe.

'We had, Sir, the Experience of Ages to induce us to follow ſo wiſe a Courſe; the Legiſlature of *England* had always acted wiſely, never like arbitrary Governments from Caprice or Humour, but had always ſteadily purſued the real Intereſts of the Nation of *England* with great Judgment, great Sagacity and Forecaſt; and we, Sir, were ſenſible that our Intereſts were the ſame with yours, that ſo long as you minded your own Intereſts, ours muſt be ſafe in your Hands. Then, Sir, however weak and ignorant People may think or act, People who are weak enough to be miſled by national Prejudices, yet the Wiſdom of the Nation will always act uniformly, always act wiſely.'

'I know, Sir, 'tis the Way of ſpeaking without Doors among ſuch weak and fooliſh People, that the Legiſlature may be unconcerned and indifferent as to any public Meaſure as to *Scotland*; that 'tis a Matter of no Moment how, or in what Manner any public Law affects that Country; whether theſe People are diſſatisfied or not, ſhould they be ever ſo much diſpleaſed, ever ſo much angry, it is of no Conſequence; ſhould they even take it into their Heads to mutiny and to riſe in Rebellion, it ſignifies nothing, for we have always as many Troops quartered amongſt them as are ſufficient to conquer them.

'This is eaſily ſaid, Sir, and I admit it might be as eaſily done too; but becauſe ſuch a Thing might be done, would ſuch a Meaſure be juſt, would it be a wiſe Meaſure?

Sir,

Sir, ſo fooliſh and ſo foul a Deed as this would be falſely called Conqueſt; it would be an Act of Treachery, it would be Treaſon, Sir, Treaſon of the blackeſt Kind! Treaſon againſt the People! If any Perſon of Condition was to talk thus, ſhould the greateſt Perſon of the Nation inſinuate ſuch a Thing by way of Advice, this Houſe would take Notice of it, Sir; this Houſe would impeach ſuch a Perſon as an Enemy to the Public, as a moſt dangerous public Enemy; and give me Leave to ſay, Sir, that if ever the Legiſlature ſhould be ſo blind to its own Intereſt, ſo falſe to the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, as to allow ſuch a Uſe to made as this of thoſe Forces, which are maintained by the People, for the Preſervation of their Liberty, the ſame Number that could conquer *Scotland*, could with much greater Facility conquer *England*. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* 11. 1736-7.

'Such Conqueſts as theſe, Sir, are eaſily made; very little Skill would be required in the General that would make ſo glorious a Conqueſt; Treachery, Treachery alone is the only Qualification neceſſary for the Executioner of ſuch a Project: But would the Conqueſt be as eaſily maintained as made? No, Sir.

'It is a common Saying, Sir, That Oppreſſion makes all Men of one Mind. In that Event, Sir, ten Times the Number of Forces that made this Conqueſt, and perhaps made it with Eaſe too, would prove too few to maintain it.

'Every Gentleman, who is the leaſt acquainted with Hiſtory, knows what Miracles Oppreſſion hath work'd upon the Oppreſſed. Do not the States of *Holland* owe their Being to Oppreſſion? Do not the *Swiſs Cantons* owe their Freedom and Independency to Oppreſſion? Does not *Portugal* owe its Independency to the indiſcreet and oppreſſive Meaſures of the Court of *Spain?* But I beg Leave, Sir, to bring one Inſtance nearer home.

'The *Cambrian Gauls* were reduced by force of Arms. As the Conqueſt of this powerful Country was once determined by the Fate of one Battle at *Haſtings*, ſo they, Sir, after the Loſs of a Battle, were obliged (as you did) to ſubmit to Neceſſity. This Conqueſt was eaſily made; but was it as eaſily maintained? No, Sir; every one knows what Blood and Treaſure it coſt you to keep this Province in Subjection; and ſo ſenſible were your Anceſtors of this, that after the Experience of near three Centuries, Sir, ſuch was their Wiſdom, that they of their own accord, and a wiſe Meaſure it was, Sir! I ſay, of their own accord, made that brave and invincible People a free People; and how, Sir? By admitting them to ſhare as the Legiſlature

in

neſs of both ſo much depends? Thi
any unequal Dealing, or partial Proc
tient and invincible Nation, that f
Nation, who, of their own accord, fr
Reſtraint or Neceſſity, truſted themſel
Faith, after both Nations had fro
100 Years, from a juſt Senſe of the
tereſts, come to an abſolute and dete
become abſolutely and entirely one an
That you, Sir, who are the ſole an
this Treaty, ſhould force this Natio
Friendſhip, a Friendſhip ſecured by
bind Friends! That you, I ſay, Sir, ſh
again into a State of Enmity! That
to all common Senſe and common
great Truſt, and by Acts of Severity
this Nation into a State of Slavery! T
impoſſible ſo long as Mankind are pol
in the ſmalleſt Degree; for no Argu
to convince you, that if ever any Pa
and conſiderable a Part of this United
to a State of Slavery, the whole mu
ſame Fate. We are now too cloſel
bound but cemented together, by too
Tyes to be ever ſeparated, without t
of the United Kingdom, and rending
Events, both muſt ſhare the ſame Fate
or both muſt be Slaves. A free Su

and this County of *Middleſex*, and every Part of *Eng-*
as much a Part of *Scotland* as the County of *Edin-*
is; That the Intereſts of all and of every Part of
Britain are ſo abſolutely and ſo entirely the ſame,
o one Part can be hurt without affecting the whole,
re than the natural Body can be hurt or maim'd in
its Members without feeling Pain; and therefore,
ery Part of the Whole muſt be equally the Care of
giſlature: And if this be ſo — then, Sir, this Bill
nd or fall by its own Merits. It will be try'd by this
Sir, with the utmoſt Impartiality, and with the
Regard to Juſtice.—It will be conſidered by this
Sir, as if this unhappy Diſorder had been com-
n the City of *London*, in *York*, *Briſtol*, or any other
tion in *England*; and I ſubmit it to Gentlemen's
ation, how they, eſpecially they who repreſent
nd Burghs, how they, I ſay, like Bills of this kind.
ſe a Diſorder and a Crime has been committed,
auſe the Criminals have eſcaped and fled from
therefore the Magiſtrates of that City or Burgh
e puniſhed by Bill, and the Corporation itſelf ſuffer
ights and Franchiſes, and be deprived of its Privi-
I have already hinted at the firſt Attempt that was
on the Liberties of this Iſland: Gentlemen will ob-
here that firſt Attempt was made, and where it
and they may thank their Anceſtors of that Ge-
, who had Sagacity and Forecaſt enough to foreſee
muſt end, and foreſaw it before it was too late.
obſta is a good Maxim. — I am not Lawyer
Sir, to form any Opinion of Bills of this Nature,
part of the Procedure in another Place, in order to
is Bill, appears to me to be ſomewhat dangerous to
vileges of the Commons of *Great Britain*; and that
— the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* are ordered to at-
the Bar of another Houſe on a certain Day, they
but we are not told whether they are ordered to
Evidences to give Information, or as Perſons ac-
any thing. No, Sir; they are directly put upon
nd ſeverally examined, direct Queſtions put, and
nd categorical Anſwers inſiſted upon, under no leſs
than Contempt. They are not told, Sir, your
to this or to that Queſtion may affect yourſelf
and therefore you are at Freedom to anſwer it or
d nevertheleſs, Sir, upon thoſe Anſwers is the Bill
—I ſay, Sir, I ſhall not pretend to form any Opi-
Bills of this kind. In my preſent way of think-
every State muſt have a Power to ſave itſelf, that
the

executed at the uſual Hour according
Agreeable to this Intelligence the Magiſt
uſed Precautions, and proper Precaution
to prevent this Miſchief; but the Mob, S
wiſe ſenſible that their wicked Purpoſe
Ears of the Magiſtrates, and if it did
wiſe ſenſible, from fatal and dear-bought
the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* had always
mer Occaſions, by the means of this
ſuppreſt Mobs and Tumults, and puniſhe
Ringleaders of them with great Severity.
be learned, Sir, (and great Pains ha
make Diſcovery) I ſay, Sir, it app
coveries that have been made, that t
of Succeſs, and therefore, Sir, a Numb
termined entered into a Conſpiracy, and
by a ſolemn Oath to execute any Purp
agreed on by the Majority, and to loſe
than to diſcover this Secret, or to diſc
and if Gentlemen knew how ſtrong and
Oath is with theſe People, they woul
that this Secret was ſo well kept.—T
Proof of this, Sir, but the Preſumption
cumſtances is very ſtrong, and the Even
probable. For this Attempt to ſurpriz
City Guard, upon which the Succeſs of th
depended, was executed in a Moment, u

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

theſe Riots and Diſorders that were threatened; but Sir? upon *Michaelmas Eve* only, and not before. Sir, ſuppoſe a Number of this Mob had engaged ves in a Plot, and kept their Secret, and had the before theſe Precautions were taken committed any eous and criminal Act of Violence, and had under our of the Night and other Diſguiſes of Apparel all made their Eſcape, would it have been thought y to have brought in a Bill to puniſh the Ma- and the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*? Sir, I is is preciſely the Caſe, and I therefore ſubmit it Houſe, Sir, if there is the leaſt Foundation for this hould this Bill, Sir, paſs into a Law, the Office of agiſtracy would become ſo dangerous that no wiſe o prudent Man, would ever accept of it; and if giſtrates of this City have been, at this Period, un- ſuppreſs a Tumult, when they had Power to ſupport uthority, how can they preſerve the Peace of this s City, when that Power is taken from them?— ity Guard, Sir, is a Watch, a Watch by Day as by Night; it is a Creature of the Civil Magiſtrate, is Direction only; it is ſubject to no Mutiny Act, verned by the ſame Law, that other Subjects are, it ſhould be aboliſhed, what would be the Conſe- ? If this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, this ancient his Metropolis of one of the United Kingdoms, muſt be reduced to a State of Anarchy and Confuſion, to verned by the licentious and unruly Multitude, or, h is worſe, Sir, it muſt ſubmit to a Military Govern- t, and ſo by a Side-Wind, and without any Deſign, you l in conſequence of this Bill introduce a Practice that very ſoon put an End to all Liberty.— For, Sir, when cannot execute the Law, nor preſerve the Peace with- Military Force, when thoſe who have the Direction of t Force ſhall become ſenſible that they, and they alone, execute your Laws, they will ſoon become the Makers well as the Executioners of your Laws, as once hap- ed to this Nation already,—when your own Army er that crafty Traitor *Cromwell* uſurped the whole wer of the Legiſlature, and of the Civil Magiſtrate. theſe Reaſons, Sir, I hope you will proceed no further n this Bill.'

Theſe and the foregoing Reaſons had ſuch Weight with Houſe, that tho' the Bill was ordered a ſecond Reading, Houſe agreed upon a Motion made by Sir *John Bar-* *Sir John Barnard.*
d.

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

'That the Lords be desired, that the Grounds upon which the said Bill proceeded in their House may be communicated to the House of Commons at a Conference.'

May 18. The Lords at a Conference delivered to the Managers for the House of Commons, an Authentic Extract of the Proceedings in the Trial of Captain John *Porteous*, wherein was contained the Verdict against the said Captain *Porteous*, the Sentence of the Lords of the Justiciary of *Scotland* against him, and the Reprieve of the said Captain *Porteous* granted by her Majesty as Guardian of the Realm. As also

A Letter from *Alexander Wilson*, Provost of *Edinburgh*, to Major General *Moyle*, dated *Edinburgh*, *April* 13, 1737. Which Authentic Extract and Letter were brought up to the Table, and the Report being read, it was ordered, 'That Mr. *Attorney General*, and Mr. *Solicitor General*, take Care that the Evidence for the ingrossed Bill from the Lords (entitled as before mentioned) be ready to be produced to the House upon that Day Sevennight; and likewise, that Mr. *Attorney General* appoint Counsel learned in the Law, to produce and manage the Evidence at the Bar of the House upon that Day Sevennight, to make good the Allegation of the said Bill; and that the following Persons attend the House on that Day Sevennight, viz. (A) Major General *Moyle*. (B) Colonel *Dureure*. (C) Major *Poole*; Captain *Bendish*; Lieutenant *Ashton*. (D) Major *Roberton*. (E) *John Din*. (F) Mr. *John Bailey*. (G) Mr. *Alexander Nisbet*. (H) Mr. *Robert Stewart*. (I) Mr. *George Irvine*; Mr. *Thomas Young*. (K) Mr. *Roderic Brown*. (L) Mr. *Christopher Chissolm*.

On *Friday* the 20th, was presented to the House, and read a Petition of *Alexander Wilson*, Esq; Lord Provost of the City of *Edinburgh*, averring his intire Innocence of the several Matters alledged against him in the Preamble of a Bill, then depending in that House, (entitled, as before mentioned) and therefore praying that he might be heard by his Counsel against the said Bill, at the second Reading thereof, which was accordingly ordered. And on the *Tuesday* fol-

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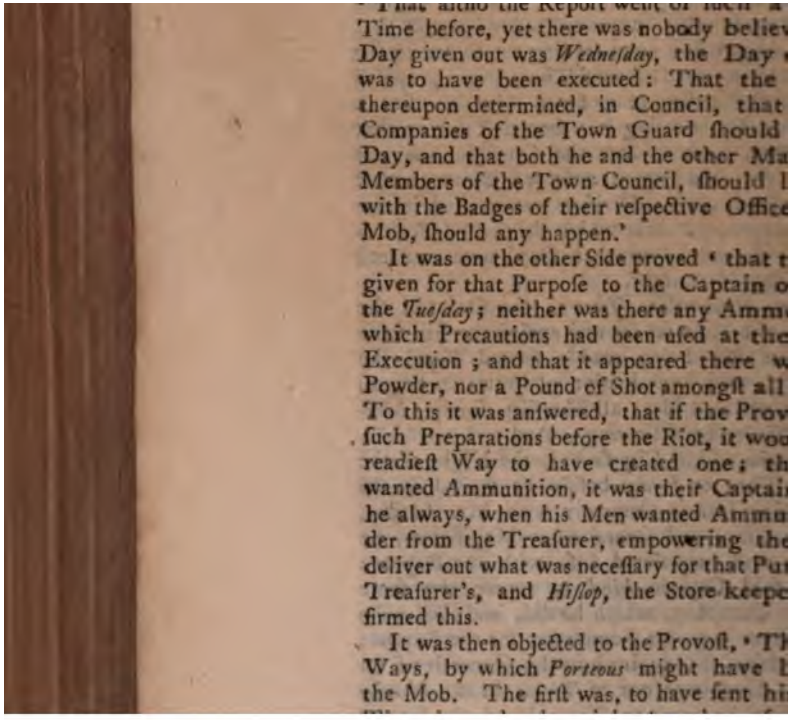
(A) *Colonel of the Regiment then lying in the* Canon-gate. (B) *Lieutenant Colonel of Ditto.* (C) *Officers of Ditto.* (D) *Fort Major of the Castle of* Edinburgh. (E) *Town Clerk.* (F) *A Merchant, since an Officer in the Army.* (G) *A Surgeon in* Edinburgh. (H) *A Shoe-maker there.* (I) *Magistrates there.* (K) *Turnkey of the Prison.* (L) *A Surgeon.*

following, was preſented to the Houſe, and read, A Petition of the Magiſtrates and Town Council of the City of *Edinburgh*, in the Name of themſelves, and Community of the ſame, ſetting forth 'That the Petitioners apprehended, that if the Bill then depending in that Houſe (entitled, as before mentioned) ſhould paſs into a Law, it would greatly affect, and tend to deſtroy, the Rights, Franchiſes, Privileges, and Liberties of the ſaid City of *Edinburgh*; and therefore praying that the Premiſes might be taken into Conſideration, and that the Petitioners might be heard by their Counſel againſt ſuch Parts of the ſaid Bill, as affected the ſaid City. 'Which was accordingly ordered. And then Captain *Lind* and Mr. *James Allen* were ordered to attend that Houſe next Morning, when upon reading the Order of the Day, for that Bill's being read a ſecond Time, it was propoſed to put off the ſecond Reading of it for a Month. But a Motion being made for reading it a ſecond Time on that Day Se'nnight, after ſome Debate the Queſtion was put upon the Motion for reading it a ſecond Time on that Day Se'nnight, which upon a Diviſion was carried in the Affirmative by 140 to 99; after which the ſeveral Perſons who were ordered to attend on that Day, were ordered to attend on that Day Se'nnight. *Anno* 10. G. II. 1736-7.

Accordingly, on *Wedneſday*, *June* 1, the Order of the Day being read, the Counſel for and againſt the Bill were called in, and the Bill being read a ſecond Time, the Hearing of Counſel, and Examination of Witneſſes began, and was continued all that Day, all *Thurſday*, *Friday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday* and *Wedneſday* following. And,

Mr. *Lind*, Captain of the City Guard, the Night of the Riot, declared, 'That on *Friday* before he waited on the Provoſt, and finding him in Company with Mr. *Lindſay*, Member for the City, and ſeveral other Magiſtrates, he called him aſide, and acquainted him with the Report; who deſired the ſaid Captain *Lind*, to repeat the ſame Things before the Company, which he did, and they were all of Opinion there was no Foundation for the Report; however, deſired him to enquire into the Grounds of it: That he (Captain *Lind*) was out of Town till the *Monday* Evening, and after he came to Town heard the Report again; and repaired to *Muirhead*'s Coffee-Houſe, to talk with the Provoſt, and ſending his Name in, had for Anſwer, *That the Provoſt was buſy, but that he would be in the Council Chamber about four o'Clock*; when he accordingly went to receive his Orders for next Day, but had none for preventing the Riot.'

One *Din*, and one *Baily*, were the only Witneſſes who



Time before, yet there was nobody believ
Day given out was *Wednesday*, the Day
was to have been executed: That the
thereupon determined, in Council, that
Companies of the Town Guard ſhould
Day, and that both he and the other Ma
Members of the Town Council, ſhould
with the Badges of their reſpective Office
Mob, ſhould any happen.'

It was on the other Side proved 'that t
given for that Purpoſe to the Captain o
the *Tueſday*; neither was there any Amm
which Precautions had been uſed at the
Execution; and that it appeared there w
Powder, nor a Pound of Shot amongſt all
To this it was anſwered, that if the Prov
ſuch Preparations before the Riot, it woo
readieſt Way to have created one; th
wanted Ammunition, it was their Captai
he always, when his Men wanted Ammu
der from the Treaſurer, empowering the
deliver out what was neceſſary for that Pu
Treaſurer's, and *Hiſlop*, the Store-keepe
firmed this.

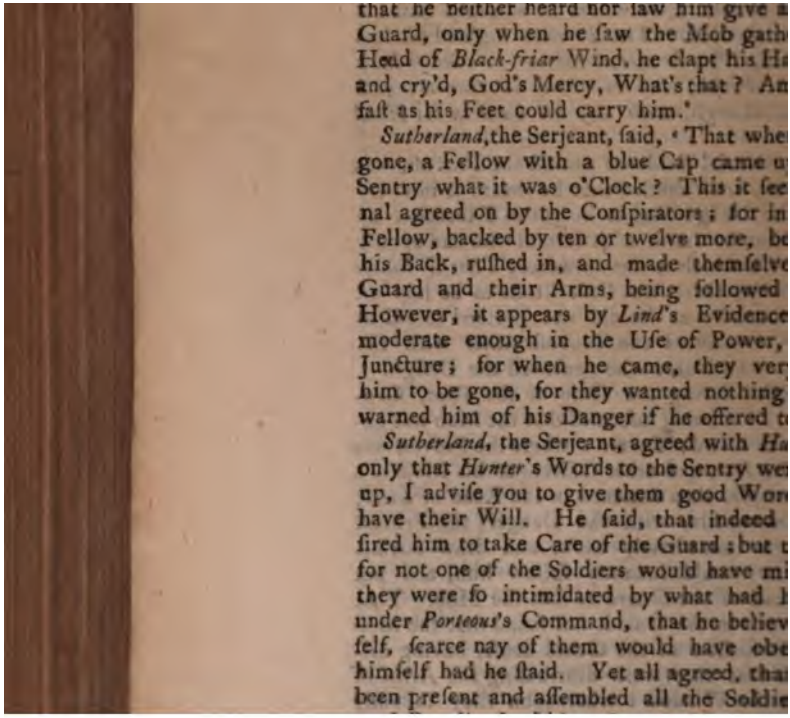
It was then objected to the Provoſt, 'Th
Ways, by which *Porteous* might have
the Mob. The firſt was, to have ſent hi

a Power's having been exerted ſince the Union, and that even before the Union, it could only have been done by a Warrant from the Privy Council of *Scotland*; and as for ſending him to the Cannongate, he had as little Power, becauſe the Cannongate was a Regality, and governed by its own Magiſtrates.' *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.

A *Scotiſh* Clergyman, Mr. *Yates*, declared, 'That being appointed to preach in the Church where *Porteous* was allowed to hear a Sermon on the *Sunday* before his Murder, he afterwards waited on *Porteous*, and took occaſion to acquaint him with the Report he had heard, deſiring him at the ſame Time to take Care whom he admitted into his Room.' Mr. *Yates* added, 'That *Porteous* ſlighted his Information, and ſaid, *Were he once at Liberty, he was ſo little apprehenſive of the People, that he would not fear to walk at the Croſs of* Edinburgh, *with only his Cane in his Hand as uſual.*

But the moſt material Evidence againſt the Provoſt, was the aforeſaid *Bailey*, who inſiſted that he heard it in every Company, that the Deſign was to be put in Execution on the *Tueſday*, and that he drank with ſeveral who had openly approved of it. To which it was anſwered, That if *Bailey* kept ſuch Company, there was little Streſs to be laid on his Evidence; eſpecially as he did not pretend to affirm that he had ever acquainted the Provoſt either with the Report, or the Perſon's Name who approved the Deſign.

As to what paſſed during the Time of the Riot, Captain *Lind* ſaid, 'That being informed that the Mob was gathering, he went to *Clark's* Tavern; where the Provoſt was drinking with Mr. *Bur*, and other Officers of his Majeſty's Ship the *Dread nought*, then ſtationed in the Road of *Leith*, and upon acquainting him with the Danger, the Provoſt deſired him to go immediately back, and draw out his Men, and that he would inſtantly follow him, and put himſelf at the Head of the Guard to face the Mob. That he accordingly went to the Guard, but found that the Mob was already in Poſſeſſion of the Guard-houſe, having diſarmed them, and that they were diſtributing the Arms of the Guard out at the Window; whereupon they inſtantly returned, and met the Provoſt coming towards the Guard. That they immediately reſolved to ſend Mr. *Lindſay* to General *Moyle*, who went accordingly: That they marched again out of the Tavern, to which they were obliged to retire, to quel the Mob; and after a fruitleſs Attack upon the Mob, in which ſome of the Provoſt's Company were wounded, they were beat back: He likewiſe ſaid, there were but ten or twelve Men, beſides the Serjeant, Corporal and



that he neither heard nor ſaw him give a
Guard, only when he ſaw the Mob gath
Head of *Black-friar* Wind, he clapt his Ha
and cry'd, God's Mercy, What's that? An
faſt as his Feet could carry him.'

Sutherland, the Serjeant, ſaid, 'That whe
gone, a Fellow with a blue Cap came u
Sentry what it was o'Clock? This it ſee
nal agreed on by the Conſpirators; for in
Fellow, backed by ten or twelve more, be
his Back, ruſhed in, and made themſelve
Guard and their Arms, being followed
However, it appears by *Lind*'s Evidence
moderate enough in the Uſe of Power,
Juncture; for when he came, they ver
him to be gone, for they wanted nothing
warned him of his Danger if he offered t

Sutherland, the Serjeant, agreed with *Ha*
only that *Hunter*'s Words to the Sentry we
up, I adviſe you to give them good Wor
have their Will. He ſaid, that indeed
fired him to take Care of the Guard: but t
for not one of the Soldiers would have mi
they were ſo intimidated by what had
under *Porteous*'s Command, that he believ
ſelf, ſcarce nay of them would have obe
himſelf had he ſtaid. Yet all agreed, tha
been preſent and aſſembled all the Soldie

Bands, or Militia of the City; for which Purpoſe *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1736-7.
ſpatch'd one *Haliburton* their Commandant, to Mr.
at whoſe Houſe were the Books, which contained the
and Places of Abode of every Captain of a Compa-
ut when he came there he was denied Acceſs by Mr.
Wife, who deſir'd him to be gone. They then pro-
to ring the alarm Bell, but found the Mob had taken
caution to ſecure the Tower in which it hangs.
the Store-keeper and ſeveral others prov'd, 'that
giſtrates next ſent to the Magazine for Arms, and
Mob had likewiſe ſecured that.'
had been much inſiſted upon by the Counſel for the
t the Provoſt ought to have put a Guard of Men
uſticiary or Tolbooth-Room, which are it ſeems but
Diſtance from one another, but it appeared by all
ence that in the Situation Affairs were then in it
e impracticable.
r, the Town-Officer, whom the Mob had ſo
at he was oblig'd to through off his Livery-Coat,
'he was by when they murder'd him, and that one
rward than the reſt was check'd by the others and
o wait for Orders; that he thereupon quitted the
he Rope, which by this Time, being about *Porteous*'s
he was ready to have hoiſted up, and went about to
who very compoſedly gave him Orders, and that
n'd and drew the Rope up, which hang'd *Por-*

ther appeared that the Magiſtrates were all this
etting what Information they could by ſending Peo-
might mix in the Mob, and endeavour to know
f their Faces, but all in vain; only one Man re-
who ſaid he knew one Perſon there. The Magiſ-
eſir'd him to name him, which it ſeems he did, and
eſir'd to be in Readineſs to give in what Evidence he
againſt him, when call'd upon.
. *Lindſay* ſaid, 'That he return'd about five in the
ning, and with ſeveral who had been with the Provoſt
Night, went to the Graſs-Market where the Body of
ous yet hung, and ſeveral People, to the Number of
ty or thirty as they thought in a Body, ſtanding about:
of the Evidence ſeem'd to think thoſe were ſome
he Rioters, and ſaid, they adviſ'd them to depart. One
ſeiz'd upon, but beſides that they could make nothing
im; they had no Priſon in which they could confine him;
ought it the moſt prudent Method to diſmiſs him: For
but a few of themſelves, and the Mob ſeeming reſolute,
had no Reaſon to doubt but they would reſcue him;

and

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and perhaps, as they had committed ſuch Outrages already, would not ſtick a greater. The King's Council laid great hold of this Circumſtance to prove the Negligence both of the Provoſt and of the Town, but it was obſerv'd by Mr. *Murray*, Counſel for the Provoſt, that he was not then preſent, conſequently admitting it to be a Neglect, not anſwerable for it.

Mr. *Lindſay* farther declar'd, 'That when he return'd from Major-General *Moyle*'s, the Mob was pouring in vaſt Shoals out of the Town into the Country, and that he did not remember any one Face of the many hundreds he met with, tho' he had liv'd and born the higheſt Offices of the City for ſeveral Years.' Another of the Witneſſes declar'd, 'That being at *Dalkeith*, a Village about five Miles from *Edinburgh*, 10 or 12 Days before the Riot, he there heard a Report that a Conſpiracy to murder *Porteous*, if repreiv'd, was form'd by the Friends of one *Ballantine*, a Youth of that Town, who went thence to ſee *Wilſon*'s Execution, and was one of them killed by *Porteous*, but that no Body believ'd it.

An Act made in the 9th of Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, *Anno*, 1563, by which it was enacted that all Citizens who aſſembled to ſuppreſs any Riot within the Town of *Edinburgh*, without Authority from the Provoſt, incurr'd the Pains of Death, was produced and admitted an Evidence. Another Act of *James* II. of *Scotland*, *Anno* 1451, by which no Corporation was lyable to Puniſhment; for the Provoſt or any of the Magiſtrates Fault was likewiſe admitted an Evidence. The Articles of the Union were likewiſe inſiſted on, by which the Privileges of the Boroughs are to remain inviolable; and Mr. *Hamilton*, Council for the Town, offer'd in Evidence an Extract of the Minutes and Debates of the Seſſion of Parliament in *Scotland*, in which the Articles anent the Privileges of Royal Boroughs is ſettled, whereby it appears that upon a Motion made to ſubmit them to the Alterations of a future Parliament, a Debate aroſe, and it was reſolv'd in the Negative, but this was refus'd as Evidence.

It was prov'd againſt the City that *Porteous* was inſulted going to his Trial, by the Mob: This was confirm'd by the Teſtimony of my Lord *Advocate*, who ſaid he believ'd, that had it not been for the Guard he would have been torn in Pieces between the Tolbooth and the Juſticiary Room, tho' not forty Paces diſtance from one another. The Fact was admitted, but Evidence was given that the Mob, who inſulted *Porteous*, had no Intereſt in the Corporation who was to ſuffer by the preſent Bill, being either the loweſt

Dregs

Dregs of the Inhabitants or People from the Country whoſe Relations had been kill'd on the Day of *Wilſon*'s Execution. It was likewiſe prov'd that almoſt all they who were kill'd were People from the Country. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

Mr. *Lindſay*, Mr. *Young*, and ſeveral more were examined to prove the Uſefulneſs of the Town-guard, particularly in two Reſpects, *viz.* That of extinguiſhing Fires and quelling former Mobs. It was plainly made out, that in a City ſo populous, and ſo cloſe built, where 40 or 50 Families live under one Roof as in *Edinburgh*, it would be impoſſible to quench Fires, or to preſerve the Goods during Fires without ſuch an armed Force.

My Lord *Advocate*, and *Patrick Lindſay*, were aſked, when upon Examination, whether, if the Town-guard had been under Arms and not ſurprized, they did believe the Guard would have been able to have quell'd the Mob; they anſwer'd they did, and moſt of the Evidence declar'd, that they believ'd, had the Guard been properly arm'd and commanded, the Rioters would not have attempted what they did.

As to what related to the taking away the Nether-Bow Gate, it was prov'd unanimouſly that the ſaid Gate was of abſolute Conſequence to collecting the City Revenue, and that it prevented Smuggling. One of the honourable Gentlemen abovementioned ſaid, that he did not think its being demoliſh'd would anſwer the Intentions of the Bill, becauſe it was eaſy for a ſmall Body to defend the Paſs, where it was built againſt a much larger, even tho' the Gate was open. Several Evidences were produced, particularly the Act of Parliament by which the City collected two Pennys Scots, upon every Scots Pint of Ale vended within the Town, to prove the Loyalty of the Citizens on former Occaſions, eſpecially in the Year 1715, when they rais'd ſome Companies, and by their Zeal and Conduct prevented the ſurprizing the Caſtle by the Rebels.

Mr. *Irvine*, the Town Clerk, ſaid, they had during that Period, and upon other Occaſions, manifeſted their Loyalty much to the Prejudice of their Revenue, which is ſcarce able to defray the neceſſary Expence of their Town.

Mr. *Young* declar'd, that he found a Bond for ſome hundreds of Scots Marks, granted by the City of *Edinburgh* to one *Wightman*, who was obliged to advance that Money for the Payment of the Miniſter's Salary, the Revenue of the Town having been ſo exhauſted; and all agreed in its having the moſt ſincere Attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the preſent Royal Family.

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

‘ We have given the Sum of this Examination, becauſe without that the Extracts from the following Speeches would not be intelligible. The hearing of Counſel for and againſt the Bill being ended, and the Counſel withdrawn, Mr. *Speaker* open'd the Bill, whereupon a Motion was made by Mr. *Attorney General* for its being committed, in which he was ſeconded by Mr. *Solicitor General*, but it being late, the Conſideration of the ſaid Motion was adjourn'd till the Morning, being

June the 9th, when the ſaid Motion was reaſſum'd; upon which a long Debate aroſe, of which we ſhall give Extracts.

Mr. Attorney General.

Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

SIR,

‘ The Bill now before us, I will venture to ſay is a Bill that at this Juncture muſt greatly contribute to the Peace and Tranquillity of this Nation. I am ſorry to ſay it, but it is too viſible that the Spirit of Diſaffection and Riot ſeems to have been gone abroad; and if a timely and an effectual Stop is not put to it by a vigorous Interpoſition of the Legiſlature, no Gentleman can take it upon him to ſay where it may ſtop. It has in the Chief City of one Part of the United Kingdom already left but too melancholy Proofs of its fatal Tendency; and how ſoon it may communicate itſelf to the other I tremble to imagine.

‘ The other Houſe, Sir, by the ſeaſonable Enquiry it has already ſet us the Example, in what Manner we ought to treat, and in what Manner we ought to puniſh ſuch unheard-of Inſolence and Barbarity, as the Action which gave Riſe to this Bill. I hope, Sir, we never ſhall be upbraided with being cold in ſeconding their Zeal; I hope, Sir, that it never ſhall be laid to the Charge of a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons, that it has been remiſs in puniſhing an audacious Inſult upon all Law and Majeſty, while the Houſe of Peers has appeared zealous and forward in vindicating both.

‘ 'Tis true the Charge againſt the Provoſt and Citizens of *Edinburgh* conſiſts in their neglecting to prevent the Tumult before it happened; in their neglecting to ſuppreſs it, or take proper Meaſures for that Purpoſe after it had happen'd, and in their neglecting to diſcover, apprehend, and ſecure thoſe who were guilty of that audacious Riot and cruel Murder. But this Charge, which is the Foundation of the Bill, is not to be conſider'd as Negligence only: for he who does not prevent a Crime which he might and ought to have prevented, has always in Law been looked upon as ſome way guilty of that very Crime, therefore if it ſhould appear that the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* might and ought to have prevented this Tumult, or rather

rather Inſurrection, or that they might and ought to have ſuppreſſed it, or that they might and ought to have diſcover'd, apprehended, and ſecur'd the Rioters and Murderers. If it ſhould appear that they neglected any of thoſe Meaſures which were obvious for accompliſhing either of thoſe Ends, the Neglect muſt then be look'd on as a ſort of wilful Neglect, and conſequently they muſt be look'd on as guilty in ſome Meaſure of all thoſe Crimes which were committed. And ſo every Gentleman who conſiders their Caſe in this Light, the Puniſhment propos'd by this Bill muſt appear merciful as well as mild.' *Anno* 10 *Geo.* II. 1737.

Mr. *Solicitor General* ſet out with the following remarkable Introduction. *Mr. Solicitor General.*

SIR,

'I have the Pleaſure to obſerve that every one who has Occaſion to ſpeak upon this Head, expreſſes the utmoſt Deteſtation for the Actors of what was not only an Inſult upon Majeſty but an open Rebellion againſt Juſtice, nay, againſt Mercy itſelf. It has, I think, been univerſally allow'd, that it is out of the Reach of Common Law, to puniſh the Neglect of Duty in the Provoſt and Citizens of *Edinburgh*, it being attended with ſome peculiar Circumſtances; and as I believe every Gentleman of this Houſe is of Opinion, that ſuch a Neglect ought to be puniſhed, I may venture to affirm, that there was no other Method of doing it, but in the Method that has been taken. The Objection that ſeems to have the greateſt Weight as to this Method is the Hardſhip of a Man's ſuffering by an Act *ex poſt facto*. But the ſuppoſing any ſuch Hardſhip is to queſtion the Juſtice and Wiſdom of former Parliaments, who have ever proceeded in this Manner upon Miſdemeanors which were out of the Reach of the common Forms of Law. Great Pains have been taken to find a Difference betwixt the Miſdemeanors for which other Cities were puniſhed by this Houſe, and the Behaviour of the City of *Edinburgh*, in the late Riot. But, Sir, tho' two Caſes of this Nature cannot be parallel to each other, in every Circumſtance, every Caſe of a City loſing its Privileges by the Cenſure of Parliament, amounts to a Proof that there have been Precedents of this Nature, 8 or 9 of which have been produc'd by the Gentleman who ſpoke againſt the Bill. I am far from believing that the Provoſt and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were actually aiding to the Rioters when the unfortunate *Porteous* was murdered; for if they had, the Puniſhment would have been much more ſevere than what is imply'd in the preſent Bill. And to ſhew that I am willing to allow all that can reaſonably be expected in fa-

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vour of the Lord Provoſt and City of *Edinburgh*, I ſhall premiſe two or three Things: The firſt is, that I lay no Streſs on the Circumſtances preceding the Murder of *Porteous*, nor do I think that the Town of *Edinburgh* bore any perſonal Rancour to the unfortunate Man in proſecuting him at their Expences. It was no more, Sir, than what their Duty requir'd of them, as he was a Servant of their own, and the Crime he committed was done after he was cloathed with their Authority, and in Effect committed againſt them. Nor am I, Sir, of Opinion, that they diſcover'd any Malice, but rather Favour in taking away his Penſion, and leaving him half a Guinea a Week for his Subſiſtence while in Priſon, ſince it comes out in Evidence that they did not put it in their own Pocket but gave it to the other two Captains who perform'd his Duty, nor could the Magiſtrates have been blam'd, had they depriv'd him of the whole. I farther admit, that the Provoſt behav'd both circumſpectly and impartial, by leaving him to the Judgment of another Court, ſince by his own Authority he might have try'd him and condemned him in his own.'

We have thought it proper to give this remarkable Introduction in order to ſhew the Candour of the Gentleman who were for the Bill. Mr. *Solicitor* then took a View of the Provoſt's Conduct in theſe three different Periods of Time, *viz.* before, during, and after the Murder of *Porteous*; and endeavour'd from a Deduction of Circumſtances to prove that he had been Guilty of great Neglect, Ill, in not ſecuring the Priſoner *Porteous* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, upon the firſt Surmiſe of the Conſpirators Intention; ſecondly, that he had not acted with that Vigour which he ought during the Time of the Riot.

He then proceeded to conſider the Caſe of the City of *Edinburgh* as affected by the Bill, and obſerved, it was highly improbable that the Citizens were innocent, and that there being no poſitive Proof of a Citizen of *Edinburgh* being concerned in the Riot was owing to a Confederacy among themſelves. As to the Hardſhip of taking their Watch from them, they had enjoy'd that Privilege in its preſent Form only ſince the Revolution, and they might return to their old Cuſtom of Watch and Ward: And concluded his Speech in the following Terms:

'The Gentlemen on the other Side have likewiſe inſiſted upon the Hardſhips of proceeding againſt the Provoſt and City of *Edinburgh* in this Manner: There are only three Methods, Sir, by which a Parliamentary Proſecution can be or hath been carried on. One, which as been long

out of Uſe, I hope never ſhall be revived; the ſecond is by Impeachment; and the third is by Bill, as in the preſent Caſe. The two laſt are the only Methods that could have been uſed againſt the Provoſt and Citizens of *Edinburgh*. Had they been proceeded againſt by an Impeachment, they could have had no Chance to be acquitted but one, which is the Judgment of the Houſe of Peers, the Law having put it out of the King's Power to interpoſe where the Commons are the Proſecutors. But by the preſent Method, if the Party proceeded againſt is cenſured by the Peers, he has the Chance of being acquitted by the Commons, and if condemned by both, he has ſtill a further Chance that the King will not paſs the Bill. For theſe Reaſons, I am heartily for the Commitment of this Bill.' *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

Duncan Forbes, Eſq; after expreſſing the utmoſt Abhorrence of the Crime and its Authors, and clearing himſelf from the Suſpicion of all National Prejudice, went on as follows: *Duncan Forbes, Eſq;*

'The Citizens of *Edinburgh*, Sir, are divided into two Claſſes: One of which compoſes the Corporation, pays Scot and Lot, and has the only Right to vote in chuſing their Magiſtrates and Repreſentatives in Parliament: The other Claſs, Sir, conſiſts of the very Dregs of the People, who have not the leaſt Intereſt in any of theſe Points; they eaſily embrace, and are much pleaſed with, every Opportunity of being tumultuous. Should the preſent Bill paſs into a Law, it would be directly formed to favour the latter, who were the Authors of the Murder of *Porteous*, in caſe he was murdered by any who lived within the Juriſdiction of the City of *Edinburgh*, and to cenſure the former, who, it appears from the Evidence given at this Bar, has an Intereſt in quelling every Riot of the like Nature with that which is now under your Conſideration, and who actually, as I hope to ſhew more at large by and by, did uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to quell the Riot which gives Riſe to the preſent Bill.'

He then, after deſcribing the City of *Edinburgh*, took Notice that the Situation of the City Guard was ſuch as that it could not be removed without the greateſt Inconveniency, and that the Citizens returning to their old Cuſtom of Watch and Ward muſt be attended with the Ruin of their Trade, ſince they were by that Cuſtom to mount Guard, each Man *in his own Perſon* for five or ſix Days in a Month. He then gave ſome affecting Inſtances of the Fury of Mobs in *Edinburgh*, and the Uſefulneſs of the City Guard in quelling them.

'Allow me now, Sir, continues he, to conſider the Conduct

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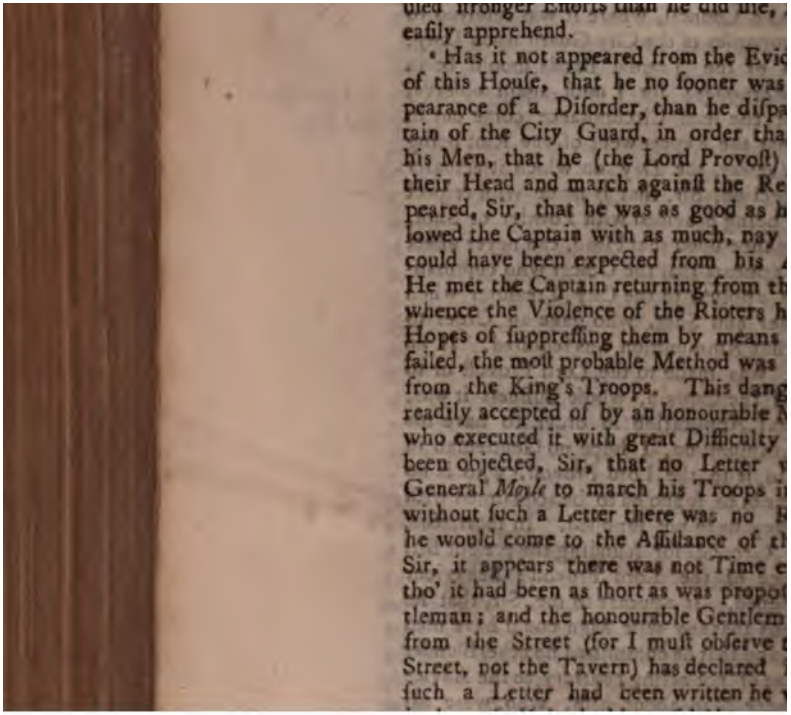
duct of the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, during that unparallel'd Inſult upon all Laws and Government, that happened when the unfortunate *Porteous* was murdered. And indeed, Sir, I own I think it comes pretty plain upon the Evidence, that he behaved not only with Prudence but Zeal, nay with a Courage which could ſcarce be expected in a much younger and much more active Man. No Evidence of any Credit, Sir, has yet pretended to ſay, that the Lord Provoſt, or Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, had Intimation of this Riot's being to happen on the Day on which it did happen. It is true, one *Baily* is ſo raſh as to own that he drank with ſome of the Conſpirators, who defended the Juſtice of the Murder, ſome Days before it was perpetrated, and that he himſelf was preſent during the Riot: After an Acknowledgement of this Kind, I leave it to this Houſe to judge what Credit ought to be given to a Man, who in one Senſe owns his being acceſſory to the Murder himſelf. As to Mr. *Dun*, the other Evidence that ſpoke the leaſt to this Point, the Houſe has already heard too much of his Character, from Gentlemen of unqueſtioned Probity and Honour, for me to make any Remarks upon what he has advanced. It is true, there is one Evidence of an unblemiſhed Character, (I mean Captain *Lin*) who ſeems to make it ſuſpected that the Lord Provoſt had Information given him of the Riot's being to happen on the *Wedneſday*: But, Sir, does it appear by that Gentleman's Evidence that, if he did believe it himſelf, he acquainted the Provoſt, or any of the Town Council of his Grounds of Belief? He ſays, he came and acquainted the Lord Provoſt that ſuch a Report was current; the Lord Provoſt aſked him, if he believed ſuch an Attempt would be made? Of whom he had heard the Report? And if it met with any Credit among the Men of Senſe he converſed with? His Anſwers to theſe Queſtions were, That if ſuch an Attempt was made, he did not believe it would be before the Day fix'd for the Execution of *Porteous*; and that the Report was ſpread only among Women and Children, and entertain'd by Fools. And, Sir, he gave a very good Reaſon before this Houſe, why he did not believe it; which was, That he judg'd it impracticable for the Mob to undertake and to ſucceed in any ſuch Attempt. I muſt further obſerve, with reſpect to the Lord Provoſt, that he was ſo cautious and ſo unwilling to let ſlip any Opportunity of receiving any Information in this Affair, that he cauſed Captain *Lin* to walk into the Room where the other Gentlemen in Company were, and to repeat what he had ſaid; aſking at the ſame Time of theſe other Gentlemen (one of whom is a worthy Member

ſe) if they had heard of any ſuch Report; who
hat they had heard nothing of it, except from
ſo little Authority and Credit, that they did not
orth while to raiſe any Alarm about it. I can-
erve likewiſe, that the Captain's own Conduct
v little Credit he thought was to be given to the
ce he left the Town on the *Friday* Afternoon,
return till the *Monday* following, which was the
the Riot happened. But, Sir, to put the Zeal
the Lord Provoſt beyond the Poſſibility of being
he did not ſlight this Information, groundleſs
, but called a Council, where it was reſolved to
three Companies of the City Guard upon Duty,
e Officers of the Train'd Bands ſhould be in
pon the *Wedneſday*; for I muſt again obſerve,
ere has not the leaſt Circumſtance come out in
prove that the Report went of the Riot being
pon the *Tueſday*, the Day on which it actually
The Objection, Sir, that is made with reſpect
Guard not being provided with Powder or Shot,
er the Evidence upon that Head, can never affect
ovoſt. It appears that the Officer who comman-
ard always apply'd to the City Treaſurer when
nted Powder and Shot, who gave an Order to
per for what Ammunition was required. If no
tion, Sir, was made to the Lord Provoſt or to
eaſurer; if the Captain, whoſe Buſineſs it was,
ce the uſual Application in order to have his
d with Ammunition, I hope no Gentleman in
will impute it to the Lord Provoſt, who is no
n, and cannot be ſuppoſed to be acquainted with
s, that they were not ſupplied. In ſhort, Sir,
the leaſt Grounds for founding the preſent Bill
Circumſtance of the Lord Provoſt's Behaviour
Riot happened. It appears to me, Sir, that he
Precautions that any wiſe Man could have uſed
Occaſion, and that he committed no other Blunder
except that of not acting contrary to the Advice
ent of every Man about him, who were all
that if there was any Foundation for the Report
being to happen on that Occaſion, it would not
re the *Wedneſday*, which was the Day appointed
es of *Porteous* for his Execution, and that to
appearance of providing againſt the Riot before
, was the readieſt way to occaſion a Riot. And
ir, to ſay, the Thing ſpeaks itſelf; the Rebels
ainty of any Reprieve having come to the un-
fortunate



tied stronger Efforts than he did use,
eaſily apprehend.

'Has it not appeared from the Evi
of this Houſe, that he no ſooner was
pearance of a Diſorder, than he diſp
tain of the City Guard, in order tha
his Men, that he (the Lord Provoſt)
their Head and march againſt the Re
peared, Sir, that he was as good as h
lowed the Captain with as much, nay
could have been expected from his
He met the Captain returning from th
whence the Violence of the Rioters h
Hopes of ſuppreſſing them by means
failed, the moſt probable Method was
from the King's Troops. This dang
readily accepted of by an honourable
who executed it with great Difficulty
been objected, Sir, that no Letter
General *Moyle* to march his Troops i
without ſuch a Letter there was no
he would come to the Aſſiſtance of t
Sir, it appears there was not Time e
tho' it had been as ſhort as was propo
tleman; and the honourable Gentlem
from the Street (for I muſt obſerve
Street, not the Tavern) has declared
ſuch a Letter had been written he

In order to bring the Citizens to the Relief of their Magiſtrates: But ſuch, Sir, was the Foreſight of the Rebels, that they had ſeized the Tower in which this Bell hung, ſo that there was no Poſſibility of getting at it. It was then propoſed, Sir, to ſend the proper Officer to raiſe the Captains and Heads of the Train'd-Bands; but this Expedient fail'd likewiſe; you have heard by what Means it did fail, and that neither the Lord Provoſt, nor any other Magiſtrate was to blame. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

'The Lord Provoſt, that nothing on his Part might be omitted, likewiſe made another Attempt, in Perſon, to ſuppreſs the Rioters. And it was, Sir, an Attempt ſo hazardous, that there are very few Civil Magiſtrates but wou'd have thought they had done their Duties very well, tho' they had not gone ſo far. The Numbers that accompanied the Lord Provoſt, Sir, were much diſproportion'd to that of the Rebels; the Rebels were arm'd, thoſe with the Lord Provoſt without Arms; yet all this did not hinder the Lord Provoſt from advancing againſt them, till ſeveral of his Company were wounded with Stones, till even Fire-Arms were level'd at them, and till the braveſt and boldeſt in the Company thought it prudent to retreat, becauſe to have done otherwiſe wou'd have been for the Magiſtrates to have expoſed both their Perſons and Authority to the Inſults of a barbarous and an enraged Multitude. The Lord Provoſt at laſt, Sir, did retreat, and the Rebels perpetrated their bloody Reſolutions. Now, Sir, if we take a View of the Provoſt's whole Conduct upon this melancholy Occaſion, I wou'd gladly know of any Gentleman, who has heard the Examinations of the Evidence, if it appears that the Lord Provoſt omitted any one Meaſure that was propoſed to him for the Suppreſſion of this unhappy Riot.

'As to his Behaviour after the Riot was over, Sir, I have heard of only one poſitive Circumſtance that has been advanc'd againſt it, which is, the not impriſoning the Man who was ſeiz'd in the Graſs-Market the next Day. But how, Sir, can that Circumſtance affect the Lord Provoſt, who appears never once to have ſeen or to have heard of that Man till he was diſmiſs'd? And indeed I think the Gentlemen who ſeiz'd that Man, had they pretended to have put him in Priſon, wou'd have bid fair to have renew'd the Tumult; ſince, as you have heard, the Rebels were yet upon the Spot in great Numbers, and with a Shew of Reſolution; this, Sir, the Rioter who was ſeiz'd ſeems to have been well aware of; otherwiſe it can never be ſuppoſed he wou'd have been ſo mad as to remain upon the very Spot of Execution, and to allow himſelf tamely to be ſeiz'd.

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'The Hon. Gentleman, Sir, a worthy Member of this Houſe, who is my Colleague in the Poſt I have the Honour to fill in that Country, is a Perſon whoſe Zeal for his Majeſty's Service can be as little queſtion'd as his Abilities, which I am ſure are very great; that Hon. Gentleman, Sir, I ſay, can witneſs how indefatigable, how zealous, nay, I may ſay, how keen the Lord Provoſt was in promoting whatever cou'd contribute to diſcovering the Conſpirators, ſo that if they were not diſcover'd, it was not owing to him but to us; and if this Houſe is reſolv'd to paſs the preſent Bill into a Law, on account of any Neglect that happen'd upon that Occaſion, it is but juſt that you ſhou'd ſtrike his Name out of the Bill, and clap in the Names of a Couple of your own Members.

'Thus, Sir, I have given my Opinion with reſpect to the Inſufficiency of the Evidence for paſſing the preſent Bill into a Law, and I have done it in the Sincerity of Heart; for what Motive, Sir, can I have in what I have ſpoke, but the Diſcharge of my Duty as a Member of this Houſe? It is more than probable, Sir, that I ſhall never trouble you again with my Sentiments upon this or any other Subject, but my Conſcience wou'd ever afterwards have accus'd me, if I had quitt'd my Seat here before I had given my Reaſons why I think the preſent Bill ſhou'd not be committed.'

Gen. Wade. General *Wade* obſerv'd, that there was one Circumſtance that prov'd three Things; firſt, that the original Deſign of the Conſpirators was to have murder'd *Porteous* on the *Tueſday*; ſecondly, that it was talk'd of openly; and thirdly, that the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* were the Murderers. The Inſtance was the Caſe of a Servant to one *Colin Aliſon*, who ſwore that a Fellow came into his Maſter's Shop, on the *Thurſday* or *Friday* before the Murder was committed, and inform'd him that *Tueſday* following was the Day appointed for revenging innocent Blood.

He obſerv'd that the Riot deſerv'd the Name rather of a well conducted Conſpiracy, than the Proceedings of a Mob: And then vindicated Mr. *Moyle*, the commanding Officer at *Edinburgh*, upon the Principles of military Diſcipline.

Mr. Shippen. Mr. *Shippen* then ſpoke againſt the Committment, and

Mr. Erſkine. *Charles Erſkine*, Eſq; who was the Solicitor for *Scotland*, anſwer'd that Part of General *Wade*'s Speech relating to

Mr. Skinner. *Aliſon*'s Servant. Mr. Serjeant *Skinner* then ſpoke for the Committment, and obſerv'd, that in other Countries the Common-People are generally on the ſide of Mercy, but

Lord Cornbury. that it was otherwiſe on this Occaſion. Lord *Cornbury* then ſpoke againſt the Commitments, and took Notice that it was extremely impolitical as well as unjuſt to provoke the

Scots

Scots: For, continued his Lordſhip, if they ſhould ſay, let us fall with the Philiſtines, who knows but that they might have Strength enough to ſhake the Pillars of this Houſe, even tho' they ſhou'd bury themſelves under the Ruins of the Conſtitution. *Anno* 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

Henry Fox, Eſq; then ſpoke for the Commitment, and Lord *Glenorchy* againſt it. As did Mr. *Ogletborpe*. *Mr. Fox.* *Lord Glenorchy.* *Mr. Oglethorpe.*

We have omitted giving the Extracts of what was excellently ſaid by each of theſe Gentlemen on this Occaſion, becauſe the Reader will find the Force of their Arguments already ſtated.

The next who ſpoke, was Mr. *Erſkine*, who took Notice of one Thing overlook'd in the Debate, 'And that, ſaid he, Sir, is with regard to the Puniſhment inflicted by the preſent Bill upon the Citizens of *Edinburgh*; what I mean is the demoliſhing the City-Gate. If this Gate, Sir, were the Property of the Perſons who by the preſent Bill are ſuppoſed to be guilty, and if theſe Perſons were proved to be guilty, I ſhall not deny but the Puniſhment would be adequate to the Offence: But the Caſe, Sir, is otherwiſe; the Gate belongs to the Corporation, and Corporations, in the Senſe both of our Law and the Civil Law, are in ſome meaſure looked upon as Minors, whoſe Eſtates the Magiſtracy of the City, and the Electors of that Magiſtracy, which are the Town Council, and the Conſtituents of that Town-Council, which are the Merchants and Traders, are no other than the Truſtees and the Guardians. Hence, Sir, it is plain, that if we ſhall think fit to puniſh the Corporation for a Miſdemeanor committed by the Magiſtrates and Traders, we ſhall do the ſame thing, as if a Judge, for a Fault committed by the Guardian of a Minor, ſhould give Sentence, that the Damage ſuſtained by the Miſdemeanor ſhould be made up out of his Pupil's Eſtate. If Gentlemen view the preſent Bill in this Light, and at the ſame Time reflect, that, beſides the inhuman Inſult committed upon Majeſty and Government by the barbarous Riot we are now conſidering, the Corporation itſelf was a very great Sufferer; and had it not been for the Meaſures taken by the Magiſtrates, in all Appearance, there would have been ſtill a greater by that Riot. I ſay, Sir, if Gentlemen would be pleaſed to conſider this, I am perſuaded they would be very cautious in giving their Votes for inflicting the Cenſure propoſed by the preſent Bill.'

He then took Notice that the Imputation of Barbarity was not peculiar to the common People of *Scotland*, for that one poor Fellow had been pelted to Death but a few Days before on the Pillory in *Weſtminſter*.

Sir,

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Sir William Yonge.

Sir *William Yonge* then ſpoke for the Commitment, and ſeem'd to think that the Conceſſions made by Mr. *Solicitor General* were rather too favourable for the Provoſt and the Citizens of *Edinburgh*.

Lord *Polwarth* role next, and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows:

Lord Polwarth.

SIR,

'Ever ſince this Bill was brought before us, I have endeavoured, by a cloſe Attendance in the Houſe, to make myſelf as much Maſter of what could be ſaid *for* or *againſt* it, as I was able; and if any Gentleman will ſhew where one Argument in the Charge againſt the Lord Provoſt and City of *Edinburgh* has been proved *, I will this inſtant give my Vote for the Commitment of the Bill: I ſay it again, Sir, if any Gentleman will ſhew one Article that has been proved againſt the Lord Provoſt and the City of *Edinburgh*, I will give my Vote for the Commitment of this Bill. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman who ſeconded the Motion, in his Obſervations upon the Evidence, was pleaſed to advance, "That during the Time of the Riot a Perſon came into the Tavern where the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates were, and affirmed, that he knew one of the Rioters, offering at the ſame Time to name him, but that he was forbidden by ſome of the Company, who deſired him to wait till a more proper Opportunity." I think there was not one Article advanced by any of the Witneſſes that eſcaped my Notice; and I dare venture to affirm, that not one of them gave any ſuch † Evidence. Nay, I appeal to the Minutes of the Examinations, and ſit down ‡ till the Clerk ſhall read them. I ſhall make a Remark or two upon one Part of the Speech that was delivered by the Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt; the reſt of it I think requires none. The Honourable Gentleman ſeems to be ſatisfied in general with the Truth of what is laid down in the Preamble of the Bill; but has not been pleaſed to ſhew how one particular Circumſtance has been proved. It has always been my Opinion, Sir, that as we are the Judges of this Affair, we ought to act upon the ſame Grounds, and be determined by the ſame Rules of Equity, as other Judges are. As we have gone thro' a long Courſe of Evidence, we can have no other Foundation to build our Judgment upon, than the Facts that

* *Here he was interrupted by ſome Members.*

† *Here he was again interrupted by ſome Members*, who cry'd, No, No.

‡ Here he ſat down.

that have appeared from that Evidence; elſe, why have we ſpent ſo much Pains and Time upon it, at ſuch an advanced Seaſon of the Year? And we have heard Evidences, Sir, who have ſeemed to be very much diſpoſed to have aggravated every Circumſtance of Miſconduct or Negligence, could they affix either of them upon the Provoſt or Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*. Something indeed was advanced that looked that way, and has been much inſiſted upon by the Gentlemen who have ſpoken for the Motion, tho' the Account given by Gentlemen of undoubted Honour and Probity of the Perſonal Character of theſe Witneſſes, and the many Inconſiſtences of their Evidence, make it ſurprizing to me, that they ever ſhould be mentioned but with Indignation. I am perſwaded, Sir, that if Gentlemen would lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and aſk of themſelves, whether they would have voted in the Manner they have done, had the Caſe of the City of *Edinburgh* been that of the Cities of *Briſtol*, *York*, or any of the large Cities of *England*; I ſay, Sir, I am perſwaded Gentlemen would have required, that every Tittle of their Charge againſt them ſhould have been fully and undeniably proved. It is true, Sir, that none of the Authors of this deteſtable Murder have ever been apprehended: But, Sir, is it neceſſary, that, in order to make a decent and plentiful Execution, we ſhould puniſh thoſe who ſeem to have no other Crime but their Endeavouring to ſuppreſs the Crimes of others; and muſt the Innocent be puniſhed, becauſe the Guilty have gone unpuniſhed? As this ſeems to me, Sir, to be the Caſe with reſpect to our Proceeding on the preſent Bill, I heartily give my Vote againſt the Motion.'

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

Sir *John Barnard*, among other things, ſpoke to the following Effect:

SIR,

'As I have ſome Concern in the Civil Magiſtracy of a City, and probably may have more, I don't think it ſufficient for me barely to give my Vote againſt the preſent Motion, without taking Notice, that we are now upon a Point that may ſome time or other equally affect every Civil Magiſtrate, and every Community in the Kingdom. If the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh* was guilty of any Fault during the Time of this unhappy Riot, it was of too much Raſhneſs, and too much Zeal, in expoſing his Perſon and Character in order to ſuppreſs it. For my Share, Sir, I cannot ſee what View the Lord Provoſt could have, if he did not act with Zeal and in good Earneſt, to expoſe both his own Life, and that of his Friends, in his repeated Endeavours to ſuppreſs the Riot. And had I been in his Caſe, Sir, I doubt very much

Sir *John Barnard.*

if

Anno 10. *Geo.* II. 1737.

if I had gone ſo far as he did. I know the Behaviour of the Gentleman who was Lord Mayor of *London*, when a Mob happened upon the Anniverſary of the memorable Twenty-ſixth of Bill's being ſet aſide, has been mentioned upon that Occaſion; But all the World condemned that Gentleman for expoſing his Perſon ſo much as he did to the Fury of the People, and there was not a Friend he had but blamed him for his Raſhneſs. But ſetting aſide all theſe Conſiderations, I think that our proceeding by Bills of this Nature has a dangerous a Tendency, that tho' I did think the Subjects of the Bill guilty, I ſhould never give my Vote for Proceeding againſt them in this Manner. It may be a Precedent for a future Miniſter to wreck his Indignation upon any Civil Magiſtrate; but we have no room to imagine that it would bring in any ſuch Bill againſt another Miniſter, let him hate him ever ſo much, becauſe that may be a Preparative for ſerving himſelf in the ſame Manner by a ſucceeding Miniſter who is in Power, and who hates him.

Sir *Robert Walpole* ſpoke next to the following Effect:

SIR,

Sir Robert Walpole.

'Ever ſince I had the Honour to ſit in this Houſe, I never heard any Affair more diſpaſſionately examined into, more candidly diſcuſſed, and more patiently attended to, than the preſent, eſpecially by the Gentlemen of the Country where this Scene of Murder and Rebellion happened; and indeed, as I ſtand affected in the preſent Queſtion, I could be almoſt tempted to wiſh, that the Gentlemen of that Country had defended the Cauſe of their City and its Magiſtrates with leſs Eloquence and Calmneſs than they have done; and at the ſame Time that ſome other Gentlemen had behaved with more Decency and Temper: For after the impartial Behaviour of this Houſe, Sir, in the preſent Queſtion, I cannot ſee the good Tendency of theſe inflammatory Speeches that have been thrown out by ſome Gentlemen upon this Occaſion. For my Part, Sir, I diſdain the Diſtinction that has been made between Civil Magiſtrate and Miniſter of State. And, I hope, I never have given any Grounds, by my Behaviour as a Miniſter, to imagine I would have a Regard to any ſuch Diſtinction. And I am ſure, Sir, the Behaviour of the Miniſtry upon this Occaſion can give no room for any of theſe inflammatory Inſinuations. The Subject of the preſent Bill was thought to be in the other Houſe of ſo important a Nature, that they ſpent a great deal of the preſent Seſſion in the Examination of this Affair, and have ſent down the Bill to us in the Shape it is at preſent. We ourſelves, Sir, after a long and painful Examination, have found there has been a cruel

Murder

der and a Rebellion committed in that City. There is Gentleman but muſt own, that theſe are two Crimes that ht to be ſeverely puniſhed, upon not only the Authors, even upon ſuch as in the moſt diſtant Manner were r Abettors. And, Sir, from the Courſe of Evidence has been laid before this Houſe, I can with a good Conce ſay, that had the Towns of *Briſtol*, *Norwich*, &c. or of our great Incorporations in *England*, behaved in the nner the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Edinburgh* did in Preſent Occaſion, I ſhould have been as forward as any ntleman in this Houſe to have inflicted as ſevere, if not verer Puniſhment upon them, than what is implied by is Bill againſt the other. In ſhort, Sir, I think that we uld err againſt all Prudence and good Politics, ſhould we, thout once committing it, reject the preſent Bill. If, afr it is committed, Gentlemen ſhould think fit to make ch Amendments upon it, as may leave the Privileges of he Incorporation of *Edinburgh* untouched, and remit the oſt penal Part of the Puniſhment of the Lord Provoſt: nd if theſe Amendments ſhould be founded upon Reaſon nd Equity, I ſhall by no means be againſt them: But in he mean Time I heartily vote for committing the Bill.'

W——r P——r, Eſq; ſtood up next, and among other Things ſaid, 'He was of Opinion there could nothing new come out in Debate, when the Bill ſhould be committed, that did not then appear; and that as they had heard the Evidence examined, he thought there was no occaſion to take up the Houſe's Time longer about it at this advanced Seaſon. For ſince they had no other Rule to go by in the preſent Affair, than what aroſe from the Evidence; and as that appeared ſo lame, that not a ſingle Point was proved againſt the Provoſt or Citizens of *Edinburgh*, he was of Opinion, they could do nothing more agreeable to Equity or Reaſon, or to the Honour and Dignity of Parliament, than to drop the Bill entirely.'

It was then reſolved, that the Bill ſhould be committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe: It was next reſolved, that the Houſe would on the *Monday* following reſolve itſelf into a Committee upon the ſaid Bill.

Upon this Occaſion it was at firſt propoſed, that the Houſe ſhould next Day reſolve itſelf into the ſaid Committee; but ſome Members took Notice, that next Day, being the 10th of *June*, they thought it a very improper Day for them to go into a Committee on ſuch a Bill. The Scope of the Bill, as it then ſtood, was for demoliſhing the Ports, and diſmiſſing the Guard of the City of *Edinburgh*, thoſe very Ports, and that very Guard which had enabled

that

that Part of the Bill, when they
upon it; but they took Notice
to prevent the Houſe's going into a
Bill on ſuch a Day. For this Purp
be of ſufficient Weight; and that
would inſiſt upon the Houſe's going
that Bill till *Monday* then next.

This ſeemed to be the Occaſion
mitment of the Bill till *Monday*; a
having reſolved itſelf into the ſaid C
and every Clauſe of it was oppoſe
was a Sort of diſtinct Debate, ſever
ſo vigorouſly, and with ſo much
Party, that the Bill not only change
manner its Form.

Nay, in the Committee, the Bill
being quite loſt; for after all the
made, the Bill then appeared to
what had been ſent them by the L
was made for reporting the Bill wit
Houſe, the ſame was ſtrenuouſly op
Debate, when the Queſtion was put
for reporting, and 130 againſt it;
caſting Vote of Colonel *Bladen*,
the Committee, and who gave his
Bill. But there was another Circ
buted to the paſſing of this Bill, or
ing loſt; for at this very time, w
happened, *J—s E——ne* of G
S——r G——l for *Scotland*, wer

againſt every Part of this Bill, it is probable, if they had been preſent, they would have voted againſt reporting the Bill, which would have prevented its being in the Chairman's Power to do what he did. Anno 10. G. 1737.

The Motion being thus carried for reporting the Bill with the Amendments, the Report was ordered to be received the next Morning; and Colonel Bladen having accordingly reported the Amendments that Day, the firſt Amendment made by the Committee, which was that for leaving out the ſeveral Clauſes for demoliſhing the Nether-Bow Port, and for taking away the Guard of the City of Edinburgh, was read a ſecond Time, and agreed to by the Houſe; then the other Amendment made by the Committee, being the Clauſe for impoſing a Fine upon the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh, was read the ſecond Time; and a Motion being made for re-committing that Amendment, after a long Debate, the Queſtion was put upon that Motion, and was carried in the Negative, by 144 to 123; after which this Amendment was agreed to by the Houſe; and then the Bill was ordered to be read a third Time next Morning.

June 13. The ſaid Bill was read a third Time, and ſeveral Amendments were made to the Title, which had become neceſſary from the Amendments made in the Committee to the Bill itſelf; after which a Motion was made for paſſing the Bill; and upon the Queſtion's being put, it was carried in the Affirmative by 128 to 101; and Colonel Bladen was ordered to carry the Bill to the Lords, and acquaint them that the Houſe had agreed to the ſame with ſome Amendments, to which they deſired the Concurrence of their Lordſhips, which were agreed to, and the Bill paſs'd into an Act. The Bill r to the City of burgh, on acc Porteous's M paſs'd into an

June 21. The King came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an End to the Seſſion, with the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am come to put an End to this Seſſion of Parliament, " that you may be at Liberty to retire into your ſeveral " Countries, and, in your proper Stations to promote the " Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom. The King's S at paſſing an to the Two and S

" I return you my Thanks for the particular Proofs " you have given me of your Affection and Regard to my " Perſon and Honour; and hope, the Wiſdom and Juſtice, " which you have ſhewn upon ſome extraordinary Inci- " dents, will prevent all Thoughts of the like Attempts " for the future. The Conduct of this Parliament has " been ſo uniform in all your Deliberations upon publick " Affairs, that it would be as unjuſt not to acknowledge

Anno 10. Geo. II. 1737.

" it, as it is unneceſſary to enumerate the ſeveral
" culars,

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" Your Care, as well in raiſing the Supplies ne
" for the Service of the current Year, as in doing it
" Manner leaſt grievous and burthenſome to my ſu
" a freſh Inſtance of your equal Concern for the
" of my Government, and for the true Intereſt
" Country.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You cannot be inſenſible, what juſt Scandal
" fence the Licentiouſneſs of the preſent Times, u
" Colour and Diſguiſe of Liberty, gives to all ho
" ſober Men, and how abſolutely neceſſary it is to
" this exceſſive Abuſe, by a due and vigorous Exec
" the Laws; Defiance of all Authority, Contempt
" giſtracy, and even Reſiſtance of the Laws, are
" too general, altho' equally prejudicial to the Pre
" of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People,
" port of the one being inſeparable from the Pros
" the other. I have made the Laws of the Land
" ſtant Rule of my Actions; and I do, with Rea
" pect in Return all that Submiſſion to my Authc
" Government, which the ſame Laws have made th
" and ſhall always be the Intereſt of my Subjects."

The Parliament prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by the King's Co
prorogued the Parliament to the 4th of Auguſt.

FINIS.

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